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THE
HISTORY OF ROME
BY
TITUS LIVIUS.

THE THIRD DECADE,
PART THE FIRST,
ILLUSTRATED BY
COPIOUS NOTES,
HISTORICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL, AND CRITICAL,
AND ESPECIALLY ADAPTED FOR
THE USE OF MILITARY STUDENTS.

BY
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MDCCCLVII.



BAXTER, PRINTER, OXFORD.

TO THE
REVEREND FRANCIS JEUNE, D.C.L.
MASTER OF PEMBROKE COLLEGE, OXFORD,
A SOUND SCHOLAR AND DISTINGUISHED EDUCATOR,
THIS VOLUME IS INSCRIBED
AS A MARK OF SINCERE ESTEEM AND RESPECT
BY HIS OBLIGED FRIEND,
E. R. HUMPHREYS.

August 14, 1857.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following Commentary has been prepared with a view to illustrate, by historical parallels and references to some military operations of modern times, one of the most memorable campaigns of antiquity; and, at the same time, to offer such suggestions of a philological nature, as shall afford the usual assistance to the Classical Student. For this latter purpose, it has appeared advisable to prefix a few observations upon the best mode of transferring the idiomatic phrases of the Latin language—especially those by which the style of Livy is characterized—into the nearest analogous English words.

The object of all philological study is twofold; in the first place, to give such exercise and development to the analytic faculty of the mind as shall conduce to the formation of a correct literary and rhetorical taste; and secondly, to obtain true and accurate transcripts of literary compositions in dead and foreign languages. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that it is in this latter sense that the study of those languages in which the inspired writings were originally composed is so indispensable for all who would understand, and still more for all who presume to teach, the doctrines which they contain.

The utility of the practice of correct and elegant translation, upon sound grammatical principles, and as a matter of mental discipline, was fully recognised—more fully perhaps than in our own time—by the most distinguished of the ancients, and by some eminent scholars of the eighteenth century. “The translation of Greek into Latin,” says Quintilian, “was considered a most useful practice by the orators of our country: Lucius Crassus, as quoted by Cicero in his *Essay de Oratore*, professes to have constantly adopted it: Cicero, speaking in his own character, frequently recommends it, and he published translations by his own hand of

some books of Plato and Xenophon." (*Inst. Or.* x. 5.) He might have added, that Cicero also translated the memorable speech of Demosthenes *de Corone*, and the *Diösemeia* of Aratus. Pliny (junior) also speaks of it as an exercise, "by which propriety and brilliancy of language, richness of imagery, power of illustration, and a rival faculty of invention, from the imitation of the best models, may be attained; more especially, as beauties that may fail to strike the reader, cannot possibly escape the translator." (*Ep.* vii. 7.) In the last century, the subject of translation was ably discussed by Dr. Campbell, in a Preface to his translation of the Gospels, by Archbishop Huet of Avranches, by M. D'Alembert, the Abbé Bateux, and, in an Essay especially devoted to the subject, by the late Lord Woodhouselee (Professor Tytler). Previously to arranging any rules particularly applicable to the present work, we shall examine those which the two last-mentioned authors have laid down.

The laws suggested by the Abbé Bateux are, 1. That the periods of the translation shall correspond in all their members with those of the original. 2. That all conjunctions shall be carefully retained. 3. That all adverbs shall be placed in *juxta-position* with their respective verbs. 4. That the order of the words, as well as of the ideas, in the original, shall be strictly maintained in the translation. Of these laws, it may be observed, that in any version deserving the name of a translation, as distinguished from a paraphrase, the first is not only indispensable, but easy. The second precept, correctly understood—in the sense of requiring some *equivalent* for every conjunction and particle—is also necessary, and presents little difficulty to a translator sufficiently acquainted with the two languages in question. By a strict observance of the third and fourth, however, it must often happen, that not only grace and emphasis, but, in some cases, even the sense of the original, will be sacrificed.

The laws proposed by the Scotch Professor are, 1. That the translation shall be an exact transcript of the ideas of the original. 2. That the style and manner of writing shall be of the same character with those of the original. And, 3. That the translation shall have all the ease of original composition. Of these laws, the first may be said to con-

tain within it all others that can possibly be framed on the subject. The second will be best observed by attending to the length and rhythm of the sentences, and such details as emphasis, antithesis, (i. e. double emphasis,) and alliterations. Of these latter embellishments, many will occur which it may be impossible, without the exercise of considerable ingenuity, to transfer^a. The importance of the third law is far too frequently overlooked in a mistaken and ignorant desire to be *literal*. While it has been satisfactorily demonstrated by more than one instance, that a sufficient command of language will enable a translation to approach the original so closely as to employ very nearly the same number of words consistently with "the ease of original composition;" but this fact is so often forgotten or unknown, that an easy and graceful translation is frequently condemned, in the belief that it cannot be *literal*.

Here it may be necessary to explain, that while, on the one hand, the wide differences of idiom and construction render it impossible that any word-for-word translation from an ancient language into English, or, in fact, from *any* language into another, can have the ease of original composition, or form grammatical sentences, or be at all intelligible—for a faithful translation can only result from the use of *equivalent* phrases—still, on the other hand, such word-for-word translation is a highly indispensable discipline for the oral teacher to enforce upon beginners as a test of grammatical knowledge. The difference, in short, is that between *translation*, properly so called, and *parsing*.

The chief difficulty, as well as the great beauty, of translation, is the judicious employment of the secondary (or metaphorical) senses of words. When the primary or literal senses of the words in question are common to the two languages, the difficulty disappears; e. g. when allusion is

^a Of the instances which memory supplies just now to the author, the most remarkable are, the resemblances between *amentium* and *amantium*, (in Terence); *ornare* and *onerare* (in Cicero), "to laud and to load;" *τρόπον* and *τύπον*, "disposition and position;" *κεφαλὴν* and *κεφδλαον*, "head and capital" (in Demosthenes); *hostis* and *hospest* (repeatedly in Livy). A very complicated and totally untranslatable play on words is attributed to Cicero; sc. *Ego quoque (coque) tibi jure* (either "law" or "sauce") *safebo*.

made to the universal phenomena of nature, then a secondary sense can be easily transferred by an analogous phrase; but when the subject is a word used in a secondary sense, of which the primary relates to some peculiarity of time or place—such as an obsolete political or social institution—the translator has to search further for an equivalent expression. For instance, when an epithet relating literally to the spring, is applied, in a secondary sense, to the youth of a human being, an analogous phrase will readily present itself; because the phenomena are universal, and have suggested images to writers in all times and languages; but, when the allusion is to such a thing as the torch-race, or the ostracism, or the Spartan Artemisia, or the pheiditia, or the toga as an emblem of peace, it is far less easy to find words that, in a similarly secondary sense, will accurately convey the idea; so much so, that translation, in such cases, must be illustrated by a commentary.

Previously to observing, that the greater portion of idiomatic phrases in Livy are Grecisms, it may be necessary to remark, that there are to be found in Latin two distinct classes of Grecism. The first are those resemblances (generally etymological) that result from the derivation of Latin and Greek, in two parallel streams, from the kindred sources of the Zend and Sanskrit languages: the others being those forms of expression and construction which were borrowed directly from the Greek, by the Roman writers who flourished after Greece had become a Roman province. In explaining these, and indeed in treating of idioms generally, the usual practice is to deduce rules from the usages of the Classic writers; and then, when commenting on these peculiarities, to reverse the process, and refer the usages back to the rules. The use of rules so framed can only be to guide the student in composition; but in commenting, it is evident that something more philosophic is necessary, and that we must (so to speak) anatomize peculiar and mutual forms of expression, on metaphysical principles. When we speak of zeugma, hendiadys, and the various other *σχήματα* mentioned in the technology of grammarians, we generally use a mode of illustration relating to the idioms of modern languages; in the same manner as

explain the phenomena of astronomy in language applicable only to the optical illusions under which we see them.

The two most remarkable peculiarities in the style of Livy are the Grecisms above mentioned, and such instances of attraction as are generally considered more perfectly legitimate in poetry; such as, 1. *dicitur liberatus*, (ii. 5.) where the participle must be translated as an infinitive.

2. The transposition called hypallage, e. g. *proximam pugnæ cladem*, (ii. 51.), *ultionem eam fraudis* (xxiii. 25.), &c. where the transposition may be either retained by a paraphrase, or obviated by inversion.

3. The substitution, called enallage, of dative for genitive; such as *urbi locum*, *remedium timori*, which admits of literal translation into the English idiom. In this instance the grammatical figure is a fiction; the dative being governed by a foregoing verb.

4. The use of adjectives and pass. participles to designate abstract qualities, more usually expressed by substantives, and to be translated generally by the latter: such as, *in dubio esse*; *in tuto esse*; *degeneratum*. (l. 53.) The English language admits a form of expression analogous to, and probably imitated from, this; for we sometimes speak of "the ideal," "the sublime," "the ignoble," &c. as abstract qualities.

5. The construction of *alius* with an ablative in the sense of "different from," or, "other than," imitated from the similar use of *ἄλλος* with a genitive.

6. The use of the genitive signifying a cause or motive, evidently suggested by the Greek genitive in the same sense governed, according to the common explanation, by *ένεκα* or *διὰ* suppressed.

As guides in translating, the following rules may be observed with some advantage to style.

1. A passive impersonal verb cannot be translated literally into English. The nearest approach to the meaning of such verbs lies through a paraphrase; as, for instance, *ambigitur*, "a question arises;" *de quo agitur*, "the subject under discussion or consideration;" *id agitur*, "the design or intention is;" *imperatum*, "imposts laid on;" *festinatum est*, "hasty measures or movements were adopted;" *incepto*

abiretur, (xxiv. 19.) "the attempt should be abandoned;" *ad arma conclamatum*, "the cry to arms was raised;" *in naves consensum est*, "an embarkation was effected;" (xxi. 49.) *secum agi passus est*, "subir. tted to a negociation;" (xxiii. 19.) *ventum est*, "an approach was effected;" and so of numerous other instances.

2. The ablative absolute (really governed by a preposition suppressed) should be translated as marking the time of a collateral event; that is, with the sign "when," or "while." When, however, the present active participle is so used, the phrase generally implies a reason for or against, and should be translated with the sign "for," or "although."

3. When the present-perfect tense emphatically implies the continuation of an action from some past point of time to the present moment, it would be well to translate it by the compound English tense consisting of the auxiliary "have been," and the present participle: as, *id egerunt*, "they have been keeping this object in view."

4. The perfect passive participle joined with a substantive must be frequently translated not as signifying the thing done, but, the doing of the thing, or, the fact of its being done; as, *defensos primos*, (xxi. 52.) "the protection of the first," &c. i. e. the fact of their being protected; *nomen crebro usurpatum*, (xxiv. 21.) "the frequent repetition of the name;" *aliae occupatæ urbis partes*, (xxiv. 22.) "the occupation of other quarters of the city;" *demersa classis hostium*, (Cicero Leg. Manil.) "the sinking of the enemy's fleet."

5. The historic or narrative infinitive should be translated rather as an aorist, than, according to the more general theory, as an imperfect.

6. In translating the moods and tenses, we generally retain their signs with sufficient exactness; except in those instances where an easy and familiar style requires that we should translate the subjunctive by the indicative, and the future-perfect by the present: as, *quum bellum geratur*, "as the war is going on;" *quum venerit*, "when he comes;" *gloriam qui spreverit*, "whoever despises glory," (xxii. 39.) It may be also observed, that the present and imperfect indicative active frequently imply an attempt or endeavou

an idea which a mere word-for-word translation cannot convey.

7. The past participles of deponent verbs are as frequently passive as active. Of this, examples may be found every where. The reason very probably is, that verbs of this class had originally a complete active inflection, of which some few parts still remain; and that the inflection now in use was a middle voice, of which some forms are identical (as in Greek) with the passive.

8. The relative, one of the chief peculiarities of the Latin language, should be, in the great majority of instances, resolved in translation into the conjunction and the demonstrative pronoun of which it consists: for instance, *quod ubi animadversum est*, “but when this was observed;” *cum quibus ad me venias*, “and come with them to me;” *qui quum abesset*, “although while he was away,” &c. Here it may be remarked, that *unde* is also a relative, and not unfrequently applied to persons; sc. “from whom.”

9. *Nullus* is often to be translated in the sense of *non*, and, wherever possible, with some emphatic addition; as, *nullus respondit*, “he answered not a word;” *nullam in columem esse crederet*, (xxiii. 2.) “believed that it could not possibly be safe,” (that it could never be safe.)

10. *Primus* with a verb should in general be translated by a short periphrasis; as, *primus ingressus est*, “he was the first to come in;” *ultimus* is similarly used; *ultimus excedebat prælio*, “he used to be the last.”

11. The comparative, when not followed by a case, should be translated by the sign “too,” or “rather.” It is unnecessary to mention, that such phrases are elliptical.

12. *Ita* and *ut*, when transposed, signify “although” and “yet.”

Ita, followed by *si*, implies a sole and definite condition: “only on condition that,” or, “only in case of,” &c.

Ut, with the indicative, frequently signifies “as soon as;” and with the subjunctive, “although.” With a substantive, *it* generally implies a qualification of a foregoing assertion or opinion; as, *ut in rebus asperis*, “considering the difficulties of the case;” *ut inter montana*, “considering their position on the mountains,” &c.

13. *Forte*, when joined with a verb, must be translated by the phrase, “happen;” as, *is tum forte aberat*, “he happened at that time to be away,” &c.

14. *Idem* is very frequently to be translated “also.”

15. *Maximè*, joined with *ibi*, *ubi*, and *quum*, signifies “the particular time and place.”

16. *Nam*, *enim*, and *tandem*, are sometimes used merely to impart a peculiar emphasis, especially to questions; as, *quid enim? quid tandem?* “why pray?” or, “how pray?” “for what possible reason?” “in what possible way?” *qua* *tandem ratio est?* “what, may I ask, is the reason?” A similar use is made of *γὰς* and *πότε*. Compare also such phrases as, *id enim ferendum esse negat* (xxii. 25.), “that, above all, he said was intolerable.”

17. *Et*, when placed at the beginning of a sentence, conveys a very peculiar emphasis. In this position, it repeats and confirms or illustrates some foregoing assertion; as, *Et Hannibal movit*, (xxi. 39.) “And Hannibal *did* move,” &c. *Et consul alter velut*, &c. (xxii. 42.) “The other Consul, too,” &c. (even the other Consul). *Et aliam formam novi delectus*, (xxii. 57.) “A new and strange form of enlistment, also.” *Et jam ibi nequaquam eadem quies*, &c. (xxiv. 27.) “And there, indeed, by this time, there was no longer,” &c. *Et jam ad Hexap. erant*, &c. (xxiv. 32.) “Already, indeed, Hippocrates and Epicydes were at the,” &c. *Et Statorius regi pedites conscripsit*, (xxiv. 48.) “And Statorius did enrol,” &c.

18. In order to transfer the full force of Latin and Greek sentences, it is necessary to pay an especial attention to their emphasis. In the ancient languages, this prominence is imparted to certain words, not, as in modern tongues, by periphrasis or the use of a different form of letter, but simply by means of the *collocation of the words*; the most emphatic generally beginning the sentence, sometimes concluding it, when such is not its natural position; but always so placed as to attract attention. As the English idiom does not admit of this variety of arrangement, it must be evident that a strictly word-for-word translation must fail, in almost every instance, to convey that emphasis upon which the logical connexion and sequence of sentences so mainly

depends; and that, by adopting a short paraphrase, or some similar license, such as a resolution of the relative, or the inversion of the voice of a verb with a corresponding change of cases, we shall be more likely to retain accurately the sense of the original. For instance, *Si hoc P. Sempronius diceret* (l. xxii. 60.) signifies, "If this was what P. Sempronius said." If the arrangement were, *Si P. Sempronius hoc diceret*, the proper translation would be, "If it was P. Sempronius who said this;" and, if the order of the words were, *Si diceret hoc P. Sempronius*, we should find that they meant, "if Sempronius said so," that is, in contradistinction to the thing being *done*.

To take another instance at random. *Libertatem, quæ media est, nec spernere modicè, nec habere sciunt*, (l. xxiv. 25.) signifies, in connexion with the preceding sentence, "as for liberty, which lies between (those extremes), they can neither be rationally indifferent to, nor enjoy it." As the instances of emphasis, however, are frequently illustrated, wherever they occur, in the following notes, it is unnecessary to multiply examples here.

It may not be irrelevant to lay down two general rules, examples of which will be found constantly recurring in all classical Latin. 1. That the personal pronouns always convey an emphasis; because, as they are contained in the terminations of verbs, any further or more distinct expression of them is equivalent to a repetition; as, *Ego, si quis &c., habeo quid sententiæ dicam*, (l. xxiii. 13.); "For my part, if any one inquires &c., I have a proposal to make." 2. When the relative begins a period, it is always emphatic, and must be resolved; as, *Cui quoniam parum succedit*; "but as this is not successful;" *quod ubi innotuit*, "and (but, or though) when this became known."

THE Punic wars occupied, from the beginning of the first Punic war to the final reduction of Carthage, altogether one hundred and nineteen years, including the intervals of twenty-two and thirty-three years, which divided the three campaigns.

The quarrel, which began immediately after the arrangement of a peace with Pyrrhus, ostensibly originated in a dispute respecting the Mamertine mercenaries, who had, in two separate bodies, severally sought the protection of Rome and Carthage against the vengeance of Syracuse (*see History*); and the war began with the occupation of Messana by the Consul Appius Claudius. After various alternations of fortune, of which the most remarkable were the successes of Regulus, his subsequent defeat by the Spartan *Condottieri* under Xanthippus, and the decisive naval victory of Lutatius Catulus at the *Ægates* (*Levanzo, Favignano, and Maretimo*); the Carthaginians evacuated Sicily, of which they had held the southern part for about eighty years; and the Romans acquired their first province beyond sea, (A. U. C. 513; B. C. 241.)

In order to compensate the loss of Sicily and other Mediterranean islands, and to establish a check upon Rome, the Carthaginians adopted the suggestion of Hamilcar Barca, and founded a dominion in Spain, which soon after afforded a provocation for the renewal of hostilities. The history of the second Punic war comprises two distinct invasions; that of Italy by Hannibal, and that of Africa by Scipio. This latter movement, however, was not an original design on the part of the Romans, but was suggested by an artifice practised, one hundred and seven years previously, by Agathocles of Syracuse, under similar circumstances. When besieged in his capital by the Carthaginians, he suddenly forced his way through the blockade, and embarking with a few troops, appeared unexpectedly before Carthage; when the result of his presenting himself in an attitude which it was believed impossible that he could have assumed, except as a conqueror, was the arrangement of a peace on favourable terms.

Respecting distant invasions, the general testimony of history establishes the principle, that, except where a communication with home can be maintained by land or sea, the consequences have been always humiliating and disastrous, especially in countries where an ungenial climate, physical obstacles and peculiarities, with poverty of soil and absence of refinement, have destroyed invading armies more effectually than actual reverses in the field. Herodotus records, (iii. 134 sq.) that Darius Hystaspes, the second in succession after Cyrus the Great, instigated by his Queen, who represented the necessity of finding occupation for the idle arms of his subjects, crossed the Ister with an army of 700,000 men, and commenced the pursuit of an enemy, protected by a seemingly interminable desert, always within view and never overtaken, and always harassing and breaking the ranks of the Persians when least expected. At length the Scythian King, Idanthyrsus, sent an embassy to the Persian Monarch, with an enigmatical present, consisting of a mouse, a bird, a frog, and five arrows, which a sagacious courtier interpreted as an intimation, that, unless the invaders could hide themselves in the earth, or soar into the air, or dive beneath the water, they must fall by the arrows. After considerable loss, the Persians effected a retreat over the bridge of the Ister, which was kept open by the fidelity of the Ionians, who had been left to guard it.

The same Scythians, (known after their migration eastward as Parthians,) armed with long bows, like those with which the English archers "stitched together" their enemies at Crecy and Halidon Hill, destroyed the army of Crassus, in the deserts of Mesopotamia.

Soon afterwards, Antony, after marching 100,000 men three hundred miles into the desert, and fighting eighteen skirmishes, exclusively of the nature of a guerilla warfare, returned to Armenia, after losing 24,000 men by starvation and the missiles of the enemy.

In a repetition of the same expedition, the Emperor Julian lost his life near Ctesiphon (*Al Modain*), whence Jovian, who was elected on the spot as his successor, led the fainting remnant of the army to Nisibis, where they met reinforcements, and were saved.

But of all such failures, the most signal and tragical was the retreat of the French army from Moscow, in 1812, when, of 680,500 men, only 20,000 unarmed soldiers found a shelter in Poland; their feet covered with old hats, and their shoulders with pieces of canvass, and the skins of horses torn raw from the flesh—the largest invading army, and the most pitifully defeated, since the time of Cambyses.

The most successful, for a time, of all such schemes of distant conquest, was the progress of the arms of the Crescent in the eighth century. In fifty years after Mohammed's expulsion from Mecca, Constantinople, the capital of the Christian world, was successfully besieged by the Kaliph; in one hundred years the empire extended from India to the Pyrenees; and in three years after the invasion of Spain, (A. D. 711.) Musa proposed to annex by conquest Germany, Italy, and France. This project was partially carried out by Musa's successor in command, Abderrahman (in 731), who advanced as far as the Loire, where he was met and defeated by Charles le Martel, in the memorable battle of Tours. It was not, however, until 1683, that Europe was definitely relieved from its Mohammedan invaders, by John Sobieski at the battle of Vienna.

The final destruction of Carthage was principally effected by the incessant warnings and remonstrances of Cato, whose enmity is believed to have arisen from some personal insult received in Carthage, when he visited it as an ambassador. On the extinction of the Carthaginian power, the trade which that people had carried on between the west coast of Africa and Europe—exchanging the gold and ivory of the former for the cereal produce of the latter—fell into the hands of the Phocæans of Massilia.

T. LIVII PATAVINI
HISTORIARUM
AB URBE CONDITA
LIBRI.

LIBER XXI.

EPITOME.

In Italiam belli Punici secundi ortus narratur, et Hannibalis Pœnorum ducis contra fœdus per Iberum annem transitus, a quo Saguntum, sociorum populi Romani civitas, obessa octavo mense capta est. De quibus injuriis missi legati ad Carthaginenses, qui quererentur. Quum satisfacere nollent, bellum iis indictum est. Hannibal, superato Pyrenæo saltu, per Gallias, fusis Volscis, qui obsistere conati erant, ad Alpes venit; et laborioso per eas transitu, quum montanos quoque Gallos obvios aliquot præliis repulisset, descendit in Italiam, et ad Ticinum annem Romanos equestri prælio fudit: in quo vulneratum P. Cornelium Scipionem protexit filius, qui Africani postea nomen accepit. Iterumque exercitu Romano ad flumen Trebiam fuso, Hannibal Apenninum quoque, per magnam militum vexationem propter vim tempestatum, transiit. Cn. Cornelius Scipio in Hispania contra Pœnos prospere pugnavit, duce hostium Magone capto.

IN parte operis¹ mei licet mihi præfari, quod in principio summæ totius professi plerique sunt² rerum scriptores, bellum maxime omnium memorabile, quæ unquam gesta sint, me scripturum; quod, Hannibale duce, Carthagi-

¹ *In parte operis.*] “At a section of my work,” &c. Notwithstanding some discussion on the question, it would appear from the prefatory remarks here, and at the commencement of Books i. and xxxi. (the beginning of xli. having been lost,) that Livy intended to divide his work into Decades. (See Niebuhr,

and Smith’s Dict. of Biogr. and Mythol.)

² *Quod professi plerique sunt &c.*] For instance, Sallust, (Preface to Jugurtha,) and Thucydides, who premises that the war he describes μέγαν τε ἔσεσθαι, καὶ ἀξιολογάτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων.

nienses cum populo Romano gessere. Nam neque validiores opibus ullae inter se civitates gentesque contulerunt arma, neque his ipsis tantum unquam virium aut roboris fuit: et haud ignotas³ belli artes inter se, sed expertas primo Punico conserebant bello: et adeo varia belli fortuna ancepsque Mars fuit, ut proprius periculum fuerint, qui vicerunt. Odiis⁴ etiam prope majoribus certarunt, quam viribus: Romanis indignantibus, quod victoribus victi ulro inferrent arma; Poenis, quod superbe avareque crederent imperitatum victis esse. Fama etiam est, Hannibalem annorum ferme novem, pueriliter blandientem⁵ patri Hamilcari, ut duceretur in Hispaniam, quum, perfecto Africo bello, exercitum eo tractatus sacrificaret, altaribus admotum, tactis sacris jurejurando adactum, se, quum primum posset, hostem fore populo Romano. Angebant ingentis spiritus virum Sicilia Sardinique amissae⁶: nam et Siciliam nimis celeri desperatione rerum concessam, et Sardiniam inter motum Africæ fraude Romanorum, stipendio etiam insuper imposito, interceptam. His anxius curis ita se Africo bello⁷, quod fuit sub recentem Romanam pacem, per

2.

³ *Et haud ignotas &c.*] “They also brought to the contest military resources not mutually (*inter se*) unknown, but tested in the first Punic war.”

⁴ *Odiis &c.*] “The animosity with which they contended was almost greater than their strength.”

⁵ *Pueriliter blandientem.*] “Urging his father with childish caresses, (or childish enthusiasm.)”

⁶ *Sicilia Sardinique amissæ.*] “The loss of Sicily and Sardinia was vexatious to a proud-spirited man; for (*he considered*) that Sicily on the one hand (*et*) had been abandoned in premature despair of the cause (*rerum*), and, on the other (*et*), that Sardinia” &c. These had been lost by Carthage in the first Punic war. The terms on which peace was concluded were, the evacuation of Sicily; the surrender of all prisoners of war without ransom; the payment of 3000 talents of silver (about £600,000); the exclusion of Carthage from all islands about Italy and Sicily; and mutual non-interference with allies. After the second Punic war, the Carthaginians abandoned all their territories out of Africa, and surrendered their fleet

to the Romans. The foreign possessions of Carthage, before the first Punic war, were, the Baleares, Corsica, Sardinia, and some smaller islands in the Mediterranean, the southern parts of Italy and Spain, some settlements on the western coast of Africa, the Insulae Fortunatae (Canaries), and Madeira.

⁷ *Africo bello.*] This, called by historians *inexpiable bellum*, was a civil war against Carthage, on the part of the Numidians and other mercenaries, who had supplied contingents in the Roman (first Punic) war, and complained of not having received their stipulated pay. On this occasion the insurgents actually took Carthage, and sold into slavery a considerable number of the children of the nobility. One of these was the comic poet, Terence, who was purchased by the distinguished Roman whose family name he assumed, as usual, on his manumission.

The Carthaginians, being a wealthy and mercantile community, like the Venetians and Genoese of later times, generally employed mercenary troops in their wars; and were therefore under considerable disadvantage, as compared with the Ro-

quinque annos, ita deinde novem annis in Hispania augendo Punico imperio gessit, ut appareret, majus eum, quam quod gereret, agitare in animo bellum: et, si diutius vixisset, Hamilcare duce⁸ Pœnos arma Italæ illaturos fuisse, qui Hannibalis ductu intulerunt. Mors Hamilcaris peropportuna et pueritia Hannibalis distulerunt bellum. Medius Hasdrubal inter patrem et filium octo ferme annos imperium obtinuit; flore ætatis, uti ferunt, primo Hamilcare conciliatus: gener inde ob altam indolem proiecto annis ascitus, et, quia gener erat, factionis Barcinæ⁹ opibus, quæ apud milites plebemque plus quam modicæ erant, haud sane voluntate principum, imperio potitus. Is, plura consilio, quam vi, gerens, hospitiis regulorum magis, conciliandisque per amicitiam principum novis gentibus, quam bello aut armis, rem Carthaginensem auxit. Ceterum nihilo ei pax tutior fuit. Barbarus eum quidam palam, ob iram imperfecti ab eo domini, obtruncavit; comprehensusque ab circumstantibus haud alio, quam si evasisset, vultu, tormentis quoque quum laceraretur, eo fuit habitu oris, ut, superante lætitia dolores, ridentis etiam speciem præbuerit. Cum hoc Hasdrubale¹, quia miræ artis in sollicitandis gentibus, imperioque jungendis suo fuerat, fœdus renovaverat populus Romanus, ut finis utriusque imperii esset amnis Iberus, Saguntinisque² mediis inter imperia duorum populorum

mans, among whom every citizen was a soldier. It was during those domestic troubles that a threatened renewal of hostilities compelled them to give up Sardinia, not included in the original treaty, and increase the indemnity by 1000 silver talents.

⁸ *Hamilcare duce, &c.]* "That the Carthaginians would have carried war into Italy under the command of Hamilcar, as (*qui*) they did," &c. The general here mentioned was Hamilcar Barca. Two others of the same name had previously commanded the armies of Carthage; the son of Mago, defeated and slain by Gelon of Syracuse, (B.C. 480;) and the son of Gisco, who was killed in an assault on Syracuse during the absence of Agathocles in Africa, (B.C. 309.) This Hamilcar had fallen in battle with the Vettones, one of the most warlike Spanish tribes.

⁹ *Factionis Barcinæ.]* This was the democratic party, headed by the Barca family, whose most distinguished members were Hamilcar,

his three sons, Hannibal the Great, Hasdrubal, and Mago, and his son-in-law Hasdrubal. The leader of the opposite (aristocratic) faction, at this time, was Hanno; and it was by the jealousy and machinations of this party that Hannibal was banished on the conclusion of the second Punic war. The name Barca (Hebrew, *Varak*) literally signifies "a thunderbolt." It is probably in the same sense that Virgil calls the Scipios *fulmina belli*.

¹ *Cum hoc Hasdrubale.]* In order to retain the emphasis which the arrangement of words, in the original, lends to the proper name, we must translate, "It was with this Hasdrubal, because he possessed singular address in conciliating," &c.

² *Saguntinisque.]* "And that the liberties of the Saguntines, who lay between the dominions of both nations, should be guaranteed." The name Saguntum (now *Murviedro*) is a corruption of that of Zacynthus,

3. libertas servaretur. In Hasdrubalis locum³ haud dubia res fuit, quin prærogativam militarem, qua extemplo juvenis Hannibal in prætorium delatus, imperatorque ingenti omnium clamore atque assensu appellatus erat, favor etiam plebis sequeretur. Hunc vixdum puberem Hasdrubal literis ad se arcessierat: actaque res etiam in senatu fuerat, Barcinis nitentibus, ut assuesceret militiæ Hannibal, atque in paternas succederet opes. Hanno, alterius factionis princeps, 'Et æquum postulare⁴ videtur,' inquit, 'Hasdrubal, 'et ego tamen non censeo, quod petit, tribuendum.' Quum admiratione tam ancipitis sententia⁵ in se omnes convertisset, 'Florem ætatis,' inquit, 'Hasdrubal, quem ipse patri 'Hannibal fruendum præbuit, justo jure eum a filio repeti 'censet: nos tamen minime decet, juventutem nostram pro 'militari rudimento assuefacere libidini prætorum. An hoc 'timemus, ne Hamilcaris filius nimis sero imperia immodica 'et regni paterni speciem videat; et, cuius regis⁶ genero 'hereditarii sint relicti exercitus nostri, ejus filio parum 'mature serviamus? Ego, istum juvenem domi tenendum, 'sub legibus, sub magistratibus⁷ docendum vivere æquo jure

from which its founders originally came. It is not to be understood here that the Ebro actually formed a frontier; for the territories of the two nations were not so regularly defined; but, that neither party should cross it for the purpose of invasion.

³ In *Hasdrubalis locum.*] As it would involve too violent a transposition of the text, to take these words after *imperator appellatus erat*, the whole sentence must be regarded as an *anacoluthon*. Retaining, as nearly as possible, the order of the original, the translation will run thus: "In succession to Hasdrubal, there was no doubt that the approbation of the people also would follow the precedent (*prærogativam*) of the military vote, by which the young Hannibal had been at once brought into the *prætorium*, and received the title of General, with loud and universal acclamation and assent." For the primary meaning of *prærogativa*, see *Roman Antiquities*. This Hannibal had been preceded by two others of the same name (synonymous with the Hebrew *Ananias*); the grandson and great-grandson of Mago, whose father

commanded in Sicily (B.C. 406.), immediately after the defeat of the Athenians. He was now in his 23d year: Hasdrubal had been eight years, and Hamilcar nine years, in Spain.

⁴ *Et æquum postulare, et &c.*] As the repetition of the conjunction here implies an opposition between the clauses, we must translate, "although (or 'while,' or 'at the same time that') Hasdrubal's request seems reasonable; still, I do not" &c.

⁵ *Tam ancipitis sententia,*] "So two-sided (ambiguous) an opinion."

⁶ *Et, cuius regis &c.*] The English idiom, rarely admitting the relative before the antecedent, requires a transposition fatal to the emphasis of this sentence; sc. "and that we may not, sufficiently soon, become subject to the son of that prince, to whose son-in-law our armies have been left as an inheritance." It is possible that Hanno may have used the term *regis* maliciously, to enlist the prejudices of a people whose government was a republic.

⁷ *Sub magistratibus.*] The civil and military authorities at Carthage

‘cum ceteris, censeo: ne quandoque parvus hic ignis incendium ingens exsuscitet.’ Pauci, ac ferme optimus quisque, Hannoni assentiebantur: sed, ut plerumque⁸ fit, major pars meliorem vicit. Missus Hannibal in Hispaniam primo statim adventu⁹ omnem exercitum in se convertit. Hamilcarem juvenem redditum sibi veteres milites credere; eundem vigorem¹ in vultu, vimque in oculis, habitum oris, lineamentaque intueri. Dein brevi effecit, ut pater in se minimum momentum ad favorem conciliandum esset. Nunquam ingenium idem ad res diversissimas, parendum atque imperandum, habilius fuit. Itaque haud facile decerneres, utrum imperatori, an exercitui, carior esset: neque Hasdrubal alium quemquam præficere malle, ubi quid fortiter ac strenue agendum esset: neque milites alio duce plus confidere, aut audere. Plurimum audaciæ ad pericula capessenda, plurimum consilii inter ipsa pericula erat: nullo labore² aut corpus fatigari, aut animus vinci poterat. Caloris ac frigoris patientia par; cibi potionisque desiderio naturali, non voluptate, modus finitus: vigiliarum somnique nec die, nec nocte discriminata tempora. Id, quod gerendis rebus superesset, quieti datum: ea neque molli strato, neque silentio arcessita. Multi sæpe militari sagulo operatum, humi jacentem inter custodias stationesque militum, conspexerunt. Vestitus nihil inter æquales excellens: arma atque equi conspiciebantur. Equitum peditumque idem longe primus erat. Princeps in prælium³ ibat: ultimus conserto proelio excedebat. Has tantas viri virtutes ingentia vitia æquabant; inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil veri⁴, nihil sancti, nullus deûm metus,

were always perfectly distinct; of the former, the highest were the two *suffetes*, (Hebrew, *shophetim*, “judges,”) elected annually: and two councils or senates, called by the Greeks *synkletos* and *gerusia*, and somewhat analogous to our two Houses of Parliament. The judicial tribunal consisted of 104 justices. Their military commanders were sometimes mercenaries, (e. g. Xanthippus,) like the “free lances” of the middle ages.

⁸ *Sed, ut plerumque &c.*] “But, as it generally happens, the more numerous party prevailed against the wiser.” Like our English proverb, “Might prevails against right.”

⁹ *Primo statim adventu.*] “From the first moment of his arrival;” *in se converti*, “attracted the attention of.”

¹ *Eundem vigorem, &c.*] “The same animation of countenance, power of eye, personal demeanour, and features.”

² *Nullo labore.*] To preserve the emphasis, we must translate, “there was no toil by which either his body could be wearied, or his spirit subdued.”

³ *Princeps in prælium &c.*] “He was the foremost to, sc. he was the first to, advance,” &c.

⁴ *Nihil veri &c.*] “No sincerity, no veneration, no fear of the gods, no regard for oaths, no conscience.” The elaborate portrait of Hannibal in this chapter resembles rather the style and habit of Sallust and Tacitus, than the usual practice of Livy, who generally leaves the characters of historical personages to be

nullum jusjurandum, nulla religio. Cum hac indole virtutum atque vitiorum triennio sub Hasdrubale imperatore meruit, nulla re, quæ agenda videndaque magno futuro duci esset, prætermissa.

5. Ceterum ex quo die dux est declaratus, velut Italia ei provincia decreta, bellumque Romanum mandatum esset, nihil prolatandum ratus, ne se quoque, ut patrem Hamilcarem, deinde Hasdrubalem⁵, cunctantem casus aliquis oppimeret, Saguntinis inferre bellum statuit. Quibus oppugnandis quia haud dubie Romana arma movebantur, in Olcadum fines prius (ultra Iberum⁶ ea gens in parte magis, quam in ditione⁷, Carthaginensis erat) induxit exercitum, ut non petisse Saguntinos, sed rerum serie, finitimus domitis gentibus, jungendoque⁸, tractus ad id bellum videri posset. Carteiam, urbem⁹ opulentam, caput gentis ejus, expugnat diripitque. Quo metu perculsa minores civitates, stipendio imposito, imperium accepere. Victor exercitus, opulentusque præda, Carthaginem novam¹ in hiberna est deductus.

inferred from their actions. Hannibal has been frequently compared to Napoleon I. The points of resemblance are, the great power of will evinced by both, their great administrative talent in war, great readiness and fertility of resource, a long course of signal success, principally on the same scene, terminating in decisive defeat; and the deaths of both in exile. The differences, however, are equally striking. While Hannibal was born in the station which he occupied, and above which he never sought to rise, (for he was one of the very few successful commanders who entertained no ulterior personal views;) Napoleon, on the contrary, was raised by circumstances which opened opportunities such as he could not have originally contemplated, and which probably only awakened his ambition as they came. Though they both died in exile, the one was banished by his successful antagonists; the other by his countrymen, instigated by the restless enmity of the Romans, from which he escaped only by suicide. Hannibal's character is much more favourably drawn by Polybius. (See lib. ix.)

⁵ *Hamilcarem, deinde Hasdrubalem.* Both these generals died in Spain; the former naturally, after

a command of nine years in the Peninsula; the latter, who succeeded, by the hand of an assassin. Hasdrubal was suspected of having designed the establishment of a sovereignty in Spain, in which he had been disappointed at home.

⁶ *Ultra Iberum.*] That is, south of the Ebro, below which the Carthaginian territories principally lay. The places mentioned in this chapter were situated in that part of Hispania Tarraconensis, now known as the districts of Valencia, Catalonia, and Arragon, which is divided from east to west by the Ebro.

⁷ *In parte magis, quam in ditione.*] "On the side, (i. e. within the geographical limits,) rather than under the dominion of."

⁸ *Jungendo.*] "By a process of annexation." This explains *rerum serie*, "the succession of events."

⁹ *Carteiam urbem.*] There must have been two places of this name. That most generally known was near Gibraltar, (now St. Roque.) The name in Polybius is *Althæa*.

¹ *Carthaginem novam.*] Carthage, now the principal sea-port in Murcia, and a convict station, was built by Hasdrubal. It was taken by Scipio (Africanus) towards the close of the war.

Ibi large partiendo prædam, stipendio præterito cum fide exsolvendo, cunctis civium sociorumque animis in se firmatis, vere primo in Vaccæos promotum bellum. Hermandica et Arbocala urbes vi captæ. Arbocala et virtute et multitudine oppidanorum diu defensa. Ab Hermandica profugi², exsulibus Olcadum, priore æstate domitæ gentis, quum se junxissent, concitant Carpetanos: adortique Hannibalem, regressum ex Vaccæis, haud procul Tago flumine agmen grave præda turbavere. Hannibal proelio abstinuit; castrisque super ripam positis, quum prima quies silentiumque ab hostibus fuit, annem vado trajecit: valloque ita producto³, ut locum ad transgrediendum hostes haberent, invadere eos transeuntes statuit. Equitibus præcepit, ut, quum ingressos aquam viderent, adorirentur.. Peditum agmen in ripa, elephantos⁴ ante quadraginta dispositi.

² *Ab Herm. profugi.*] “The refugees from Hermandica, after joining the exiles,” &c.

³ *Valloque ita producto.*] “And withdrawing his entrenchments so far (sc. from the river), that the enemy,” &c.

⁴ *Elephantos.*] The earliest historical allusions to the use of elephants in war are those of Herodotus, who mentions them in connexion with his visit to Babylon, (B.C. 450.) and of Ctesias, who wrote about half a century later. The practice of taming elephants was one of very remote antiquity in the East; but the Greeks never encountered them in war until the expedition of Alexander, when they met a few at the battle of Arbela, which were captured; (Arrian. lib. 3.) as were also great numbers of those subsequently brought into action by Porus on the banks of the Hydaspes. Of this engagement a detailed and interesting account is given by Q. Curtius, (lib. 7.) Alexander however appears not to have employed them in his own ranks, considering them, “at the best, but a dangerous resource,” though he used them as *jumenta*, and appointed an officer, named ἐλεφαράρχος, for their superintendence. It was in the Tarentine war with Pyrrhus that the Romans first met them in battle, (at Heraclea, B.C. 280.) when four were

captured, and taken in triumph to Rome. In the first Punic war, Regulus took 18 elephants at the battle of Adis; and at the siege of Panormus, the Carthaginians are said to have had not less than 140, of which 100 were taken by Metellus, and conveyed on a large raft across the straits to Rhegium. Those employed by Hannibal on this occasion perished, as might have been expected in a climate so un congenial to an animal naturally suited only to warmth and moisture, during or immediately after the crossing of the Alps, where

“The war-horse reared, and the towered elephant
Upturned his trunk into the murky sky;
Then tumbled headlong, swallowed up,
and lost.” (Rogers.)

A fresh importation from Africa was afterwards employed at Cannæ; but the Romans had learned, before then, to take advantage of the dread with which the elephant regards fire, and to arm themselves with lighted brands, (as described by Silius Italicus.) They also wore corslets bristling with iron spikes, which the elephants could not encircle with their trunks. In the treaty of peace which followed the battle of Zama, the Carthaginians undertook to surrender all their elephants, and to discontinue the practice of taming them. Still the Romans never used them to any noticeable extent as an arm of war,

Carpetanorum cum appendicibus⁶ Olcadum Vaccæorumque centum millia fuere; invicta acies, si æquo dimicaretur campo. Itaque et ingenio feroce, et multitudine freti, et, quod metu cessisse⁶ credebant hostem, id morari victoriam rati, quod interesset amnis, clamore sublato, passim sine ullius imperio, qua cuique proximum est, in amnem ruunt. Et ex parte altera ripæ vis ingens equitum in flumen immissa, medioque alveo haudquaque pari certamine concussum; quippe ubi pedes instabilis, ac vix vado fidens, vel ab inermi equite, equo temere acto, perverti posset: eques, corpore armisque liber, equo vel per medios gurgites stabili, cominus eminusque rem gereret. . Pars magna fluamine absumpta: quidam, vorticoso amni delati in hostes, ab elephantis obtriti sunt: postremi, quibus regressus in suam ripam tutior fuit, ex varia trepidatione quum in unum colligerentur, priusquam ex tanto pavore reciperent animos, Hannibal, agmine quadrato amnem ingressus, fugam ex ripa fecit⁷: vastatisque agris, intra paucos dies Carpetanos quoque in ditionem accepit. Et jam omnia trans Ibe-

until the time of Aurelian's memorable triumph over Zenobia; (A.D. 274.) though they had frequently formed a conspicuous object in triumphal processions, (e. g. in those of Pompey the Great and Metellus,) and in the exhibitions of the amphitheatre; for which Germanicus Cæsar is said to have had a troop of them so perfectly trained, that they performed a Pyrrhic dance in time to music, walked on tight ropes, played ball, and beat cymbals.

In Asiatic India, from the very earliest times, through all the wars of the Hindu and Mohammedan princes, down to the time of Tippoo Sahib, they formed a principal arm of war, as well as a conspicuous element in all solemn pageantry. Their service in the field was nearly analogous to that of artillery, in breaking large masses of troops, and breaching fortifications, which they accomplished by blows of their foreheads armed for the purpose. In battle they were frequently covered with plates of metal; their tusks pointed with iron spikes, and swords tied on their trunks: and of elephants thus equipped, the native Indian armies contained troops of 12,000 to 20,000; but their fury,

when galled by missiles, was so frequently turned upon their own party, that they could never be considered a safe dependence. It is unnecessary to add, that they have been altogether superseded by firearms, and are now used in India only for the transport of the heavy baggage that usually accompanies an army in the East. From the fall of the Western Empire to the establishment of European settlements in India, the elephant was so totally unknown in Europe, that one which was sent as a present by Haroun al Raschid to Charlemagne, was regarded as the great wonder of the time.

The name of this animal is so like a Greek word, that some absurd etymologies have been suggested by the supposition. The word, however, is oriental, and signifies literally, "child of the sun."

⁵ *Cum appendicibus.*] "With the contingents."

⁶ *Et quod metu cessisse.*] "And, as they believed the enemy to have retreated through fear, imagining the interposition of the river to be the only impediment to victory."

⁷ *Fugam ex ripa fecit.*] i. e. fugavit.

rum, præter Saguntinos, Carthaginiensium erant. [✓]Cum Saguntinis bellum nondum erat: ceterum jam belli causa certamina cum finitimis serebantur, maxime Turdetanis. Quibus quum adesset idem⁸, qui litis erat sator, nec certamen juris, sed vim quæri appareret; legati a Saguntinis Romam missi, auxilium ad bellum jam haud dubie imminens orantes. Consules tunc Romæ erant P. Cornelius Scipio et Ti. Sempronius Longus. Qui quum⁹, legatis in senatum introductis, de republica retulissent, placuisseque mitti legatos in Hispaniam, ad res sociorum inspiciendas; quibus si videretur digna causa, et Hannibali denuntiarent, ut ab Saguntinis, sociis populi Romani, abstineret, et Carthaginem in Africam trajicerent, ac sociorum populi Romani querimonias deferrent: hac legatione decreta, neendum missa, omnium spe celerius Saguntum oppugnari allatum est. Tunc relata ex integro res ad senatum. Alii, provincias consulibus Hispaniam atque Africam decernentes, terra marique rem gerendam censebant: alii totum in Hispaniam Hannibalemque intendebant bellum¹. Erant, qui non temere movendam rem tantam, exspectandosque ex Hispania legatos censerent. Hæc sententia, quæ tutissima videbatur, vicit: legatique eo maturius missi, P. Valerius Flaccus et Q. Baebius Tamphilus, Saguntum ad Hannibalem, atque inde Carthaginem, si non absisteretur bello², ad ducem ipsum in pœnam foederis rupti deponendum.

Dum ea Romani parant consultantque, jam Saguntum

6.

U. C. 536.
A. C. 218.

7.

⁸ *Quibus quum adesset idem &c.]* “For, as he was approaching them, who was, himself, the promoter of the quarrel; and as it was evident that the object was not a question of right, but an outrage,” &c. The Turdetani inhabited that part of Spain now known as Andalusia.

⁹ *Qui quum.]* The absence of an apodosis to the conjunction renders this long sentence an anacoluthon: the epitasis is repeated below in *hac legatione decretid*, and the apodosis at last begins at *omnium*: thus in English, “And when they, introducing the ambassadors to the senate, called attention to the position of the government, and when it was resolved that ambassadors be sent into Spain, to examine the condition of the allies, and that they might, &c. &c.—when this embassy was sanctioned, but not yet sent; intelligence arrived,” &c.

¹ *Intendebant bellum.]* Observe the force of the imperfect: “Others wished to direct (were for directing) hostilities exclusively against Hannibal.”

² *Si non absisteretur bello.]* “In case the war were not discontinued.”

Chap. vii. The sieges of antiquity, many of which are memorable for the desperate obstinacy of the defenders and the ingenuity of the assailants, present on the average more features of romantic interest, than those of modern warfare. Individual heroism, daring experiments, and lucky accidents, more frequently influenced and diversified the results; while, as we approach our own times, the various applications of science, and the observance of certain fixed rules, render the capture of any stronghold a matter of eventual certainty; and a timely surrender, in the absence of external aid, more advisable, than that per-

U.C. 536. summa vi oppugnabatur. Civitas ea longe opulentissima
A.C. 218. ultra lberum fuit, sita passus mille ferme a mari. Oriundi

severance, amid extreme sufferings and privations, which the uncertainty of the issue suggested to the garrisons of ancient times.

Among the ancients, the usual course of operation was a *cordon* of circumvallation, whenever the features of the ground rendered it practicable, and the garrison declined a battle. Of this process, the most remarkable instance will be found in Cæsar's account of the siege of Alesia. (B. G. vii. 72.) Battering engines are said to have been first used either by Pericles at the siege of Samos, or by the Carthaginians at Gades; if they were not employed many centuries previously by Sesostris the Egyptian in his extensive conquests; and before the general use of these and rolling towers, assaults were frequently made over unbroken ramparts; while long mines, or tunnels, were sometimes carried, from points outside the walls, even into the citadels of invested towns, (as by the Romans at the siege of Veii.) The invention of gunpowder^a altered the whole system: low bastions and curtains, and still more recently, immense earth-works, have superseded the high walls and towers of former times; and extensive devastation can be now effected inside, without even approaching fortifications.

A review of a few of the most memorable sieges on record, will illustrate the gradual progress of military science, from the original tediousness and uncertainty of such operations, to the expedition and accurate calculations of the present system.

The sieges of Troy, Eira, and Ithomè, which lasted several years, and terminated either in mutual exhaustion, accident, or compromise,

proved, that, in the infancy of war, strong walls were insuperable obstacles. Of the sieges recorded by Herodotus, the most remarkable are those of Phœcæa and Babylon. From the former, the inhabitants, despairing of relief against Harpagus, embarked in the night with their families and movable property, and committed the choice of a new home to the accidents of waves and winds. Into the latter, Cyrus effected an entrance by drawing off the waters of the Euphrates into an artificial channel, and passing his troops through the shallow bed, which ran under the walls, and intersected the city. In this case, it was the security of the inhabitants that caused their capture; for, had they only closed the gates that opened from the ends of the streets upon the banks, they might have destroyed the Persian army.

The siege of Platæa, as described by Thucydides, (ii. 71; iii. 52.) presents the earliest instance of an attempt on the part of the besiegers to out-build the besieged. The Spartans raised a wall, consisting of a double line of planks, filled in with clay, all round the town walls. This the Platæans undermined, and withdrew the clay, so that the filling sank as fast as it was thrown in; but, as this operation could not be indefinitely continued, the circumvallation was at last raised to a commanding height; and an attempt made to set fire to the city so alarmed the defenders, that 300 men, out of the 500 composing the garrison, escaped in a stormy night over both walls, and joined their friends in Athens. The rest surrendered, and were massacred in cold blood by the assailants; an act paralleled only by the massacre of the Athenians at

^a Powder had been used, from a very remote era, in the East, especially in China, for ornamental and engineering fire-works. In Europe, its use in military operations began early in the fourteenth century; it was introduced by the Moors, and used by the King of Grenada at the siege of Boza, (A.D. 1312.) The Genoese first used it in mines, at the siege of Seranessa, (A.D. 1487.) Shells and mortars were first used by Malatesta of Rimini, (A.D. 1467.)

a Zacyntho insula dicuntur, mixtique etiam ab Ardea U.C. 556.
Rutulorum quidam generis. Ceterum in tantas brevi A.C. 218.

Ægos Potamos, and that of the Turkish prisoners at Jaffa by the French.

The siege of Tyre by Alexander of Macedon, and that of Syracuse by Marcellus, also present interesting examples of ingenuity in attack and defence. In these we find, as new features, the effects of rolling towers, and a blockade by sea. Tyre was besieged immediately after the battle of Issus. The town was situated on an island, and, as the Phœnician fleet was formidable, the Macedonians undertook the labour of running out a mole, which, from the description given by Q. Curtius (iv. 3.) and Arrian (ii. 19.), must have closely resembled the Plymouth Breakwater. The workmen were galled by missiles from the walls, which were about 150 feet high, (nearly the height of the fortifications of Malta;) and the towers which they built for their protection, and covered with raw hides as a defence against fire-spears, were burned by the *brûlots* of the Tyrians. At length, the mole itself, being floored with timber, was set on fire; and just as the Macedonians were about to raise the siege in despair, their fleet was sufficiently reinforced to attempt the place by sea. Towers were now raised on boats, to command the walls; and these again were outbuilt by others erected on the walls; artificial banks were constructed to prevent boats from contact with the sea-walls, and these were removed under showers of missiles from the towers: the ships' cables were cut by divers, and replaced by iron chains. At last, a breach was effected on the south (the sea) side, and the assault successfully led by Alexander in person.

By far the most singular of all such contests, was that maintained by Archimedes against Cl. Marcellus. In this case the assaulting galleries raised on ships were broken by loaded levers, to which a rotatory motion was imparted, so that they acted like slings: ships were raised

into the air by levers and cranes, and when let fall suddenly, were swamped, or set on fire by burning lenses. Missiles of crushing weight were cast from the walls by engines before unknown; and the walls themselves were bored with loop-holes, through which the assailants alone could be wounded. The town was eventually taken on the land side, through the negligence of a sentry.

Passing on to a more interesting period, the interval of transition from the ancient to the modern system, we find, mingled together, all the chivalrous adventure of the classic times, and the recently discovered, but yet undeveloped, agencies of science, and ancient and modern engineering curiously alternating. The best examples of sieges of this character are perhaps those of Leyden, Haerlem, and Ostend, in the Dutch war with Spain at the close of the sixteenth century. When the inhabitants of Leyden were reduced to such extremity of suffering by famine and pestilence, that conspiracies were formed for surrendering to the royalists, whose fortresses formed a *cordon* around them; the startling suggestion of inundating the city, in order to drown the Spaniards, and give access to their own fleet laden with provisions, was made by Admiral Brissot, and unanimously adopted. The ditches were cut; the flood tide, on which they had calculated, rolled in; and the city assumed the appearance of a large raft partially sunk. The Dutch vessels in the mean time floated round the walls, and their gun-boats destroyed the Spanish forts, of which the upper stories alone were visible. This sacrifice recalls to mind the abandonment of their city by the Athenians before the battle of Salamis; while both are surpassed in interest by the voluntary destruction of Moscow by its inhabitants in 1812.

At Ostend, which is similarly situated with Leyden, a considerable number of the assailants were

U.C. 536. creverant opes, seu maritimis, seu terrestribus fructibus, seu
 A.C. 218. multitudinis incremento, seu sanctitate disciplinæ³, qua
 fidem socialem usque ad perniciem suam coluerunt. Hannibal, infesto exercitu ingressus fines, pervastatis passim
 agris, urbem tripartito aggreditur. Angulus muri erat⁴ in
 planiorem patentioremque, quam cetera circa, vallem ver-
 gens. Adversus eum vineas agere instituit, per quas aries
 moenibus admovevi posset. Sed ut locus⁵ procul muro
 satis æquus agendis vineis fuit; ita haudquaquam prospere,
 postquam ad effectum operis ventum est, coeptis succedebat.
 Et turris ingens imminebat: et murus, ut in suspecto loco,
 supra ceteræ modum altitudinis emunitus erat: et juventus
 delecta, ubi plurimum periculi ac laboris ostendebatur, ibi
 vi majore obsistebant. Ac primo missilibus summovere
 hostem, nec quicquam satis tutum munientibus pati.

drowned by drawing the sluices and flooding a chanel which they had forded in approaching the walls. The defence was so obstinately maintained by retrenching, (i. e. by opposing new barriers inside those which were successfully destroyed, as at Saguntum,) that a surrender was at length made; only however when there remained nothing more to defend; and, when the besiegers entered, they found only a confused heap of ruins, in which it was impossible to distinguish the site of any remarkable building.

The capture and devastation of Magdeburg in the thirty years' war was another obstinate struggle, the description of which by Harte (in the Life of Gustavus Adolphus) will amply repay the trouble of perusal. It was here that the successful commander (General Tilly) repeated over the scattered ruins the line from Virgil,

Fuit Ilium et ingens gloria Parthenope,"

substituting for the name in the original, *Parthenope*, which is a literal translation of *Magdeburg*, signifying "the maiden city." It was the same sentiment of pity for fallen greatness that reminded Mohammed II. when walking over the ruins of Constantinople, of the lines of Sadi,

The spider weaves his web in the halls of the kings,

"And the owl keeps watch upon the towers of Afrasiab,"

and softened Marcellus and Scipio to tears over the ruins of Syracuse and Carthage.

But, of all the sieges of later times, no one presents more points of resemblance to that of Saguntum, than the second siege of Saragoza, where, as described by Napier, every house was a fortress, the end of every street a battery; where the subterranean operations were almost as extensive as those on the surface, and every foot of ground was disputed, even after the fortifications were crumbled down.

³ *Seu sanctitate disciplinæ, &c.*] "Or, by that integrity of moral principle, with which they maintained their loyalty as allies, even to their own destruction."

⁴ *Angulus muri erat.*] The verb is not to be taken with *vergens*, which would be contrary to the Latin idiom; but thus, "There was an angle of the wall, abutting upon a plain," &c.

⁵ *Sed ut locus—ita &c.* "But although the ground at a distance from the walls was sufficiently level for the erection of mantelets; still, when they came to actual operations, it did not" &c. For this three reasons are assigned, viz. "a high tower commanded it; the wall, as the situation was exposed, had been raised above the average of its height in other places; and, the flower of the troops," &c.

Deinde jam non pro mœnibus modo atque turri tela micare, U. C. 536.
 sed ad erumpendum etiam in stationes operaque hostium A. C. 218.
 animus erat: quibus tumultuariis certaminibus haud ferme
 plures⁶ Saguntini cadebant, quam Poeni. Ut vero Hannibal
 ipse, dum murum incautius subit, adversum femur tragula⁷
 graviter ictus cecidit; tanta circa fuga ac trepidatio fuit, ut
 non multum abesset, quin opera ac vineæ desererentur.
 Obsidio deinde per paucos dies⁸ magis, quam oppugnatio,
 fuit, dum vulnus ducis curaretur: per quod tempus ut quies
 certaminum erat, ita ab apparatu operum ac munitionum
 nihil cessatum. Itaque acrius de integro obortum est
 bellum, pluribusque partibus, vix accipientibus⁹ quibusdam
 opera locis, vineæ cœptæ agi, admoverique aries. Abun-
 dabat multitudine hominum Poenus; ad centum enim quin-
 quaginta millia habuisse in armis satis creditur. Oppidani
 ad omnia tuenda atque obeunda multifariam distineri cœpti
 sunt: et non sufficiebant¹. Jam enim feriebantur arietibus
 muri, quassatæque multæ partes erant. Una continentibus
 ruinis² nudaverat urbem: tres deinceps turres, quantumque
 inter eas muri erat, cum fragore ingenti prociderant: cap-
 tumque oppidum ea ruina crediderant Poeni; qua, velut si³
 pariter utrosque murus texisset, ita utrimque in pugnam
 procursum est. Nihil tumultuariæ pugnæ simile erat,
 quales in oppugnationibus urbium per occasionem partis
 alterius⁴ conseri solent: sed justæ acies, velut patenti campo,
 inter ruinas muri tectaque urbis modico distantia intervallo
 constiterant. Hinc spes, hinc desperatio animos irritat:
 Poeno cepisse jam se urbem, si paullulum annitatur, credente;
 Saguntinis pro nudata mœnibus patria corpora opponenti-
 bus, nec ullo pedem referente, ne in relictum a se locum
 hostem immitteret. Itaque quo acrius et confertimagis
 utrimque pugnabant, eo plures vulnerabantur, nullo inter
 arma corporaque vano intercidente telo. Falarica erat
 Saguntinis⁵, missile telum hastili abiegeo, et cetera tereti,

⁶ *Haud ferme plures.*] “Not walls, too, were beginning to give more in general (scarcely more) of the Saguntines fell, than of the Carthaginians.”

⁷ *Tragula.*] The peculiarity of this weapon was a barbed head, which prevented extraction.

⁸ *Deinde per paucos dies.*] “During the next few days.”

⁹ *Vix accipientibus.*] “Though the ground in some places scarcely admitted of operations.”

¹ *Et non sufficiebant &c.*] “And were beginning to fail,” sc. in numbers. In some editions this verb is carried on to the nom. *muri*: “The

walls, too, were beginning to give way.”

² *Una (pars sc.) continentibus ruinis &c.*] “One portion had exposed the city by an extended breach.”

³ *Quid (ruind sc.) velut si.*] “At which fall (whereupon) a rush to battle took place on both sides, as though” &c.

⁴ *Per occasionem partis alterius.*] “As an opportunity was offered on either side.”

⁵ *Falarica erat Saguntinis.*] “The Saguntines had (or, used) the fire-lance,” &c. The description of this

U. C. 536. præterquam ad extremum, unde ferrum exstabat. Id, sicut
A. C. 218. in pilo, quadratum stuppa circumligabant, linebantque pice.

Ferrum autem tres longum habebat pedes, ut cum armis
transfigere corpus posset. Sed id maxime, etiamsi hæsisset
in scuto, nec penetrasset in corpus, pavorem faciebat ;
quod, quum medium accensum mitteretur, conceptumque
ipso motu multo majorem ignem ferret, arma omitti cogebat,
nudumque militem ad insequentes ictus præbebat. Quum
diu anceps fuisse certamen, et Saguntinis, quia præter
spem resisterent, crevissent animi ; Poenus, quia non
vicisset⁶, pro victo esset: clamorem repente oppidani tollunt,
hostemque in ruinas muri expellunt; inde impeditum tre-
pidantemque exturbant; postremo fusum fugatumque in
castra redigunt. -

9. Interim ab Roma legatos venisse nuntiatum est: quibus
obviam ad mare missi ab Hannibale, qui dicerent, nec tuto
eos adituros inter tot tam efferatarum gentium arma: nec
Hannibali, in tanto discriminе rerum, operæ esse⁷ legationes
audire. Apparebat, non admissos protinus Carthaginem
ituros. Literas igitur nuntiosque ad principes factionis
Barcinæ præmittit, ut præpararent suorum animos, ne
quid pars altera gratificari pro Romanis⁸ posset. Itaque,
præterquam quod admissi auditique sunt, ea quoque vana
atque irrita legatio fuit. Hanno unus adverso senatu causam
fœderis, magno silentio⁹ propter auctoritatem suam, non as-
sensu audientium, egit. 'Per deos, fœderum arbitros ac
' testes, monuisse, prædixisse¹ se, ne Hamilcaris progeniem
' ad exercitum mitterent.. Non Manes, non stirpem ejus
' conquiescere viri: nec unquam, donec sanguinis nominis-
' que Barcini quisquam supersit, quietura Romana fœdera².

in the text may probably need explanation. The handle (*hastile*) was round (*teres*), except at the end where the blade was inserted: that extremity (*id*), which was square, like the same part of the javelin, was bandaged with hemp; and the blade was three feet long, &c. "But this circumstance especially (*id maximè*) rendered it formidable, even without its penetrating the body; that, as it was thrown half on fire (*medium accensum*), and gathered much more fire, kindled by its flight, it obliged," &c.

⁶ *Pœnus, quia non vicisset, &c.*] "This clause, as well as the two preceding, follows the conjunction, sc. "and as the Carthaginian was regarded as defeated, because he had not succeeded."

⁷ *Nec Hannibali—operæ esse,*] "And that Hannibal had no time," &c.

⁸ *Gratificari pro Romanis.*] "To cultivate interest on behalf of the Romans." The text is considered corrupt by Perizonius, who proposes to remove either *pro* or *Romanis*; regarding the former as the initials (*p. Ro.*) of *populo Romano*; and the latter as a marginal note, explaining them.

⁹ *Magno silentio.*] *Silentium* signifies here, absence of opposition, "deference."

¹ *Monuisse, prædixisse.*] "That he had" (on a former occasion) "advised and warned them," &c.

² *Quietura Romana fœdera.*] "Their treaties with Rome would never be safe from violation."

' Juvenem flagrantem cupidine regni, viamque unam ad id U.C. 536.
 ' cernentem, si ex bellis bella serendo succinctus armis A.C. 218.
 ' legionibusque vivat, velut materiam igni præbentes, ad
 ' exercitus misistis³. Aluistis ergo hoc incendium, quo
 ' nunc ardetis. Saguntum vestri circumsident exercitus,
 ' unde arcentur foedere: mox Carthaginem circumsidebunt
 ' Romanæ legiones, ducibus iisdem diis, per quos priore
 ' bello erupta foedera sunt ulti. Utrum hostem, an vos⁴, an
 ' fortunam utriusque populi ignoratis? Legatos, ab sociis et
 ' pro sociis venientes, bonus imperator vester in castra non
 ' admisit, jus gentium sustulit. Hi tamen, unde⁵ ne hostium
 ' quidem legati arcentur, pulsi ad vos veniunt, res ex foedere
 ' repetunt. Publica fraus absit; auctorem culpæ et reum
 ' criminis depositum. Quo lenius agunt, segnius incipiunt;
 ' eo, quum coeperint, vereor, ne perseverantius sæviant.
 ' Ægates insulas Erycemque ante oculos proponite: quæ
 ' terra marique per quattuor et viginti annos passi sitis.
 ' Nec puer hic dux erat, sed pater ipse Hamilcar, Mars alter,
 ' ut isti volunt. Sed tunc Tarento⁶, id est Italia, non ab-
 ' stinueramus ex foedere: sicut nunc Sagunto non abstine-
 ' mus. Vicerunt ergo dii hominesque; et id, de quo verbis
 ' ambigebatur, uter populus foedus rupisset⁷, eventus belli,
 ' velut æquus judex, unde jus stabat, ei victoriam dedit.
 ' Carthagini nunc Hannibal vineas turresque admovet:
 ' Carthaginis⁸ mœnia quatit ariete, Sagunti ruinæ (falsus

³ *Juvenem—misistis.*] It will be observed, that the historian makes a transition from the *oratio obliqua*; and, through the rest of the speech, seems to report the actual words of Hanno.

⁴ *Utrum hostem, an vos, &c.*] Observe the emphasis, “Is it your enemy, or yourselves, or,” &c.

⁵ *Hi tamen, unde.*] Before *unde*, which is a relative, we must understand *unde* with *pu/si*; sc. “refused admittance (there) whence even the ambassadors of enemies are not excluded;” or, *unde* may be regarded as a relative to *vos*; “to you, by whom,” &c. or, “coming from a place (sc. from Rome) whence,” &c.

⁶ *Sed Tarento.*] Hanno’s argument is this: when we suffered so many losses under a commander, such as his party represent Hamilcar to have been, are we not infatuated to incur the chance of their repetition, under a less experienced general, and of being punished for our pre-

sent assault on Saguntum, as we were for our interference in the affairs of Tarentum? It does not appear, however, that any act of hostility had been committed on that occasion by Carthage. When the Tarentines were besieged by Papirius, they secretly invited the assistance of the Carthaginians, who sent a fleet from Sicily; but Milo, the commander of the garrison, had in the mean time effected an arrangement with the besiegers; and having secured his own retreat, and that of the Epirote garrison, left the citizens to their fate.

⁷ *Id, de quo verbis ambigebatur, uter populus foedus rupisset.*] This clause is parenthetic; thus, “and (with respect to the subject of the verbal discussion, as to which nation had broken the truce)” &c.

⁸ *Carthagini—Carthaginis.*] The emphatic position of these words requires a prominent position for them in translation; thus, “It is to

U. C. 536. 'utinam vates sim) nostris capitibus incident, susceptumque
 A. C. 218. 'cum Saguntinis bellum habendum cum Romanis est.

'Dedemus ergo Hannibalem? dicet aliquis. Scio, meam
 'levem esse in eo auctoritatem propter paternas inimicitias.
 'Sed et Hamilcarem eo perisse lætatus sum, quod, si ille
 'viveret, bellum jam cum Romanis haberemus; et hunc
 'juvenem, tanquam furiam facemque hujus belli, odi ac
 'detestor. Nec dedendum solum id piaculum⁹ rupti
 'fœderis; sed, si nemo deposcat, devehendum in ultimas¹
 'maris terrarumque oras, ablegandumque eo, unde nec ad
 'nos nomen famaque ejus accedere, neque sollicitare quietæ
 'civitatis statum possit. Ego ita censeo, legatos extemplo
 'Romanum mittendos, qui senatui satisfaciant: alios, qui
 'Hannibali nuntient, ut exercitum ab Sagunto abducat,
 'ipsumque Hannibalem ex foedere Romanis dedant:
 'tertiam legationem ad res Saguntinis reddendas decerno.'

11. Quum Hanno perorasset, nemini omnium certare oratione
 cum eo necesse fuit: adeo prope omnis senatus Hannibal is
 erat; infestiusque locutum arguebant Hannonem, quam
 Flaccum Valerium, legatum Romanum. Responsum inde
 legatis Romanis est, 'Bellum ortum ab Saguntinis, non ab
 'Hannibale esse. Populum Romanum injuste facere, si
 'Saguntinos vetustissimæ Carthaginiensium societati² præ-
 'ponat.'

Dum Romani tempus terunt legationibus mittendis,
 Hannibal; quia fessum militem prœliis operibusque habe-
 bat³, paucorum iis dierum quietem dedit, stationibus ad
 custodiam vinearum aliorumque operum dispositis. Interim
 animos eorum nunc ira in hostes stimulando, nunc spe
 præmiorum accendit. Ut vero pro concione prædam
 captæ urbis edixit militum fore, adeo accensi omnes sunt,
 ut, si extemplo signum datum esset, nulla vi resisti videre-

Carthage that Hannibal is now ap-
 plying, &c.; they are the walls of
 Carthage that he is," &c.

⁹ *Id piaculum.*] i. e. ut sit pro
 piaculo.

¹ *Devehendum in ultimas, &c.*] As the speeches composed by the
 ancient historians are only artistically
 true, it is more probable that Livy
 attributes to Hanno a proposition
 subsequently carried into effect by
 Roman diplomacy, than that Hanno
 had, at this time, actually foreseen
 any possibility of effecting it.

² *Vetustissimæ Carthaginiensium
 societati.*] The first treaty between
 Rome and Carthage was concluded

immediately before the expulsion of
 the Tarquins (B.C. 509.), and was
 almost purely commercial. The
 terms were, that the Romans should
 not frequent the coast of Africa be-
 yond Carthage; or, if obliged by
 accident, remain longer than five
 days; security of access for purposes
 of trade to Sardinia and Sicily; and
 non-interference on the part of Car-
 thage with Ardea, Antium, Laurentum,
 Circeii, Terracina, and the
 Latin territory in general, with free-
 dom of residence for one night only.

³ *Fessum militem—habebat.*] "Was
 keeping his soldiers in a state of
 fatigue."

tur posse⁴. Saguntini ut⁵ a proeliis quietem habuerant, nec U.C. 536.
lacecentes, nec laccessiti per aliquot dies; ita non nocte, A.C. 218.
non die unquam cessaverunt ab opere, ut novum murum
ab ea parte, qua patefactum oppidum ruinis erat, reficerent.
Inde oppugnatio eos aliquanto atrocior, quam ante, adorta
est: nec, qua primum aut potissimum parte ferrent opem,
quum omnia variis clamoribus streperent, satis scire⁶ pote-
rant. Ipse Hannibal, qua turris mobilis⁷ omnia munimenta
urbis superans altitudine, agebatur, hortator aderat. Quæ
quum admota, catapultis ballistisque per omnia tabulata
dispositis, muros defensoribus nudasset; tum Hannibal,
occasionem ratus, quingentos ferme Afros cum dolabris ad
subruendum ab imo murum mittit: nec erat difficile opus,
quod cæmenta non calce⁸ durata erant, sed interlita luto,

⁴ *Nulla vi resisti videbatur posse.]* “That it seemed impossible that resistance could be offered by any force.”

⁵ *Saguntini ut—ita.]* “Though the Saguntines had been enjoying a respite from hostilities, neither giving nor receiving molestation for several days, yet they never desisted, either by day or night, from the work of renewing the walls, where,” &c.

⁶ *Satis scire.]* “Easily (or well) determine.”

⁷ *Turris mobilis.]* “A rolling tower.” These engines frequently combined all the others known at the time; containing among the rest, a battering-ram in the lower story, and were counteracted, with an unwearyed ingenuity, by pit-falls, wool-packs, nooses, and fire-lances. They continued in general use until the adoption of gunpowder, and even for some time after the first rude applications of that invention. They are said to have been used by Edward III. of England, in the invasion of Scotland, and by the Parliamentary troops at the siege of Corfe castle.

The difference between *catapulta* and *balista* is seldom accurately stated, and in the supposed identity of the names, was for some time and by several commentators supposed to exist only in the relative size and power of the engines. The former, however, being a modification of the sling, threw stones; while

the latter, on the principle of the bow, discharged large arrows, and was the prototype of the mediæval *arbalet*, or cross-bow, which was brought to such remarkable perfection by the French and Genoese. The recoil of twisted ropes, aided by steel springs, was the propelling power in both engines. Another instrument of the same sort was the *onager*, which differed from the others in acting vertically, so that the missile (generally a stone) described a curve like that of a shell.

The various modifications of those engines, known in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, bore the names of scorpion, mangonel, trebuchet, petracy, robinet, matagriffon, bri-colle, beugle, espringale, matafunda, ribandequin, engine-a-verge, and war-wolf. A catapulta was used at the defence of Gibraltar, by General Melville, for the purpose of throwing stones over the edge of the rock upon a spot inside the range of shot and shells. The *aries* acted by repeated vibrations, the effect of which resembled that of the measured step of a regiment on a suspension bridge, or, of the repetition of its own musical note upon a glass vessel. It has been supposed that the fable of the wooden horse at Troy is to be allegorically understood as an allusion to this ancient artillery, the invention of which is attributed to the Phœnicians.

⁸ *Cæmenta non calce, &c.]* “The masonry had not been cemented with

U.C. 536. structuræ antiquæ genere. Itaque latius, quam cædere-
 A.C. 218. ruebat: perque patentia ruinis⁹ agmina armatorum in
 urbem vadebant. Locum quoque editum capiunt: colla-
 tisque eo catapultis ballistisque, ut castellum in ipsa urbe
 velut arcem imminentem haberent, muro circumdant: et
 Saguntini murum¹ interiorem ab nondum capta urbis parte
 ducunt. Utrumque summa vi et muniunt², et pugnant:
 sed, interiora tuendo, minorem in dies urbem Saguntini
 faciunt. Simul crescit inopia omnium longa obsidione, et
 minuitur exspectatio externæ opis; quum tam procul Ro-
 mani, unica spes, circa omnia hostium essent³. Paullisper
 tamen affectos animos recreavit repentina profectio Hanni-
 balis in Oretanos Carpetanosque: qui duo populi⁴, delectus
 acerbitate consternati, retentis conqueritoribus, metum de-
 fectionis quum præbuissent, oppressi celeritate Hannibalis,
 omiserunt mota arma. Nec⁵ Sagunti oppugnatio segnior
 erat, Maharbale, Himilconis filio, (eum præfecerat Hanni-
 bal) ita impigre rem agente, ut ducem abesse nec cives, nec
 hostes sentirent. Is et prælia aliquot secunda fecit, et
 tribus arietibus aliquantum muri discussit⁶; strataque omnia
 recentibus ruinis⁷ advenienti Hannibali ostendit. Itaque
 ad ipsam arcem extemplo ductus exercitus, atroxque præ-
 lium cum multorum utrumque cæde initum, et pars arcis
 capta est.

Tentata deinde per duos est exigua pacis spes, Alconem

lime, but merely fixed together with clay. The ruin was, therefore, more extensive than the actual breach."

⁹ *Per patentia ruinis.*] "Through the apertures of the ruins."

¹ *Et Saguntini murum, &c.*] "While the Saguntines erected an inner wall before the portion of the city not yet taken." This operation is technically called "retrenching."

² *Muniunt.*] "Built." *Munire* is applied to engineering works in general, roads, quarries, &c. See ch. xxxvii.

³ *Circa omnia hostium essent.*] "And when all around them was in possession of the enemy."

⁴ *Qui duo populi.*] "But, although these two tribes, alarmed by the severity of the conscription, had excited apprehensions of revolt by seizing the recruiting parties, they were put down by," &c. From this allusion it may be inferred, that the condition of the provincial subjects of Carthage, as regarded mili-

tary service, was very different from that of the Roman provincials, who were employed merely as mercenaries. The position of the Italian allies was peculiar. Their troops were paid by Rome, and provisioned by their own cities only in cases of emergency; while the amount of their contingents was definite and fixed.

⁵ *Nec* connects the succeeding sentence with the last of the preceding chapter; i. e. notwithstanding Hannibal's absence, the siege was forwarded with the same activity as before. The comparative *segnior* may also have reference to *celeritate*: i. e. the activity of the besiegers was not less than that of Hannibal in suppressing the insurrection.

⁶ *Discussit.*] Drakenborch's text has *decussit*, which is the phrase more generally used by Livy, in similar passages.

⁷ *Strataque omnia recentibus ruinis.*] "A general scene of fresh ruins."

Saguntinum, et Alorcum Hispanum. Alcon, insciis Saguntinis, precibus⁸ aliquid moturum ratus, quum ad Hannibalem noctu transisset, postquam nihil lacrimæ movebant, conditionesque tristes, ut ab irato victore, ferebantur, transfuga ex oratore factus, apud hostem mansit; moritum affirmans, qui sub conditionibus his de pace ageret. Postulabatur autem, redderent res Turdetanis; traditoque omni auro atque argento, egressi urbe cum singulis vestimentis ibi habitarent, ubi Poenus jussisset. Has pacis leges abnuente Alcone accepturos Saguntinos, Alorus, vinci, animos⁹, ubi alia vincantur, affirmans, se pacis ejus interpretarem fore pollicetur. Erat autem tum miles Hannibal; ceterum publice Saguntinis amicus atque hospes. Tradito palam telo custodibus hostium, transgressus munimenta, ad prætorem Saguntinum (et ipse ita jubebat) est deductus. Quo quum extemplo concursus omnis generis hominum esset factus, summota cetera multitudine, senatus Alorco datus est: cuius talis oratio fuit. *Si civis vester Alcon, sicut ad pacem petendam ad Hannibalem venit, ita pacis conditiones ab Hannibale ad vos retulisset, supervacaneum hoc mihi fuisset¹ iter, quo nec orator Hannibal, nec transfuga ad vos venissem. Quum ille, aut vestra, aut sua culpa, manserit apud hostem, (si metum simulavit, sua; vestra, si periculum est apud vos vera referentibus) ego, ne ignoraretis, esse aliquas et salutis et pacis vobis conditiones, pro vetusto hospitio², quod mihi vobiscum est, ad vos veni. Vestra autem causa³ me, nec ullius alterius, loqui, quæ loquor apud vos, vel ea fides sit, quod, neque dum vestris viribus restititis, neque dum auxilia ab Romanis sperastis, pacis unquam apud vos mentionem feci. Postquam nec ab Romanis vobis ulla spes est, nec vestra jam aut arma vos, aut moenia satis defendunt, pacem affero ad vos magis necessariam, quam æquam: cuius ita aliqua*

13.

⁸ *Alcon, insciis Saguntinis, precibus, &c.]* “Alcon, as he had, without the knowledge of the Saguntines, repaired to Hannibal by night, in expectation of producing some effect by entreaties; when his appeal proved ineffectual, and harsh conditions were dictated, (as by an exasperated conqueror,) becoming a deserter instead of a mediator, remained with the enemy, declaring that it would be death to any who spoke of peace upon such terms.”

⁹ *Vinci, animos, &c.]* This must be understood as a general maxim: sc. “that the spirit is apt to be

broken, when all else is conquered.”

¹ *Supervacaneum hoc mihi fuisset, &c.]* “This visit would have been unnecessary, as I would not have come upon it either as Hannibal's representative, or,” &c. i. e. for I need not have come, &c. It will be observed, that *venissem* is part of the subjunctive clause dependent on *si*.

² *Pro vetusto hospitio.]* “In the spirit of that long friendship,” &c.

³ *Vestræ nutem causæ, &c.]* “And that it is for your own sake, and for no other, &c.; be this the proof.”

U. C. 536. 'spes est, si⁴ eam quemadmodum ut victor fert Hannibal,
 A. C. 218. 'sic vos ut victi audiatis: si non id, quod amittitur, in
 'damno, (quum omnia victoris sint) sed, quicquid relin-
 'quitur, pro munere habituri estis. Urbem vobis, quam
 'ex magna jam parte dirutam, captam fere totam habet,
 'admit, agros relinquit, locum assignaturus, in quo novum
 'oppidum ædificetis: aurum argentumque omne, publicum
 'privatumque, ad se jubet deferri: conjugum vestraque
 'corpora ac liberorum vestrorum servat inviolata, si inermes
 'cum binis vestimentis⁵ velitis ab Sagunto exire. Hæc
 'victor hostis imperat. Hæc, quanquam sint gravia⁶ atque
 'acerba, fortuna vestra vobis suadet. Evidem haud de-
 'spero, quum omnium potestas ei facta sit, aliquid ex his
 'rebus remissurum. Sed vel hæc patienda censeo potius,
 'quam trucidari corpora vestra, rapi trahique ante ora
 'vestra conjuges ac liberos belli jure sinatis.'

14. Ad hæc audienda quum, circumfusa paullatim multitudine, permixtum senatui esset populi concilium; repente primores, secessione facta⁷, priusquam responsum daretur, argentum aurumque omne, ex publico privatoque in forum collatum, in ignem ad id raptim factum conjicentes, eodem plerique semet ipsi præcipitaverunt⁸. Quum ex eo pavor

⁴ Cujus ita—si.] "Only in case that, as Hannibal offers it as a conqueror, you accept it as conquered; that you are prepared to regard not what is forfeited as a loss, (because all belongs to a conqueror,) but what is saved as a boon."

⁵ Cum binis vestimentis.] i. e. according to Doering, one set of garments each, in addition to those worn at the time.

⁶ Hæc, quanquam sint gravia, &c.] "These terms, oppressive and galling as they may be, your circumstances urge upon you."

⁷ Secessione facta.] "Making a retreat (withdrawing), before an answer could be given."

⁸ Semet ipsi præcipitaverunt.] There are many instances on record of this obstinacy of despair. The fall of the Assyrian empire, the capture of Numantia, of Capua, of Anapa, of the Numidian city Capsa, mentioned by Sallust, were all attended by similar tragedies. In more recent times also the same spirit has evinced itself. In the late Greek war of independence, the garrison of the island of Psyrta, after

having withstood the whole Turkish army, until defence became hopeless, blew up themselves and their assailants together, (A. D. 1824.) Even in our late war with China, it is recorded that a Tartar commander of a garrison performed a similar feat of heroic despair. Of the many instances in history of this obstinate self-devotion, the most remarkable perhaps is one of which the scene was in England. In the year 1189, a considerable number of Jews, residing in York, became victims of the furious bigotry awakened at that time throughout Europe by the Crusaders. On Palm Sunday in that year, perceiving that their lives were in danger, they took refuge in the castle, where a multitude of the citizens immediately assembled to besiege them. Having in vain offered to purchase their lives with money, and animated by the speech of a Rabbi, they put their wives and children to death, and threw their bodies out among the crowd; and then, setting fire to the castle, perished in the flames.

ac trepidatio totam urbem pervasisset, alias insuper tumultus U. C. 53⁶.
ex arce auditur. Turris diu quassata prociderat: perque A. C. 218.
ruinam ejus cohors Pœnorum impetu facto quum signum
imperatori dedisset, nudatam stationibus custodiisque solitis
hostium esse urbem; non cunctandum in tali occasione
ratus Hannibal, totis viribus aggressus urbem, momento
cepit, signo dato, ut omnes puberes interficerentur. Quod
imperium crudele, ceterum⁹ prope necessarium cognitum
ipso eventu est. Cui enim parci potuit ex iis, qui aut
inclusi cum conjugibus ac liberis domos super se ipsos con-
cremaverunt, aut armati nullum ante finem pugnæ, quam
morientes, fecerunt? Captum oppidum est cum ingenti
præda. Quanquam pleraque¹ ab dominis de industria cor-
rupta erant, et in cœdibus vix ullum discriminæ ætatis ira
fecerat, et captivi militum præda fuerant; tamen et ex
pretio rerum venditarum aliquantum pecunia redactum
esse constat, et multam pretiosam supellectilem vestemque²
missam Carthaginem.

15.

Octavo mense, quam coeptum oppugnari, captum Sagun-
tum, quidam scripsere: inde Carthaginem novam in hi-
berna Hannibalem concessisse: quinto deinde mense, quam
ab Carthagine profectus sit, in Italiam pervenisse. Quæ
si ita sunt, fieri non potuit, ut P. Cornelius, Ti. Sempro-
nius consules fuerint, ad quos et principio oppugnationis
legati Saguntini missi sint, et qui in suo magistratu cum
Hannibale, alter ad Ticinum amnem, ambo aliquanto post
ad Trebiam, pugnaverint. Aut omnia breviora³ aliquanto

⁹ *Quod imperium crudele, cete-
rum, &c.]* "And this command,
though cruel, was still proved by the
actual result to have been almost
unavoidable." Some commentators
suggest, as an emendation, *vix*, or
parum, instead of *propè*. The
meaning thus conveyed would be,
that the order, such as it was, was
superfluous, as they had, themselves,
rendered it impossible to spare them.

¹ *Quanquam pleraque &c.]* "Though
the greater part had been purposely
destroyed by the owners, and (al-
though) the fury of the massacre
scarcely recognised any distinction
of age; and the prisoners &c.; still,
it is certain that" &c.

² *Vestemque.]* Under this term,
in its wider signification, are com-
prehended all textile fabrics for gar-
ments and furniture.

³ *Automnia breviora &c.]* "Either
all the events were considerably more

rapid, or, Saguntum was not first
invested, but was taken, in the be-
ginning of the year," &c. The argu-
ment of the chronological discussion
is this: the interval between the
commencement of the siege of Sa-
guntum and Hannibal's arrival in
Italy was thirteen months; and, if
that calculation be correct, the con-
suls who opposed Hannibal at the
Ticinus and Trebia, could not have
been the same (Cornelius and Sem-
pronius) who received the Saguntine
ambassadors at the beginning of the
siege: therefore, either those events
must have been compressed into a
shorter time; or, the capture of the
town must have occurred at the be-
ginning of their year; because the
battle on the Trebia cannot be
brought down into the consulship of
the man who was elected *after* the
battle, by the consul who conducted
it.

U. C. 536. fuere, aut Saguntum principio anni, quo P. Cornelius, Ti.
 A. C. 218. Sempronius consules fuerunt, non cœptum oppugnari est, sed captum. Nam excessisse pugna ad Trebiam in annum Cn. Servilii et C. Flaminii non potest: quia Flaminius Arimini consulatum init, creatus ab Ti. Sempronio consule; qui, post pugnam ad Trebiam ad creandos consules Romam quum venisset, comitiis perfectis ad exercitum in hiberna rediit.

16. Sub idem fere tempus et legati, qui redierant a Carthagine, Romam retulerunt, omnia hostilia esse, et Saguntum excidium nuntiatum est: tantusque simul mœror Patres, misericordiaque sociorum peremptorum indigne, et pudor non lati auxilii, et ira in Carthaginienses, metusque de summa rerum cepit, velut si jam ad portas hostis esset; ut, tot uno tempore⁴ motibus animi turbati, trepidarent magis, quam consulerent. Nam neque hostem acriorem bellicosiorumque secum congressum; nec rem Romanam tam de sidem unquam fuisse atque imbellem. Sardos, Corsosque, et Istros, atque Illyrios⁵, lachessisse magis, quam exercuisse, Romana arma: et cum Gallis tumultuatum⁶ verius, quam belligeratum. Poenum, hostem veteranum, trium et viginti annorum⁷ militia durissima inter Hispanas gentes semper victorem, primum Hamilcare, deinde Hasdrubale, nunc Hannibale duce acerrimo assuetum, recentem ab excidio opulentissimæ urbis, Iberum transire: trahere secum tot excitos Hispanorum populos: conciturum avidas semper armorum Gallicas gentes. Cum orbe terrarum bellum gerendum in Italia ac pro mœnibus Romanis esse.

17. Nominatae jam antea consulibus provinciæ erant; tum sortiri jussi. Cornelio Hispania, Sempronio Africa cum Sicilia evenit. Sex in eum annum decretæ legiones, et so-

⁴ *Ut, tot uno tempore &c.*] "That their minds, distracted by so many simultaneous emotions, were rather in a state of consternation than deliberation."

⁵ *Sardos, Corsosque, et Istros, atque Illyrios.*] Corsica and Sardinia had been occupied, early in the first Punic war, by Lucius Scipio. At the capture of Aleria in Corsica, one of the most memorable events of the war occurred. Hannibal, who commanded a Carthaginian fleet, suffered it to be blocked up in the harbour and destroyed, and was in consequence put to death by his own troops. The allusion to the Istrians and Illyrians relates either to the war with Pyrrhus, to whom those

nations furnished large contingents; or, to the quarrel of the Romans, a short time previously, with Teuta, queen of Illyria. In any case, those wars took place between the years A. U. C. 516 and 533.

⁶ *Cum Gallis tumultuatum &c.*] "With the Gauls a system of skirmishes and inroads, rather than of regular war, had been maintained." Before this time, the Gauls had invaded Italy on five several occasions: on the first of which they burned Rome; on the second, the Gallic giant was killed by C. Manlius (Torquatus).

⁷ *Trium et viginti annorum.*] This was the interval between the first and second Punic wars.

ciūm quantum ipsis videretur, et classis quanta parari posset. U. C. 536.
 Quattuor et viginti peditum Romanorum millia⁶ sunt scripta, A. C. 218.
 et mille octingenti equites: sociorum quadraginta millia
 peditum, quattuor millia et quadringenti equites: naves
 ducentæ viginti quinqueremes, celoces⁷ viginti deductæ.
 Latum inde ad populum, 'vellent, juberent, populo Car-
 'thaginiensi bellum indici.' Ejusque belli causa supplicatio
 per urbem habita, atque adorati dii, ut bene ac feliciter
 eveniret, quod bellum populus Romanus jussisset. Inter
 consules ita copiae divisæ. Sempronio datae legiones
 duæ, (ea quaterna millia erant peditum, et trecenti equites)
 et sociorum sexdecim millia peditum, equites mille octin-
 genti: naves longæ centum sexaginta, celoces duodecim.
 Cum his terrestribus maritimisque copiis Ti. Sempronius
 missus in Siciliam; ita in Africam transmissurus, si⁸ ad ar-
 cendum Italia Pœnum consul alter satis esset. Cornelio
 minus copiarum datum, quia L. Manlius prætor et ipse
 cum haud invalido præsidio in Galliam mittebatur. Na-
 vium maxime Cornelio numerus deminutus. Sexaginta
 quinqueremes datae (neque enim mari venturum, aut ea
 parte belli dimicaturum hostem credebant) et duæ Ro-
 manæ legiones cum suo justo equitatu⁹, et quattuordecim
 millibus sociorum peditum, equitibus mille sexcentis.
 Duas legiones Romanas, et decem millia sociorum peditum,
 mille equites socios, sexcentos Romanos Gallia provincia
 eodem anno versa¹⁰ in Punicum bellum habuit.

His ita comparatis, ut omnia justa⁴ ante bellum fierent,
 legatos majores natu, Q. Fabium, M. Livium, L. Æmilius,
 C. Licinium, Q. Bæbium, in Africam mittunt ad per-
 cunctandos Carthaginenses, publicone consilio Hannibal

18.

⁶ *Quattuor et viginti peditum millia,*] i. e. six legions. This number, however, is inconsiderable, when viewed with reference to the statement of Pliny, (iii. 20, 24.) that Italy alone could have supplied, in A.U.C. 531, (five years before this time,) 700,000 infantry and 30,000 cavalry.

⁷ *Celoces.*] The name of this light craft (*ab re inditum*) indicates speed. It is akin to the Greek term *κέλης*.

⁸ *Ita in Africam transmissurus, si.*] "With the intention of crossing into Africa, only in case that (*ita si*) the other consul should be sufficient for the" &c.

⁹ *Cum suo justo equitatu.*] "With their regular complement of cavalry,"

i. e. the *trecenti equites* specified above. The number of infantry assigned above to each legion was by no means invariable. Polybius mentions 4200 as the complement of a legion. Supposing every century to contain literally 100 men, the legion should have contained 6000 infantry.

¹⁰ *Eodem anno versa &c.*] Gronovius proposes to substitute for this reading, *Nondum versa in Punicum bellum*, i. e. "not having as yet become the scene of the Punic war;" taking the text as it stands, we must suppose *versa* to agree with all the foregoing accusatives, in the sense of "transferred," or "devoted to."

⁴ *Omnia justa.*] "All formalities."

U.C. 536. Saguntum oppugnasset? et si, id quod facturi⁶ videbantur,
 A.C. 218. faterentur, ac defenderent publico consilio factum, ut indi-
 cerent populo Carthaginiensi bellum. Romani postquam
 Carthaginem venerunt, quum senatus datus esset, et Q.
 Fabius nihil ultra, quam unum, quod mandatum erat, per-
 cunctatus esset; tum ex Carthaginiensibus unus: 'Præceps
 'vestra, Romani, et prior legatio⁶ fuit, quum Hannibalem,
 'tanquam suo consilio Saguntum oppugnantem deposce-
 'batis: ceterum hæc legatio verbis adhuc lenior est, re-
 'asperior. Tunc enim Hannibal et insimulabatur, et de-
 'poscebatur: nunc ab nobis et confessio culpæ exprimitur;
 'et, ut a confessis, res extemplo repetuntur. Ego autem
 'non, privato publicone consilio Saguntum oppugnatum sit,
 'quærendum censem: sed utrum jure, an injuria. Nostra
 'enim hæc quæstio⁷ atque animadversio in civem nostrum
 'est; nostro, an suo fecerit arbitrio. Vobiscum una discep-
 'tatio est, licueritne per fœdus fieri. Itaque quoniam dis-
 'cerni placet, quid publico consilio, quid sua sponte impe-
 'ratores faciant; nobis vobiscum fœdus est a Lutatio con-
 'sule ictum: in quo quum caveretur utrorumque sociis,
 'nihil de Saguntinis (necdum enim erant socii vestri) cau-
 'tum est. At enim eo fœdere⁸, quod cum Hasdrubale
 'ictum est, Saguntini excipiuntur. Adversus quod nihil
 'ego dicturus sum, nisi quod a vobis didici. Vos enim,
 'quod C. Lutatius consul primo nobiscum fœdus icit, quia
 'neque auctoritate Patrum, nec populi jussu ictum erat,
 'negasti vos eo teneri. Itaque aliud de integro fœdus
 'publico consilio ictum est. Si vos non tenent vestra
 'fœdera, nisi ex auctoritate aut jussu vestro icta; ne nos
 'quidem Hasdrubalis fœdus, quod nobis insciis icit, obli-
 'gare potuit. Proinde omittite Sagunti atque Iberi men-
 'tionem facere, et, quod diu parturit animus vester,
 'aliando pariat.' Tum Romanus, sinu ex toga facto⁹,

⁵ *Et si, id quod facturi &c.]*
 "And if, as they seemed likely to do, they admitted and defended the proceeding by public sanction."

⁶ *Præceps vestra, et prior legatio.]*
 "Even your former embassy was ill-advised &c. but this" &c. i. e. hasty as your former embassy was, the present is in reality more intemperate, though ostensibly milder.

⁷ *Nostræ enim hæc quæstio &c.]*
 "For it is to us that the trial and punishment of our own citizen belongs, on this question (*hæc*); whether" &c.

⁸ *At enim eo fœdere.]* "But

then (you may reply), that in that treaty the Saguntines are secured." *Excipi* was the technical phrase applied to prohibitory clauses in treaties. The Roman Senate were in the habit of ignoring unsatisfactory treaties concluded by their generals; as, for instance, after their defeat by the Samnites, &c. On the contrary, Camillus set aside the treaty concluded with the Gauls, as not having been ratified by his own sanction, as chief magistrate.

⁹ *Sinu ex toga facto.]* "Taking up a fold of his toga." This was done by throwing the corner of the

'Hic,' inquit, 'vobis bellum et pacem portamus; utrum U.C. 536.
'placet, sumite.' Sub hanc vocem haud minus ferociter, A.C. 218.
'daret, utrum vellet,' suclamatum est. Et quum is iterum
sinu effuso 'bellum dare' dixisset, 'accipere se' omnes re-
sponderunt, 'et, quibus acciperent animis, iisdem se
'gesturos.'

Hæc directa¹ percunctatio ac denuntiatio belli magis ex dignitate populi Romani visa est, quam de fœderum jure verbis disceptare, quum ante, tum maxime Sagunto excisa. Nam, si verborum disceptationis res esset: quid fœdus Hasdrubalis cum Lutatii priore fœdere, quod mutatum est, comparandum erat? quum in Lutatii fœdere diserte additum esset, 'ita id ratum fore, si populus censuisset:' in Hasdrubalis fœdere nec exceptum tale quicquam fuerit, et tot annorum silentio² ita vivo eo comprobatum sit fœdus, ut ne mortuo quidem auctore quicquam mutaretur. Quanquam, etsi³ priore fœdere starebatur, satis cautum erat Saguntinis, sociis utrorumque exceptis: nam neque additum erat, 'iis, qui tunc essent:' nec, 'ne qui postea assume- 'rentur.' Et quum assumere novos liceret socios, quis aequum censeret, aut ob nulla quemquam merita in amici- tiam recipi, aut receptos in fidem non defendi? tantum, ne Carthaginiensium⁴ socii aut sollicitarentur ad defectionem, aut sua sponte desciscentes reciperentur.

Legati Romani ab Carthagine, sicut his Romæ imperatum erat, in Hispaniam, ut adirent civitates, ut in societatem⁵ pellicerent, aut averterent a Poenis, trajecerunt. Ad Bargusios primum venerunt: a quibus benigne excepti, quia tædebat imperii Punici, multos trans Iberum populos ad cupidinem novæ fortunæ erexerunt. Ad Volcianos inde est ventum: quorum celebre per Hispaniam responsum ceteros populos ab societate Romana avertit. Ita enim

toga over the left shoulder. A different account of this transaction is related by Aulus Gellius. He says, that Fabius, a member of this embassy, wrote to the Carthaginian Senate; that the Roman people sent them a spear and a caduceus, of which they might keep which they chose; and that the Carthaginians replied, that they would make no choice, but that the messengers might leave which they preferred.

¹ *Hæc directa &c.*] "This straightforward (explicit) inquiry and declaration of war," &c.

² *Et tot annorum silentio &c.*] "And (since) the treaty had been

so fully recognised by an acquiescence of so many years during his life, that not even after his death was any objection made."

³ *Quanquam, etsi.*] "And still, even though a stand had been taken on the former treaty, the Saguntines were fully secured by the provision for the allies of both parties."

⁴ *Tantum, ne Carthaginiensium &c.*] "(Provided) only, that the allies" &c.; i. e. so long as the allies of Carthage were not seduced from their allegiance.

⁵ *Ut in societatem &c.*] Gronovius substitutes *aut* for *ut*, in consequence of the *ut* preceding and the *aut* following.

19.

U.C. 536. maximus natu ex iis in consilio respondit: Quæ vere-
 A.C. 218. cundia est, Romani, postulare vos, uti vestram Carthagi-
 niensium amicitiæ præponamus, quum, qui id fecerunt,
 ' Saguntinos crudelius, quam Poenus hostis perdidit, vos
 ' socii prodideritis? Ibi quæratis socios, censeo, ubi Sa-
 ' guntina clades ignota est. Hispanis populis, sicut lugubre,
 ' ita insigne⁶ documentum Sagunti ruinæ erunt, ne quis
 ' fidei Romanæ aut societati confidat.' Inde extempro
 abire finibus Volcianorum jussi, ab nullo deinde concilio
 Hispaniæ benigniora verba tulere. Itaque nequicquam
 20. peragrata Hispania, in Gallia⁷ transeunt. In his nova ter-
 ribilisque species visa est, quod armati (ita mos gentis erat)
 in concilium venerunt. Quum, verbis extollentes gloriam
 virtutemque populi Romani ac magnitudinem imperii,
 petissent, ne Poeno, bellum Italæ inferenti, per agros ur-
 besque suas transitum darent; tantus cum fremitu risus
 dicitur ortus, ut vix a magistratibus majoribusque natu ju-
 ventus sedaretur. Adeo stolida impudensque⁷ postulatio
 visa est, censere, ne in Italiam transmittant Galli bellum,
 ipsos id avertere in se, agrosque suos pro alienis populandos
 objicere. Sedato tandem fremitu, responsum legatis est,
 ' Neque Romanorum in se meritum⁸ esse, neque Carthagi-
 niensium injuriam, ob quæ aut pro Romanis, aut adversus
 Poenos sumant arma. Contra ea audire sese, gentis suæ
 ' homines agris finibusque Italæ pelli a populo Romano
 ' stipendumque pendere, et cetera indigna pati.' Eadem
 ferme in ceteris Galliæ conciliis dicta auditaque: nec
 hospitale quicquam pacatumve satis prius auditum, quam
 Massiliam venere. Ibi omnia, ab sociis inquisita cum cura
 ac fide, cognita⁹, ' præoccupatos jam ante ab Hannibale
 ' Gallorum animos esse: sed ne illi quidem ipsi satis mitem
 ' gentem fore, (adeo ferocia atque indomita ingenia esse)
 ' ni subinde auro, cuius avidissima gens est, principum
 ' animi concilientur.' Ita peragratis Hispaniæ et Galliæ
 populis, legati Romam redeunt, haud ita multo post, quam
 consules in provincias profecti erant. Civitatem omnem

⁶ *Sicut lugubre, ita insigne &c.*] "The fall of Saguntum will be a warning as impressive as it is melancholy."

⁷ *Adeo stolida impudensque.*] "So irrational and unreasonable a request did it appear, that they (the Gauls) should agree" &c. Gronovius would omit *censere* altogether, and thereby considerably improve the sentence.

⁸ *Neque Romanorum in se meritum.*] "There was no claim on

the part of the Romans, nor provocation on that of," &c.

⁹ *Ibi omnia—cognita.*] "There it had been fully ascertained, having been carefully and sincerely discovered by their allies," (that is, by the careful and loyal inquiries of, &c.) The Massilienses were always distinguished for their fidelity to the Roman government; and on one memorable occasion closed their gates against Julius Cæsar, when he was declared an enemy by the Senate.

in exspectationem belli erectam invenerunt, satis constante U.C. 536.
fama¹, jam Iberum Poenos transmisisse. A.C. 218.

Hannibal, Sagunto capto, Carthaginem novam in hiberna concesserat: ibique, auditis, quæ Romæ, quæque Carthagine acta decretaque forent, seque non ducem solum, sed etiam causam esse belli, partitis divenditisque reliquiis prædæ, nihil ultra differendum ratus, Hispani generis milites convocat: 'Credo ego vos,' inquit, 'socii, et ipsos cernere, pacatis omnibus Hispaniæ populis, aut finiendam nobis militiam, exercitusque dimittendos esse, aut in alias terras transferendum bellum: ita enim hæ gentes non pacis solum, sed etiam victoriæ, bonis florebunt, si ex aliis gentibus prædam et gloriam quæremus. Itaque, quum longinqua ab domo instet militia, incertumque sit, quando domos vestras, et quæ cuique ibi cara sunt, visuri sitis, si quis vestrum suos invisere vult, commeatum do. Primo vere, edico, adsitis; ut, diis bene juvantibus², bellum in gentis gloriæ prædæque futurum incipiamus.' Omnibus fere visendi domos oblata ultiro potestas grata erat, et jam desiderantibus suos, et longius in futurum providentibus desiderium³. Per totum tempus hiemis quies inter labores, aut jam exhaustos, aut mox exhauriendos, renovavit corpora animosque ad omnia de integro patienda. Vere primo ad edictum convenere.

Hannibal, quum recensuisset omnium auxilia gentium, Gades prefectus Herculi vota exsolvit: novisque se obligat votis, si cetera prospera evenissent⁴. Inde partiens curas simul in inferendum atque arcendum bellum, ne, dum ipse terrestri per Hispaniam Galliasque itinere Italianam peteret, nuda apertaque Romanis Africa ab Sicilia esset, valido præsidio firmare eam statuit. Pro eo supplementum⁵ ipse ex Africa, maxime jaculatorum, levium armis⁶, petiit; ut

¹ *Satis constante fama.*] "As the report was fully confirmed," &c.

² *Ut, diis bene juvantibus &c.*] "That, with the active help of the gods, we may commence a war destined to be one of great glory and gain."

³ *Longius in futurum providentibus desiderium.*] "Anticipating a more protracted absence to come."

⁴ *Si cetera prospera evenissent.*] The use of the pluperfect in relation to a future event, implies an ellipsis. "He bound himself by vows," (which were to be paid) "in case coming events should have (by that time) proved favourable."

⁵ *Pro eo supplementum &c.*] "In-

stead of," (to replace) "that," (sc. the garrison he had draughted from his own army,) "he requested a reinforcement from Africa."

⁶ *Jaculatorum, levium armis.*] "Light-armed javelin-men." The javelin was one of the most primitive and simple weapons. The kind used by cavalry was about five feet long, carrying a three-sided or round head, and propelled not directly by the hand, but by means of a thong at the handle-end. The *pilum* used by the Roman infantry was an improvement on the *jaculum*, and so constructed that the long narrow head was either bent or broken at the first discharge, so as to be use-

U. C. 536. *Afri in Hispania, in Africa Hispani, melior procul ab domo futurus uterque miles, velut mutuis pignoribus obligati, stipendia facerent.*

A. C. 218. *Tredecim millia octingentos quinquaginta pedites cætratos⁷ misit in Africam, et funditores⁸ Baliares octingentos septuaginta: equites mixtos ex multis gentibus mille ducentos. Has copias partim Carthagini præsidio esse, partim distribui per Africam jubet. Simul conqueritoribus in civitates missis, quattuor millia conscripta delectæ juventutis, præsidium eosdem et obsides⁹, duci Carthaginem jubet. Neque Hispaniam negligendam ratus, (atque ideo haud minus, quod haud ignarus erat, circumitam ab Romanis eam legatis ad sollicitandos principum animos) Hasdrubali fratri, viro impigro, eam provinciam destinat, firmatque eum Africis maxime præsidiis, peditum Afrorum undecim millibus octingentis quinquaginta, Liguribus trecentis, Balaribus quingentis. Ad hæc peditum auxilia additi equites Libyphœnices (mixtum Punicum Afris genus¹) trecenti, et Numidæ Maurique accolæ Oceani ad mille octingenti, et parva Ilergetum manus ex Hispania, ducenti equites: et, ne quod terrestris deesset auxilii genus, elephanti quattuordecim. Classis præterea data ad tuendam maritimam oram, (quia, qua parte belli vicerant, ea tum quoque rem gesturos Romanos, credi poterat) quinquaginta quinqueremes, quadriremes duæ, triremes quinque: sed aptæ instructæque remigio² triginta et duæ quinqueremes erant, et triremes quinque.*

Ab Gadibus Carthaginem ad hiberna exercitus rediit: atque inde, profectus præter Etovißam urbem, ad Iberum maritimamque oram dicit. Ibi, fama est, in quiete visum

less to an enemy. The javelin is still used on horseback, but only as a pastime, by some eastern nations, and known among them as the “djereed.”

⁷ *Pedites cætratos.*] These are called *peltastæ* below. (l. xxxi. 36.) *Cætræ* were small shields made exclusively of leather.

⁸ *Funditores.*] The sling is said to be still used, with considerable effect, by the Minorquin peasants. In ancient wars, according to Diodorus, the Baleares carried three slings, one in the hand, one round the waist, and one round the head. The range is said to have been about 600 yards. There are some remarkable instances of the use of the sling in mediæval warfare. Froissart (ch. 85.) says, that, in a battle

between Charles of Blois and the Earl of Montfort, for the Duchy of Brittany, in the reign of Philip de Valois, the peasantry of Brittany assaulted the French army with slings. It is also stated by D'Aubignè, that they were used by the Huguenots at the siege of Sancerre, in order to save their powder.

⁹ *Præsidium eosdem et obsides.*] “Both as a garrison and as hostages.”

¹ *Mixtum Punicum Afris genus.*] “A mingled race of Phœnicians and Africans.” Diodorus Siculus (l. xx. 55.) classifies the ancient inhabitants of Africa into Carthaginenses, Libyphœnices, Numidæ, and Afri.

² *Sed aptæ instructæque remigio.*] “But there were (in addition to the fleet) 32 quinqueremes, and five triremes, rigged and manned.”

ab eo³ juvenem divina specie, qui 'se ab Jove' diceret U.C. 536.
 'ducem in Italiam Hannibali missum: proinde sequeretur, A.C. 218.
 'neque usquam a se deflecteret oculos.' Pavidum primo,
 nusquam circumspicientem aut respicientem, secutum;
 deinde, cura humani ingenii⁴, quum, quidnam id esset, quod
 respicere vetitus esset, agitaret aniino, temperare oculis
 nequivissem; tum vidisse, post⁵ sese serpentem mira magni-
 tudine cum ingenti arborum ac virgultorum strage ferri, ac
 post insequi cum fragore cœli nimbum: tum, 'quæ moles
 'ea, quidve prodigii esset,' quærentem audisse: 'Vastita-
 tem Italiae esse: pergeret porro ire, nec ultra inquireret,
 'sineretque fata in occulto esse.'

Hoc visu lætus tripartito Iberum copias trajecit, præ-
 missis, qui Gallorum animos, qua traducendus exercitus
 erat, donis conciliarent, Alpiumque transitus⁶ specularentur.

23.

³ *In quiete visum ab eo &c.*] The ancients (the Jews especially, from the number of Divine interpositions in that form, with which they were acquainted) were superstitious on the subject of dreams. A memorable dream of Alexander the Great is recorded; in which he saw the high priest of the Jews, some time before his march to Jerusalem, and by which he was so powerfully affected, that when he met him afterwards at the head of the procession that came to meet him, he recognised the figure he had seen in sleep. A curious instance of *clairvoyance*, closely allied to dreaming, is mentioned by Aulus Gellius. On the day of the battle of Pharsalia, a priest named Cornelius, in the town of Patavium, saw in a waking vision all the vicissitudes of the battle pass before him, and suddenly exclaimed that Cæsar was victorious. The circumstance was disregarded, until the news of the battle actually arrived, when it appeared that every thing had occurred, not only in the same order, but at the same moment, in which Cornelius had seen it. (*Noctes Att.* xv. 18.) In the beautiful romance of Xenophon, also, we read, that Cyrus the Great was visited in a dream by "a figure more majestic than human, that seemed to say, 'Prepare thyself, Cyrus, for now shalt thou depart to the gods:' and that his death followed in a few days." These superstitions are very

effectively illustrated in Sir W. Scott's 'Vision of Don Roderic.'

⁴ *Cura humani ingenii.*] "The natural curiosity of the human mind."

⁵ *Tum vidisse, post &c.*] "Then he saw behind him a serpent of wondrous size, moving on amid a mighty destruction of trees and underwood, and a storm following it with peals of thunder." *Moles, "disturbance, agitation."*

⁶ *Alpiumque transitus.*] Hannibal's approach to the Pyrenees on his way to the Alps, lay through the district now called Catalonia; or, more particularly, through Emporium (*Ampurias*), along the line of the Roman road subsequently laid down from that point to *Nimes*. This road crossed the Pyrenees at *Bellegarde*, and turning to the right to *Illiberis* (*Elne*), passed through *Perpignan*, *Narbonne*, *Beziers*, *Pont d'Ambroix*, and *Nimes*. At the latter point (*Nemausus*), this road diverged into two branches, of which one led to *Arles*, and the other to *Tarascon*. From *Nimes* Hannibal marched directly to the Rhone, through *Rousillon* and *Languedoc*.

In order to make the following chapters intelligible, it becomes necessary here to anticipate their details, by an examination of the different theories of Hannibal's march, from the point where all authorities are unanimous in fixing his passage of the Rhone. The district, to which those discussions relate, pre-

U. C. 536. Nonaginta millia peditum⁷, duodecim millia equitum Iberum
A. C. 218.

sents, when viewed on a map, somewhat of the form of an irregular rectangle; of which the left side is bounded by the Rhone, flowing in a south-west direction from Lugdunum (*Lyons*) to the sea: the upper limit consists of a line drawn across from Vienna Allobrogum (*Vienne*), through Bergusium (*Bourgoign*), Lemincum (*Chambery*), along the Isara (*Isere*) to the Graian Alps, Augusta Praetoria (*Aouste*), and Eporedia (*Ivrée*); the lower boundary is formed by the rivers Druentia (*Durance*), Verdon, and Doria; and the line on the right coincides with the chain of the Alps from the sea to Mont Blanc.

In Livy's time, there were but four known routes over those mountains. These were, according to Polybius and Strabo, 1. Through the Ligurians, near the Tyrrhene sea; that is, over the Maritime Alps, from Arelate (*Arles*), through Nice and Monaco, to Genoa. This was a Roman road (*via Aurelia*) in the time of Polybius, and the first which they constructed out of Italy. 2. Through the Taurini; that is, over the Saltus Taurinus in the Cottian Alps (*Mont Genevre*), and leading through Brigantio (*Briançon*). 3. Through the Salassii, over the Graian Alps (*little St. Bernard*), into the territory of the Insubres (*Piedmont*). 4. Over the Rhætian Alps (*Mont Splügen*), from Coire to Milan.

The question to be determined here is between the second and third of these roads—the others being, according to all reliable authorities, beside the inquiry—or rather, between the account of Livy, which appears to have been intended to coincide with the second; and that of Polybius, whose description of localities and measurement of distances corresponds exactly with the third, and who is further entitled to confidence by the circumstances of his having been a practical military tactician, and having inspected in person the scene of the narrative. His account of the march, which is further confirmed by the researches

of M. de Luc of Geneva, and other gentlemen who have made personal observations, is as follows: Hannibal crossed the Rhone, above the confluence of the Druentia (*Durance*), at the modern village of Roquemaure, between Avenio (*Avignon*), and Aurantio (*Orange*): he then proceeded up along the eastern bank of that river, through Montelimart and Valentia (*Valence*), to Vienna; from that point he turned off at right angles to the south-east, and crossing the Mons Thuates (*Mont du Chat*), descended into the territory of the Insubres; and after resting there a few days, joined his allies against the Taurini, and took their city (*Turin*). His motive, according to Polybius, for proceeding so far to the north, was not so much an anxiety to avoid a collision with the Romans, as a wish to descend into the territory of his friends, who had guided him all along from Carthagena, and of course led him by the passes which they had been themselves in the habit of using. The account furnished by Livy, on the other hand, is, that Hannibal crossed the Rhone at the point indicated by Polybius, and instead of proceeding directly across to the mountains, as he had originally intended, followed up the bank of the river, in order to avoid the Romans; that, in a four days' march, he arrived at the Insula Allobrogum, a triangle enclosed by the Rhone, the Isere, and the mountains; and that having arranged there the quarrel between the brother princes, (as Polybius also states,) turned down again in a south-east direction, "*ad levam in Tricastinos*," &c. until he reached the Durance at Ebrodunum (*Embrun*); and, passing through Brigantio, and the Cottian Alps, descended upon Turin, thus following the line of the Roman road. The inconsistencies observed in this account are, 1. The statement that Hannibal, after having proceeded so far to the north as Valence, came down again nearly to the same point at which he crossed

traduxit. Ilergetes inde, Bargusiosque, et Ausetanos, et U.C. 536.
A.C. 218.
Lacetaniam, quæ subjecta Pyrenæis montibus est, subegit: oræque huic omni præfecit Hannonem, ut fauces, quæ Hispanias Galliis jungunt, in potestate essent. Decem millia peditum Hannoni ad præsidium obtinendæ regionis data, et mille equites. Postquam per Pyrenæum saltum⁸ traduci exercitus est coepitus, rumorque per barbaros manavit certior de bello Romano; tria millia inde Carpetanorum peditum iter averterunt. Constabat, non tam bello motos, quam longinquitate viæ insuperabile Alpium transitu. Hannibal, quia revocare aut vi retinere eos anceps erat⁹, ne ceterorum etiam feroce animi irritarentur, supra septem millia hominum domos remisit, quos et ipsos gravari militia senserat, Carpetanos quoque ab se dimissos simulans. Inde, ne mora atque otium animos sollicitarent, cum reliquis copiis Pyrenæum transgreditur, et ad oppidum Illiberi¹ castra locat. Galli quanquam Italæ² bellum inferri

24:

the Rhone. 2. The descriptions of the inclement features of the mountains, which are applicable only to the higher elevations, and not to Mont Genevre, which lies far below the level of perpetual snow; and of the plains by which he approached the mountains, ("*Campstri maxime itinere*," &c.) applicable only to the pleasant valleys of the Isere, through which Polybius leads the Carthaginians. 3. The arrival of Hannibal among the enemies of his own allies, which is irreconcileable with the fact of his having halted to refresh the troops. It would appear, in short, upon the whole of Livy's account, that he copied the beginning and the end of the narrative of Polybius, which do not correspond with the intermediate details supplied by himself.

In addition to these, other theories have been advanced in modern times, according to which this memorable passage of the Alps was effected over the Pennine ridge, (the *Great St. Bernard*); or Mont Cenis, which is the route generally adopted at present; and, as far as we can ascertain, was first used by Charlemagne in his invasion of Italy, during the Lombard wars in the eighth century. Some of the features of this route, however, correspond with Livy's account; the road enclosed by the rocks and the mountain-stream (the

Cennisolle); the precipices rising gradually on one side, and descending abruptly on the other; the plateau on the summit, and the height commanding a view of the plains.

⁷ *Nonaginta millia peditum, &c.*] This estimate considerably exceeds that of Polybius, who fixes the amount of the troops when crossing the Pyrenees at 50,000 infantry, and 9000 cavalry. (Pol. iii. c. 35.)

⁸ *Pyrenæum saltum.*] *Saltus* literally signifies either "an eminence," or, "an interval;" but is generally understood to mean an open elevated space in a wood, ("a glade"); sometimes as signifying the wood itself, when the idea of an elevation is included. In Livy, we may generally take it to mean what we call "a defile."

⁹ *Quia—anceps erat.*] "Because it would be hazardous," or, "a dangerous alternative."

¹ *Oppidum Illiberi.*] This place was afterwards called *Helena*, after the celebrated Roman Princess. The name was eventually shortened into *Elnæ*.

² *Galli, quanquam Italæ, &c.*] The position of the latter proper name here is emphatic, and requires that we should translate, "Though the Gauls had heard that it was against Italy," &c.

U.C. 536. audiebant, tamen, quia vi subactos trans Pyrenæum Hispanos fama erat, præsidiaque valida imposta, metu servitutis ad arma consternati, Ruscinonem³ aliquot populi conveniunt. Quod ubi Hannibali nuntiatum est, moram magis, quam bellum, metuens, oratores ad regulos eorum misit, 'colloqui semet ipsum velle cum his; et vel illi propius Illiberi accederent, vel se Ruscinonem processurum, 'ut ex propinquo congressus facilior esset: nam et accepturum eos in castra sua se lætum, nec cunctanter se ipsum 'ad eos venturum. Hospitem enim se Galliæ, non hostem⁴, 'advenisse: nec stricturum ante gladium, si per Gallos 'liceat, quam in Italiam venisset.' Et per nuntios quidem hæc. Ut vero reguli Gallorum, castris ad Illiberim extemplo motis, haud gravate ad Poenum venerunt; capti donis cum bona pace exercitum per fines suos præter Ruscinonem oppidum transmiserunt⁵.

25. In Italiam interim nihil ultra, quam Iberum transisse Hannibalem, a Massiliensium legatis Romam perlatum erat: quum perinde, ac si Alpes jam transisset, Boii⁶, sollicitatis Insubribus, defecerunt; nec tam ob veteres in populum Romanum iras, quam quod nuper circa Padum, Placentiam Cremonamque colonias in agrum Gallicum deductas ægre patiebantur. Itaque, armis repente arreptis, in eum ipsum agrum impetu facto, tantum terroris ac tumultus fecerunt, ut non agrestis modo multitudo, sed ipsi

³ *Ruscinonem.*] This name has evidently been corrupted into the modern *Rousillon*.

⁴ *Hospitem—non hostem.*] These words were originally identical, both signifying "stranger;" but, the sacred character of a stranger needing protection, gave to one of the forms an amicable signification. The alliteration in the original cannot be very easily transferred into English; unless the terms "friend" and "foe" be considered sufficiently expressive, and similar in sound. A somewhat similar ambiguity exists in the French and Italian *hôte* and *ospite*.

⁵ *Transmiserunt.*] After this word, several commentators propose to subjoin *in Italiam*, taken from the beginning of the next chapter.

⁶ *Boii.*] This tribe inhabited the country between the Po and the northern side of the Apennines, nearly corresponding to the limits of the Duchies of Milan and Parma, and containing the cities Milan,

Pavia, Lodi, &c. Up to this time they had been in a state of quiet subjection, since their decisive defeat at Populonia, by the Consul Æmilius Papus, about fifty years previously. The colonies of Placentia and Cremona were planted, most probably, with the same view as Salernum, Cosa, Pæstum, and Beneventum; to secure and appropriate conquered territories, and to unite Italy against Carthage, with which a decisive struggle must have been, for some time, anticipated. The subsequent histories of Cremona and Placentia present many vicissitudes. Both suffered severely in the wars of the Triumvirs, the contest between Vitellius and Vespasian, and the wars of the Goths and Lombards. Under the Romans, Milan became the seat of a University, and was called *Novaæ Athenæ*: under the Constantines, it took precedence of Rome itself, but was successively destroyed by Vitiges, Alboin, and Barbarossa.

triumviri Romani⁷, qui ad agrum venerant assignandum, U. C. 536. diffisi Placentiæ mœnibus, Mutinam⁸ confugerint, C. Lutatius, C. Servilius, T. Annius. Lutatii nomen haud dubium est: pro C. Servilio et T. Annio Q. Aclium et C. Herennium habent quidam annales: alii P. Cornelium Asinam et C. Papirium Masonem. Id quoque dubium est, legati, ad expostulandum missi ad Boios, violati sint, an in triumviro agrum metantes impetus sit factus. Mutinæ quum ob siderentur, et gens, ad oppugnandarum urbium artes rudit, pigerrima⁹ eadem ad militaria opera, segnis intactis assideret muris, simulari cœptum de pace agi¹: evocatique ab Gallorum principibus legati ad colloquium, non contra jus modo gentium, sed violata etiam, quæ data in id tempus erat, fide, comprehenduntur; negantibus Gallis, nisi ob sides sibi redderentur, eos dimissuros. Quum hæc de legatis nuntiata essent, et Mutina præsidiumque in periculo esset, L. Manlius prætor, ira accensus, effusum agmen ad Mutinam dicit. Silvæ tunc circa viam erant, plerisque incultis². Ibi, inexplorato profectus, in insidias præcipitatus, multaque³ cum cæde suorum ægre in apertos campos emersit. Ibi castra communita; et, quia Gallis ad tentanda ea defuit spes, refecti sunt militum animi, quanquam sexcentos cecidisse⁴ satis constabat. Iter deinde de integro cœptum; nec, dum per patentia loca ducebatur agmen, apparuit hostis: ubi rursus silvæ intratæ, tum postremos adorti, cum magna trepidatione ac pavore omnium, octin-

⁷ *Triumviri Romani.*] “The three Roman Commissioners.”

⁸ *Mutinam.*] This city (*Modena*) was a place of considerable power and prosperity under the Roman Republic; “firmissima et splendidissima colonia,” is the character attributed to it by Cicero. But it has been so often destroyed, and so often risen from its ruins, that not only have all vestiges of its ancient splendour disappeared, but even the certainty that the modern town stands upon the site of the ancient. Modena has been distinguished as the birth-place of the celebrated patron of literature, Alfonso d’Este; the antiquarians Muratori and Tira boschi; and other eminent persons.

⁹ *Rudis, pigerrima.*] These epithets indicate two different defects; the former signifying a want of practice and cultivation; the latter, a natural incapacity, or, want of ingenuity.

¹ *Simulari cœptum agi.*] “A pretended negociation began.”

² *Silvæ tunc &c.—plerisque incultis.*] Here we might, at the first view, expect to read *plerisque incultæ*; but the ablative absolute conveys a peculiar force, giving a reason for the preceding proposition; thus, “The woods enclosed both sides of the road; as they were for the most part (or, as the general features of the scene were) wild.”

³ *Præcipitatus, multaque, &c.*] To maintain the connexion of the sentence, we must either understand *præcipitatus* as a verb; or remove *que*, or read *præcipitatur*.

⁴ *Accisas res.*] “Their strength was reduced.” *Accisus* literally signifies, “diminished by cutting away all round.” Instead of *accisas res*, Gronovius, on the authority of one Ms., proposes to read, *ad . . . cecidisse.*

U. C. 536. gentos milites occiderunt, sex signa ademere. Finis et
A. C. 218. Gallis territandi, et pavendi Romanis fuit, ut e saltu invio
atque impedito evasere. Inde, apertis locis facile tutantes

26. agmen⁵, Romani Tanetum, vicum propinquum Pado, contendere: ibi se munimento ad tempus⁶ commeatibusque fluminis et Brixianorum Gallorum auxilio, adversus crescentem in dies multitudinem hostium, tutabantur. Qui tumultus⁷ repens postquam est Romam perlatus, et Punicum insuper Gallico bello auctum Patres acceperunt; C. Atilium prætorem cum una legione Romana et quinque millibus sociorum⁸, delectu novo a consule conscriptis, auxilium ferre Manlio jubent: qui sine ullo certamine (abscesserant enim metu hostes) Tanetum pervenit.

Et P. Cornelius, in locum ejus, quæ missa cum prætore fuerat, transcripta legione nova⁹, profectus ab urbe sexaginta longis navibus, præter oram Etruriæ Ligurumque¹, et inde Salyum montes², pervenit Massiliam, et ad proximum ostium Rhodani (pluribus enim divisus amnis in mare decurrit) castra locat: vixdum satis credens, Hannibalem superasse Pyrenæos montes. Quem ut de Rhodani quoque transitu agitare animadvertis, incertus, quonam ei loco occurreret, necdum satis refectis ab jactatione maritima militibus, trecentos interim delectos equites, ducibus Massiliensibus et auxiliaribus Gallis, ad exploranda omnia visendosque ex tuto hostes præmittit. Hannibal, ceteris metu aut pretio pacatis, jam in Volcarum pervenerat agrum,

⁵ *Tutantes agmen.*] Their discipline and action in masses gave the Romans an advantage on the open plain: but in physical strength and agility, they were very unequal to the Celts in guerilla. *Tanetum*, now *Tanedo*, south-east of Parma.

⁶ *Munimento ad tempus &c.*] “They protected themselves against &c. by a temporary fortification, the river communication, and the aid of the Brixian Gauls.” These have perpetuated their name in that of the modern *Brescia*, situated in the territory of Venice. The river is now known as the *Senza*.

⁷ *Qui tumultus.*] “But when this sudden alarm” &c. The suddenness of all the early Gallic invasions suggested the use of the phrase *tumultus*, which appears still more applicable, when we find that on many occasions they retreated so suddenly, that “the alarm” was all.

⁸ *Quinque millibus sociorum.*] According to Niebuhr, the troops of the Italian allies received rations from the Roman government; their infantry receiving the same proportion as the legionaries, and their cavalry two-thirds of the allowance of the knights. Each town had a stated contingent to supply, to equip, and to pay, in addition to contributing the rations of their cavalry, on emergencies: they also appointed their own officers, and nominated commanders-in-chief, subject to the approval of the consuls.

⁹ *Transcripta legione nova.*] “Having raised and substituted a new legion,” &c.

¹ *Præter oram Etruriæ Ligurumque,*] i. e. across the gulf of Genoa.

² *Salyum montes.*] This tribe, called also *Salluvii*, inhabited the country south of the *Druentia*, now *Provence*.

gentis validæ. Colunt autem circa utramque ripam Rho- U.C. 536.
A.C. 218.
dani: sed, diffisi citeriore agro³ arceri Poenum posse, ut flumen pro munimento haberent, omnibus ferme suis trans Rhodanum trajectis, ulteriore ripam amnis armis obtinebant. Ceteros accolas fluminis Hannibal, et eorum ipsorum, quos sedes⁴ suæ tenuerant, simul pellicit donis ad naves undique contrahendas fabricandasque: simul et ipsi trajici exercitum, levarique quam primum regionem suam tanta urgente hominum turba cupiebant. Itaque ingens coacta vis navium est lintriumque temere ad vicinalem usum⁵ paratarum: novasque alias primum Galli inchoantes⁶ cabant ex singulis arboribus⁷: deinde et ipsi milites, simul copia materiæ, simul facilitate operis inducti, alveos informes, (nihil, dummodo innare aquæ et capere onera possent, curantes) quibus se suaque transvehenter, raptim faciebant. Jamque omnibus satis comparatis ad trajicendum, terrebant ex adverso hostes, omnem ripam equis virisque obtinentes. Quos ut averteret, Hannonem, Bomilcaris filium, vigilia prima noctis, cum parte copiarum, maxime Hispanis, adverso flumine⁸ ire iter unius diei jubet; et, ubi primum possit quam occultissime trajecto amni, circumducere agmen, ut, quum opus facto sit, adoriantur ab tergo hostem. Ad id dati duces Galli edocent, inde millia quinque et viginti⁹ ferme supra, parvæ insulæ circumfusum amnem, latiorem, ubi dividebatur, eoque minus alto alveo, transitum ostendere. Ibi raptim cæsa materia ratesque fabricatæ, in quibus equi virique et alia onera trajicerentur. Hispani sine ulla mole, in utres vestimentis conjectis¹, ipsi

27.

³ *Sed, diffisi citeriore agro &c.]*
As they were aware of Hannibal's intention of crossing the river, and were anxious to avail themselves of that barrier as soon as possible, they removed to the western bank, which Hannibal was about to leave.

⁴ *Eorum ipsorum, quos sedes &c.]*
“And such, even of these, (sc. the *Volœ*) as their old residences had kept there.” *Qui sedes tenuerant* has been suggested as an emendation.

⁵ *Temere ad vicinalem usum &c.]*
“Hastily prepared for local purposes.”

⁶ *Primum inchoantes.]* “Then for the first time.”

⁷ *Ex singulis arboribus.]* “Each from a separate tree.”

⁸ *Adverso flumine, “up the river.”*
Opp. to *secundo flumine, “down the river.”*

⁹ *Inde millia quinque et viginti.]*
“About twenty-five miles farther up (*inde supra*) the river, encircling a small island, being wider where it branched out, and proportionately less deep, offered a passage.” It is impossible to ascertain what island is here alluded to: for the Rhone abounds in those small islands, from Valence to the sea.

¹ *In utres vestimentis conjectis &c.]*
This method of crossing rivers is described by many travellers, who have employed the assistance of native barbarians in several countries. The author of “Eothen,” among the rest, describes a passage of the Jordan effected much in this way by the Arabs of the neighbourhood. For *suppositis*, several MSS. have *superpositis*, i. e. laid over them.

U.C. 536. cætris suppositis incubantes, flumen tranavere. Et alias
 A.C. 218. exercitus, ratibus junctis trajectus, castris prope flumen
 positis, nocturno itinere atque operis labore fessus, quiete
 unius diei reficitur, intento duce ad consilium opportune
 exsequendum. Postero die, profecti ex loco, prodito fumo²
 significant, se transisse, et haud procul abesse. Quod ubi
 accepit Hannibal, ne tempori deesset, dat signum ad traci-
 ciendum. Jam paratas aptatasque habebat pedes lintres:
 equites fere propter equos nantes³ navium agmen, ad exci-
 piendum adversi impetum fluminis, parte superiore trans-
 mittens, tranquillitatem infra trajicientibus lintribus præ-
 bebat. Equorum pars magna nantes loris a puppibus tra-
 hebantur, præter eos, quos instratos frenatosque, ut ex-
 templo egresso in ripam equiti usui essent, imposuerant in
 naves. Galli occurasant in ripam⁴ cum variis ululatibus
 cantuque moris sui, quatientes scuta super capita, vibran-
 tesque dexteris tela: quanquam et ex adverso terrebat⁵ tanta
 vis navium cum ingenti sono fluminis et clamore vario
 nautarum et militum, qui nitebantur perrumpere impetum
 fluminis, et qui ex altera ripa trajicientes suos hortabantur.
 Jam satis paventes adverso tumultu terribilior ab tergo
 adortus clamor, castris ab Hannone captis. Mox et ipse
 aderat, ancepsque terror circumstabat, et e navibus tanta vi
 armatorum in terram evadente, et ab tergo improvisa pre-
 mente acie. Galli, postquam, ultro vim facere⁶ conati, pelle-
 bantur, qua patere visum maxime iter, perrumpunt, tre-
 pidique in vicos passim suos diffugunt. Hannibal, ceteris
 copiis per otium trajectis, spernens jam Gallicos tumultus,
 castra locat.

Elephantorum trajiciendorum⁷ varia consilia fuisse credo:
 certe variata memoria actæ rei. Quidam, congregatis ad

² *Prodito fumo.*] "By shewing (sending up) smoke." For *prodito* it has been suggested to read *edito*, agreeing with *loco*, which supplies a better sense.

³ *Equites ferè propter equos nantes &c.*] "A line of ships higher up, in order to check the violence of the current, transporting the cavalry, for the most part (*ferè*) beside their swimming horses, afforded smooth water to those crossing below." The violence of the current of the Rhone is, of course, generally known from popular poetry. The name of the river, like that of the Tigris, literally signifies, "an arrow." The exception implied by *ferè* is defined

in the following sentence: *frænatos* is replaced in some editions by *instratos*; but the change is not important.

⁴ *Occurasant in ripam.*] "Ran to the bank to meet them."

⁵ *Ex adverso terrebat.*] "Was a formidable object in front."

⁶ *Postquam, ultro vim facere &c.*] "When they were repulsed in an attempt to offer an offensive resistance."

⁷ *Elephantorum trajiciendorum.*] "For the passage of the elephants, I dare say there were different expedients; at least (*certe*) the records of the operations are various."

ripam elephantis, tradunt, ferocissimum ex iis irritatum ab U. C. 536.
rectore suo, quum refugientem in aquam nantem sequere- A. C. 218.
tur, traxisse gregem, ut quemque timentem altitudinem
destituerat vadum, impetu ipso fluminis in alteram ripam
rapiente. Ceterum magis constat⁸, ratibus trajectos: id ut
tutius consilium ante rem foret, ita, acta re, ad fidem pro-
nius est. Ratem unam, ducentos longam pedes, quinquaginta
ginta latam, a terra in amnem porrexerunt: quam, ne se-
cunda aqua deferretur, pluribus validis retinaculis parte
superiore ripæ religatam, pontis in modum humo injecta
constraverunt; ut belluæ audacter velut per solum ingre-
derentur. Altera ratis, æque lata, longa pedes centum, ad
trajiciendum flumen apta, huic copulata est: et quum ele-
phant, per stabilem ratem, tanquam viam, prægredientibus
feminis, acti, in minorem applicatam transgressi sunt; ex-
templo resolutis, quibus leviter annexa erat, vinculis, ab
actuariis aliquot navibus⁹ ad alteram ripam pertrahitur: ita
primis expositis, alii deinde repetiti ac trajecti sunt. Nihil
sane trepidabant¹, donec continent velut ponte agerentur.
Primus erat pavor, quum, soluta ab ceteris rate, in altum
raperentur: ibi, urgentes inter se, cedentibus extremis ab
aqua, trepidationis aliquantum edebant: donec quietem
ipse timor² circumspectantibus aquam fecisset. Excidere
etiam sœvientes³ quidam in flumen: sed, pondere ipso

⁸ *Ceterum magis constat.*] "It was more certain, however, that they were taken across on rafts; this plan, as it would be the safer before the attempt, is the more credible as a fact."

⁹ *Ab actuariis aliquot navibus.*] "Was towed by several tug-boats to the other bank." The name *actuariae* is properly applied to *sailing* boats, furnished with oars.

¹ *Nihil sane trepidabant &c.*] "They showed no real alarm, so long as they were led along an apparently (*velut*) continuous bridge. Their fear began when they were urged into deep water, as the raft was cast loose from the rest. Then, pressing on each other, as those outside recoiled from the water," &c.

² *Donec quietem ipse timor.*] "Until their very terror produced quietness, as they looked round on the water."

³ *Sœvientes.*] "Growing restive." The account of this operation given by Polybius, differs from that of Livy in the number and arrange-

ment of the rafts. The following is a translation: "When they had constructed a sufficient number of rafts, they joined two together, and attached them firmly to the banks; the breadth of the two being about fifty feet. To the ends of these they attached two others, which projected into the water. In order to prevent the whole from being detached and carried away, they secured the side toward the current by strong cables to the trees on the bank. Having in this manner formed a sort of bridge about two hundred feet long, they joined to it two other rafts of a much larger size, firmly fastened to each other, but so slightly connected with the rest, that they might at any time be separated. To these rafts a great number of others was attached; so that the boats, which were intended to tow them across, might bear them up against the current. They then spread earth over all the rafts, to assimilate the surface to the ground on shore."

U.C. 536. stabiles, dejectis rectoribus, quærendis pedetentim vadis,
A.C. 218. in terram evasere.

29. Dum elephanti trajiciuntur, interim Hannibal Numidas equites quingentos ad castra Romana miserat speculatum, ubi, et quantæ copiæ essent, et quid pararent. Huic alæ equitum missi, ut ante dictum est, ab ostio Rhodani trecenti Romanorum equites occurrunt. Proelium atrocius, quam pro numero⁴ pugnantium, editur. Nam præter multa vulnera, cædes etiam prope par utrumque fuit: fugaque et pavor Numidarum Romanis, jam admodum fessis, victoriam dedit. Victores ad centum sexaginta, nec omnes Romanî, sed pars Gallorum: victi amplius ducenti ceciderunt. Hoc principium simul omenque⁵ belli, ut summæ rerum prosperrum eventum, ita haud sane incruentam ancipitisque certaminis victoriam, Romanis portendit.

30. Ut, re ita gesta, ad utrumque ducem sui redierunt, nec Scipioni stare sententia⁶ poterat, nisi ut ex consiliis cœptisque hostis et ipse conatus caperet: et Hannibalem incertum, utrum cœptum in Italiam intenderet iter, an cum eo, qui primus se obtulisset Romanus exercitus, manus consereret, avertit a præsenti certamine Boiorum legatorum regulique Magali adventus: qui se duces itinerum, socios periculi fore, affirmantes, integro bello⁷, nusquam ante libatis viribus, Italiam aggrediendam censem. Multitudo timebat quidem hostem, nondum oblitterata memoria superioris belli: sed magis iter immensum Alpesque, rem fama utique inexpertis⁸ horrendam, metuebat. Itaque Hannibal, postquam ipsi sententia stetit pergere ire⁹, atque Italiam petere, advocata concione, varie militum versat animos¹ castigando adhortandoque. ‘Mirari se, quinam pectora semper impavida repens ‘terror invaserit. Per tot annos vincentes eos stipendia ‘facere; neque ante Hispania excessisse, quam omnes gen-

⁴ *Atrocius, quam pro numero &c.]*
“More sanguinary than might have been expected from the number of combatants.”

⁵ *Hoc principium simul omenque &c.]* “This commencement, which was at the same time a type of the war, though it foreboded to the Romans a favourable issue of the general campaign, yet (foreboded) a victory far from bloodless, and of doubtful contest, (i. e. closely disputed).”

⁶ *Nec Scipioni stare sententia.]*
“Nor could any purpose be determined upon by Scipio, except to take measures” &c.

⁷ *Integro bello, &c.]* “In the first of the war, and with strength no where previously wasted.”

⁸ *Famæ utique inexpertis &c.]* “Formidable from report, especially to strangers.”

⁹ *Pergere ire.]* “To proceed onward;” lit. “to continue to go.”

¹ *Variè militum animos &c.]* “Influenced the minds (worked up the passions) of his soldiers by alternate reproof and encouragement.” This speech of Hannibal may be recommended to the student's notice, as a specimen of *oratio obliqua*, supplying many good hints for composition.

'tesque et terræ eæ, quas duo diversa maria² amplectantur, U. C. 536.
 'Carthaginiensium essent. Indignatos deinde, quod, qui- A. C. 218.
 'cunque Saguntum obsedissent, velut ob noxam, sibi dedi
 'postularet populus Romanus, Iberum trajecisse ad delen-
 'dum nomen Romanorum, liberandumque orbem terrarum.
 'Tum nemini visum id longum, quum ab occasu solis³ ad
 'exortus intenderent iter. Nunc, postquam multo majorem
 'partem itineris emensam cernant, Pyrenæum saltum inter
 'ferocissimas gentes superatum, Rhodanum, tantum amnem,
 'tot millibus Gallorum prohibentibus, domita etiam ipsius
 'fluminis vi, trajectum, in conspectu Alpes habeant, quarum
 'alterum latus⁴ Italizæ sit; in ipsis portis hostium fatigatos
 'subsistere, quid Alpes aliud esse credentes⁵, quam montium
 'altitudines? Fingerent altiores Pyrenæi jugis: nullas
 'profecto terras cœlum contingere, nec inexasuperabiles
 'humano generi esse. Alpes quidem habitari, coli, lignere
 'atque alere animantes: pervias paucis esse, exercitibus
 'invias? Eos ipsos, quos cernant, legatos non pennis sub-
 'lime elatos Alpes transgressos: ne majores quidem eorum
 'indigenas; sed advenas Italizæ cultores, has ipsas Alpes
 'ingentibus sæpe agminibus cum liberis ac conjugibus,
 'migrantium modo, tuto transmisssæ. Militi quidem
 'armato, nihil secum præter instrumenta belli portanti,
 'quid invium aut inexasuperabile esse? Saguntum ut cape-
 'retrur, quid per octo menses periculi, quid laboris exhaustum
 'esse? Romam, orbis terrarum caput, potentibus quicquam
 'adeo asperum atque arduum⁶ videri, quod incepsum more-
 'tur? Cepisse quondam Gallos ea, quæ adiri posse Pœnus
 'desperet? Proinde aut cederent animo atque virtute genti,
 'per eos dies toties ab se victæ: aut itineris finem sperent
 'campum interjacentem⁷ Tiberi ac moenibus Romanis.'

² *Duo diversa maria.*] "The two opposite seas," Mediterranean and Atlantic, (as we would say, from *Altea* to *Cape Finisterre*.)

³ *Quum ab occasu solis &c.*] "Though they were to march onward from the setting to the rising sun."

⁴ *Quarum alterum latus &c.*] "The farther side of which was in (belonged to) Italy."

⁵ *Quid Alpes aliud esse credentes &c.*] If we translate the participle literally, we lose the English idiom, which it will be better to preserve by saying, "for, what else did they suppose the Alps to be than" &c. The argument runs thus. The Alps are nothing more than very high mountains. Grant that they are

higher than the Pyrenees; the ambassadors who had just come up from Italy had, certainly, not flown over them; and the Gauls who had settled in Italy were not natives; but had crossed them with all the incumbrances of wives and children; and if they had found them passable, surely soldiers &c. According to Livy, the first migration of the Gauls took place in the time of the first Tarquin. It is probable, from the position of the Insubres, that they came by Mont St. Bernard.

⁶ *Asperum atque arduum.*] These words relate respectively to the touch and the sight.

⁷ *Campum interjacentem &c.*] This was the *Campus Martius*: an open field used for military exercises

U.C. 536. His adhortationibus incitatos corpora curare, atque ad
A.C. 218. iter se parare jubet. Postero die, profectus adversa ripa⁸

31. Rhodani, mediterranea⁹ Galliae petit: non quia rectior ad Alpes via esset, sed, quantum a mari recessisset, minus obvium fore Romanum credens: cum quo, priusquam in Italiam ventum foret, non erat in animo manus conserere. Quartis castris ad Insulam pervenit: ibi Isara Rhodanusque¹ amnes, diversis ex Alpibus decurrentes, agri aliquantum amplexi, confluunt in unum. Inde mediis campis Insulæ nomen inditum. Incolunt prope Allobroges, gens jam inde nulla Gallica gente opibus aut fama inferior: tum discors erat. Regni certamine ambigebant fratres. Major, et qui prius imperitarat, Brancus nomine, minore ab fratre et coetu juniorum, qui jure minus, vi plus poterat, pellebatur. Hujus seditionis² peropportuna disceptatio quum ad Hannibalem rejecta esset, arbiter regni factus, quod ea senatus principumque sententia fuerat, imperium majori restituit. Ob id meritum commeatu copiaque rerum omnium, maxime vestis, est adjutus, quam infames frigoribus³ Alpes præparari cogeabant. Sedatis certaminibus Allobrogum, quum jam Alpes peteret, non recta regione iter instituit; sed ad lævam in Tricastinos flexit⁴: inde per extremam oram Vocontiorum

during the republican ages: and, under the empire, covered with porticoes, baths, temples, and private residences, presenting the appearance of a separate city. It was enclosed on one side by the river; on the other, by the Viminal, Quirinal, and Pincian hills.

⁸ *Adversa ripa.*] "Up the bank," i. e. to the north. The Rhone flows a little to the east of south.

⁹ *Mediterranea.*] "The inland parts." It has been observed that, if he had originally intended to take the *via quæ rectior esset*, he would not have crossed the Rhone at all, but proceeded along the bank of the Druentia.

¹ *Insulam—Isara Rhodanusque.*] This island, which is only figuratively such in our acceptation of the term, is described by Polybius, as "nearly resembling the Delta of Egypt in size and shape, except that the sea forms one boundary of the latter." Though the name *Arar* appears in most MSS. it is of course evident and certain, that Livy wrote *Isara* instead of *Arar*. One codex reads *Bisarar*, which should ob-

viously be *Ibi Isara*. The *Arar* (*Saone*) joins the Rhone at Lyons, a point farther to the north than any theory on the subject contemplates; and Livy could not have been so grossly ignorant of geography. It is remarkable that the same error appears in some editions of Polybius, which read "Apapos for 'Iodpas."

² *Hujus seditionis &c.*] "As the adjustment of this quarrel was at a most favourable moment referred to

³ *Infames frigoribus.*] "Notorious for the cold, (notoriously inclement.)"

⁴ *Ad lævam in Tricastinos flexi.*] This sentence constitutes the great difficulty in Livy's account of the march. The Tricastini inhabited the country now known as *St. Paul-Trois-Châteaux*; and it is impossible to understand how they could have been on the left of the Carthaginians, as the latter turned back from the Isere. It has been suggested, that *ad lævam* might signify to the left of the Rhone; and better still, to remove the sentence to its apparently original place

agri tetendit in Tricorios: haud usquam impedita via, U.C. 536.
priusquam ad Druentiam flumen pervenit. Is et ipse A.C. 218.
Alpinus amnis longe omnium Galliæ fluminum difficilimus
transitu est. Nam, quum aquæ vim vehat ingentem, non
tamen navium patiens est: quia nullis coercitus ripis,
pluribus simul, neque iisdem alveis fluens, nova semper
vada novosque gurgites, (et ob eadem pediti quoque incerta
via est) ad hæc saxa glareosa volvens, nihil stabile nec tutum
ingredienti præbet; et tum, forte imbribus auctus, ingentem
transgradientibus tumultum fecit, quin super cetera trepi-
datione ipsi sua atque incertis clamoribus turbarentur.

P. Cornelius consul, triduo fere post, quam Hannibal ab
ripa Rhodani movit, quadrato agmine ad castra hostium
venerat, nullam dimicandi moram facturus. Ceterum, ubi
deserta munimenta⁵, nec facile se tantum prægressos asse-
culturum videt; ad mare ac naves rediit, tutius faciliusque
ita⁶ descendi ab Alpibus Hannibali occursurus. Ne
tamen nuda auxiliis Romanis Hispania esset, quam provin-
ciam sortitus erat, Cn. Scipionem fratrem cum maxima
parte copiarum adversus Hasdrubalem misit; non ad
tuendos tantummodo veteres socios conciliandosque novos,
sed etiam ad pellendum Hispania Hasdrubalem. Ipse cum
admodum exiguis copiis Genuam repetit, eo, qui circa Pa-
dum erat, exercitu Italiam defensurus.

Hannibal ab Druentia campestri maxime itinere ad Alpes
cum bona pace⁷ incolentium ea loca Gallorum pervenit,

at the beginning of the chapter, and
read, "Postero die profectus adv.
ripd Rhodani, ad levam in Tric.
flectit, et Mediterr. Gall. petit."

⁵ *Ubi deserta munimenta.*] This
incident resembles a movement pur-
posely contrived by Hannibal on a
subsequent occasion, (l. xxii. 16.) and
recalls one of the many manœuvres
of Frederick the Great, during "the
seven years' war." The king, finding
himself before Dresden, which had suc-
cessfully resisted him, and surrounded
by one Russian and two Austrian
armies, left his camp in the night in
haste to encounter his enemies se-
parately; and when the Austrian
General (Count Daun) arrived with
the intention of storming the Prus-
sian camp, he was astonished to find
it empty, and to learn, soon after,
that his colleague, General Landolt,
had been just defeated by Frederick.

⁶ *Tutius faciliusque ita.*] "By so
doing," i. e. by crossing the gulf of

Genoa.

⁷ *Hannibal ab Druentia—cum bona
pace, &c.*] "Arrived at the Alps
from the Durance without molesta-
tion from the Gauls inhabiting that
country," &c. It has been remarked
above, that this statement does not
in any respect adapt itself to the
valley of the Durance, where the in-
vaders would be entangled among
the secondary ridges of the moun-
tains; but to the level and fertile
valley of the Isere, through which
Polybius states that Hannibal was
escorted by the Prince whom he had
restored to his throne. The Gauls
inhabiting that country (i. e. between
the Druentia and the Alps) were the
Caturiges; and the tribe who op-
posed Hannibal on the ascent of the
mountains must have been the Se-
gusii, or Susii, whose descendants
were the subjects of Cottius, or
Cotys, who afterwards gave his name
to the mountain, and his kingdom

U. C. 536. Tum, quanquam fama prius⁸, qua incerta in majus vero ferri
 A. C. 218. solent, præcepta res erat, tamen ex propinquo visa montium
 altitudo, nivesque cœlo prope immixtæ, tecta informia im-
 posita rupibus, pecora jumentaque torrida frigore⁹, homines
 intonsi et inculti, animalia inanimaque omnia rigidentia gelu,
 cetera visu, quam dictu, foediora, terrorem renovarunt.
 Erigentibus in primos agmen clivos¹ apparuerunt imminentes
 tumulos insidentes montani: qui, si valles occultiores inse-
 dissent, coorti in pugnam repente, ingentem fugam stra-
 gemque dedissent. Hannibal consistere signa jubet; Gal-
 lisque ad visenda loca præmissis, postquam comperit, trans-
 itum ea non esse, castra inter confragosa omnia prærup-
 taque², quam extentissima potest valle, locat. Tum per

to Augustus. According to Polybius, the people through whose territory Hannibal approached the Alps, and who opposed his ascent, were Allobroges. It has been proposed to read *Alpes Gallorum*, omitting the intervening words; i. e. as we would say, the Gallic Alps. This emendation would remove the difficulty.

⁸ *Quanquam fama prius, &c.*] “Though the fact had been anticipated from report, (by which the indefinite is generally exaggerated,) still, the near view of the height of the mountains, the snow almost blending with the sky, the shapeless dwellings perched upon the cliffs,” &c. If Hannibal be supposed to have been where Livy’s description would bring him, he could have reached Turin in six days, without encountering any of the horrors here painted.

⁹ *Torrida frigore.*] Literally, “scorched by the cold.” It is now known, from chemical experiments, that the extremes of heat and cold produce similar effects upon living animal tissues.

¹ *Erigentibus in primos agmen clivos.*] The whole of this description, to the end of the 33d chapter, accords exactly with the topography of the Mons Thuates, where Polybius represents the first collision between the Carthaginians and the mountaineers to have taken place; and not with the features of any approach to Mont Genevre. A comparison of the narrative of Polybius with the localities of the *Mont*

du Chat has been found to establish, that Hannibal advanced through the *Chevelu* pass of that mountain, corresponding to the *εὐκαρπος τόπος* which he mentions, and to the Roman road subsequently made. From *Chevelu* to the summit of the mountain is an ascent of about two miles, terminating in a platform of about 300 yards across. The passage is divided midway by a large rock, measuring at the base about 200 yards by 100; and the road over the ridge is partially formed of the ruins of a temple, said to have been dedicated to Mercury, or rather to the corresponding Teutonic deity, Thuat, from whom the mountain took its ancient name. The large rock would appear to be that which the Allobroges occupied during the day, and of which Hannibal took possession in the night; and the town which he seized, on the dispersion of the inhabitants, was most probably *Bourget*, which is still of considerable extent, and more likely than *Chambery*, which, though larger, is too distant to have been the town in question. Looking, on the other hand, to the topography of the Cottian pass, we shall find that the only “*Castellum*” of which Hannibal could have made himself master, must have been *Cesanne*, which lies at the Italian side; and there is no fortress or stronghold of any sort from which Hannibal could have spent nine days (chap. xxxv.) in reaching the highest point of his journey.

² *Inter confragosa omnia prærup-*

eosdem Gallos, haud sane multum lingua moribusque U. C. 536.
 abhorrentes, quum se immiscuissent colloquiis montanorum, A. C. 218.
 eductis interdiu tantum obsideri saltum, nocte in sua
 quemque dilabi tecta; luce prima subiit tumulos, ut ex
 aperto atque interdiu vim per angustias facturus. Die
 deinde simulando aliud, quam quod parabatur, consumpto,
 quum eodem, quo constiterant, loco castra communisent,
 ubi primum degressos tumulis montanos laxatasque sensit
 custodias, pluribus ignibus, quam pro numero manentium,
 in speciem factis, impedimentisque cum equite relictis, et
 maxima parte peditum; ipse cum expeditis, acerrimo quoque
 viro, raptim angustias evadit: iisque ipsis tumulis, quos
 hostes tenuerant, consedit. Prima deinde luce castra mota,
 et agmen reliquum incedere coepit. Jam montani signo
 dato ex castellis ad stationem solitam conveniebant; quum
 repente conspicunt³ alios, arce occupata sua, super caput
 imminentes, alios via transire hostes. Utraque simul
 objecta res⁴ oculis animisque immobiles parumper eos defixit.
 Deinde, ut trepidationem in angustiis, suoque ipsum
 tumultu misceri agmen videre, equis maxime consternatis,
 quicquid adjecissent ipsi terroris, satis ad perniciem fore rati,
 diversis rupibus⁵, juxta invia ac devia assueta, decurrunt.
 Tum vero simul ab hostibus, simul ab iniuitate locorum
 Pœni oppugnabantur; plusque inter ipsos, sibi quoque
 tendente, ut periculo prius evaderet, quam cum hostibus,
 certaminis erat. Equi maxime infestum agmen faciebant⁶,
 qui et clamoribus dissonis, quos nemora etiam repercussæ
 que valles augebant, territi trepidabant, et icti forte aut

33.

taque.] "Amid one vast scene of rugged precipices."

³ *Quum repente conspicunt.*] A parallel to this movement will be found in that of General Wolfe at Quebec, (A. D. 1759.) Finding that his colleague, General Amherst, could not effect a junction with him, as it had been arranged, and that he was totally unsupported in a critical enterprise, he adopted the bold expedient of ascending, in the night, the heights of Abraham, which commanded the town. The river was rapid, the landing-place narrow, and the precipices difficult of ascent even by day; but all obstacles were surmounted before morning; and, when day dawned, the French commander, the Marquis de Montcalm, saw with amazement the enemy in possession of a position which he had supposed inaccessible.

4 Utraque simul objecta res, &c.] "Both objects, presented at the same moment to their eyes and minds, kept them motionless for a time: afterwards, perceiving the confusion in the passes, and the army disconcerted by its own disorder, especially by the alarm of the horses, and believing that whatever panic they could themselves add, would be sufficient for its destruction, they ran across the rocks," &c.

5 Diversis rupibus.] Instead of this reading, the meaning of which is obvious, Crevier approves of *perversis*, which he explains by *molestis, v. incommodis:* the more natural meaning would be "turning over," or, "rolling down."

6 Infestum agmen faciebant.] "Endangered the line of march, (or, the position of the army.)"

U. C. 536. *vulnerati*⁷ adeo consternabantur, ut stragem ingentem simul

trunculæ
A. C. 218. hominum ac sarcinarum omnis generis facerent: multosque turba, quum præcipites deruptæque ~~et~~ ^{trunculæ} angustiæ essent, in immensum altitudinis dejecit; quosdam et armatos: sed ruinæ maximæ modo⁸ jumenta cum oneribus devolvebantur. Quæ quanquam foeda visu erant, stetit parumper tamen Hannibal, ac suos continuuit, ne tumultum ac trepidationem augeret. Deinde, postquam interrumpi agmen vidit, periculumque esse, ne exutum impedimentis exercitum nequicquam incolumem traduxisset, decurrit ex superiore loco; et, quum impetu ipso fudisset⁹ hostem, suis quoque tumultum auxit. Sed is tumultus momento temporis, postquam liberata itinera fuga montanorum erant, sedatur: nec per otium modo, sed prope silentio, mox omnes traducti. Castellum inde, quod caput ejus regionis erat, vicolosque circumjectos capit, et captivo cibo ac percibus per triduum exercitum aluit. Et quia nec montanis primo percussis, nec loco magnopere impediebantur¹, aliquantum eo triduo viæ confecit.

34. *Perventum inde ad frequentem cultoribus alium, ut inter montana², populum. Ibi non bello aperto, sed suis artibus,*

⁷ *Icti forte aut vulnerati.*] “When they happened to be struck or wounded.”

⁸ *Ruinæ maximæ modo.*] The cattle that suffered most on this occasion must have been the elephants; those animals being unsuited, by the formation of their hind legs, to moving or exerting their immense strength upon inclined planes. We read that, on a subsequent occasion, the Consul Marcius, when invading Macedonia, facilitated the descent of his elephants down the side of a mountain, by means of bridges or galleries, which, as soon as the animals proceeded some distance upon them, sank at one end, and sent them sliding down gently to the plane of those next in elevation.

Alii elephanti pedibus insistentes, alii cunibus subsidentes, prolabebantur. Ubi planities altera pontis expesset eos, rursus simili ruind pontis inferioris deferebantur, donec ad æquorem vallem perventum est. (Livy xliv. 5.) It does not appear that Hannibal adopted any precaution to save the life of either man or beast; except that of procuring some warm clothing from the Gallic prince. In one Ms. *devolvebantur* is omitted,

leaving *jumenta* to be governed by *dejecti*.

⁹ *Quum impetu ipso fudisset &c.*] “And, although he dispersed the enemy by the mere violence of the charge, he aggravated, at the same time, the confusion,” &c.

¹ *Impediebantur—confecit.*] In order to remove the anomaly in Syntax between these verbs, Gronov. reads *montani prælio* (for *primo*) *percussi, nec loca magn. impediebant*, which is a considerable improvement.

² *Ut inter montana &c.*] “Considering that it was on the mountains.” The meeting with the natives described here, is copied from Polybius, who seems to represent them as having been Centrones (inhabitants of the *Tarantaise*); for, if we adopt his account of the march, we must suppose Hannibal to have now passed through the Allobroges, and entered the territory of another people, whose frontier was at a place subsequently called *ad publicanos*, (i. e. the provincial toll-house,) now known as *L'Hôpital*. Polybius describes the envoys as coming to meet the army *θαλλούς ξορτες καὶ στρέφαντος*. The wealth and numbers of

fraude, deinde insidiis est prope circumventus. Magno U.C. 536.
natu principes castellorum oratores ad Pœnum veniunt: A.C. 318. ‘alienis malis, utili exemplo, doctos,’ memorantes, ‘amicitiam malle, quam vim experiri Pœnorum. Itaque obedienter imperata facturos: commeatum itinerisque duces, ‘et ad fidem promissorum obsides acciperet.’ Hannibal nec temere credendo, nec aspernando, ne repudiati aperte hostes fierent, benigne quum respondisset; obsidibus, quos dabant, acceptis, et commeatu, quem in viam ipsi detulerant, usus, nequaquam, ut inter pacatos, incomposito agmine duces eorum sequitur. Primum agmen elephanti et equites erant: ipse post cum robore peditum, circumspectans sollicitusque omnia³, incedebat. Ubi in angustiorem viam ex parte altera subjectam jugo insuper imminentem ventum est, undique ex insidiis barbari a fronte, ab tergo coorti, minus eminus petunt: saxa ingentia in agmen devolvunt: maxima ab tergo⁴ vis hominum urgebat. In eos versa peditum acies haud dubium fecit, quin, nisi firmata extrema agminis fuissent, ingens in eo saltu accipienda clades fuerit. Tunc quoque ad extreum periculi ac prope perniciem ventum est: nam, dum cunctatur Hannibal demittere agmen in angustias; quia non, ut ipse equitibus præsidio erat, ita peditibus quicquam ab tergo auxilii reliquerat; occursantes per obliqua montani, perrupto medio agmine, viam insedere: noxque una Hannibali sine equitibus atque impedimentis acta est. 35. Postero die, jam segnus intercursantibus barbaris, junctæ copiæ, saltusque haud sine clade, majore tamen jumentorum, quam hominum, pernicie, superatus. Inde montani pauciores jam, et latrocini magis quam belli more, concursabant; modo in primum, modo in novissimum agmen, utcunque aut locus opportunitatem daret, aut progressi morative aliquam occasionem fecissent. Elephanti, sicut per artas præcipites vias⁵ magna mora agebantur, ita tutum ab hostibus, quacunque incederent, quia insuetis adeundi proprius metus erat, agmen præbebant.

Nono die⁶ in jugum Alpium perventum est, per invia pleraque et errores, quos aut ducentium fraus⁷, aut, ubi fides

this tribe form another argument in favour of Polybius; because, on any other part of the Alps but the Graian, the Carthaginian army must have perished of starvation.

³ *Circumspectans sollicitusque omnia.*] It will be perceived that *omnia* is governed by *circumspectans* alone; thus, “watching every thing and anxiously.”

⁴ *Maxima ab tergo.*] Observe the emphasis, “It was principally on

the rear.”

⁵ *Per artas præcipites vias.*] Crevier proposes *per arcas et præcipites vias*. But the text, as it stands, requires no alteration.

⁶ *Nono die &c.*] See note on chap. xxiii. above.

⁷ *Ducentium fraus.*] Polybius mentions no deception on the part of the guides, who appear, according to his statement, to have led the army faithfully from Carthagena to their

U. C. 536. iis non esset, temere initæ valles a conjectantibus iter,
 A. C. 218. faciebant. Biduum in jugo stativa habita: fessisque labore
 ac pugnando quies data militibus; jumentaque aliquot, quæ
 prolapsa in rupibus erant, sequendo vestigia agminis in
 castra pervenere. Fessis tædio⁸ tot malorum nivis etiam
 casus, occidente jam sidere Vergiliarum⁹, ingentem terrorem
 adjecit. Per omnia nive oppleta quum, signis prima luce
 motis, segniter agmen incederet, pigritiaque et desperatio¹
 in omnium vultu emineret; prægressus signa Hannibal in
 promontorio quodam, unde longe ac late prospectus erat,
 consistere jussis militibus Italiam ostentat, subiectosque²

own country. It may be necessary, however, to the probability of Livy's account, to suppose the Carthaginians to have spent some time in losing and recovering their way, and thus making up the "nine days."

⁸ *Fessis tædio.*] Of these cases the former is evidently governed by *adjecit*; and the latter is an abl. The commentators who take *tædio* after *adjecit*, lose sight of the Latin idiom.

⁹ *Occidente jam sidere Vergiliarum.*] This was about the 26th of October.

¹ *Pigritiaque et desperatio.*] "And when apathy and despair were the expression of every countenance."

The effects of long-suffering and privation are well described by General Labaume in his narrative of the retreat from Moscow. The following is a translation. "The line of march was covered with soldiers who no longer retained the human form, and whom the enemy disdained even to make prisoners. Some had lost their hearing; some their speech; and many, by excessive cold and hunger, were reduced to a state of delirious feeling, in which they actually roasted and prepared to eat the dead bodies of their comrades, and gnawed the flesh even from their own hands and arms. Some were so exhausted, that, unable either to bring wood or to move a stone, they seated themselves on the bodies of their brother soldiers, and gazed with fixed and distorted features upon the burning embers. Presently, when these were reduced to ashes, these livid spectres, unable to rise, fell beside those on whom

they had been sitting. Many might have been seen, whose reason was deranged, walking over the embers of the fires: while some, with an insane and convulsive laugh, flung themselves upon the flames, and met their death with frightful screams and horrible contortions."

² *Italiam ostentat subiectosque &c.*] Of all passages through the Alps, ancient and modern, it must be remembered, that they run through defiles, and not over the heights; and that, consequently, no extensive view can be obtained from any. Nothing of the plain country below is visible from the Mont Cenis, the Simplon, Mont Genevre, or either St. Bernard. Though such a view might be commanded from some of the higher summits overhanging any of the roads, it would be impossible for an army to march over, and still more so to encamp in, any such position; we cannot therefore understand the assertion of Polybius to this effect in the actual acceptation of the words; much less, the still more picturesque account of Livy. Hannibal might, certainly, have explained to his soldiers, that they had now reached the highest point of their march, and demonstrated the fact by showing them the streams flowing downward on both sides; but this would be all. It is true, that the *Col* of Mont Viso (Vesuvius) does command a very extensive view of the Milanese; and some French authors have founded on this circumstance a theory, which is, however, borne out in no other particular.

Alpinis montibus Circumpadanos campos: 'mœniaque eos U.C. 536.
 ' tum transcendere non Italiæ modo, sed etiam urbis Ro- A.C. 218.
 ' manæ. Cetera plana, proclivia fore: uno, aut sumnum
 ' altero prælio arcem et caput Italiæ in manu ac potestate
 ' habituros.' Procedere inde agmen cœpit; jam nihil ne
 hostibus quidem³, præter parva furtæ per occasionem, tentan-
 bus. Ceterum iter multo, quam in ascensu fuerat, (ut
 pleraque Alpium ab Italia⁴ sicut breviora, ita arrectiora sunt)
 difficultius fuit. Omnis enim ferme via præceps, angusta,
 lubrica erat: ut neque sustinere se a lapsu possent; nec,
 qui paullulum titubassent, hærere afficti vestigio suo⁵;
 aliique super alios, et jumenta et homines, occiderent.

Ventum deinde ad multo angustiorem rupem, atque ita
 rectis axis, ut ægre expeditus miles tentabundus⁶, manibus
 que retinens virgulta ac stirpes circa eminentes, demittere
 sese posset. Natura locus jam ante præceps⁷, recenti lapsu
 terræ in pedum mille adinodum altitudinem abruptus erat.
 Ibi quum, velut ad finem viæ, equites constitissent, miranti
 Hannibali, quæ res moraretur agmen, nuntiatur, rupem
 inviam esse. Digressus deinde ipse ad locum visendum.

36.

³ *Jam nihil ne hostibus quidem &c.*] Polybius and Livy both agree in stating, that from the commencement of his descent, Hannibal experienced no further molestation.

⁴ *Ut pleraque Alpium ab Italid &c.*] "Though the Alps are for the most part lower on the Italian side, still they are more precipitous."

⁵ *Hærere afficti vestigio suo.*] "Keep their unsteady footing."

⁶ *Tentabundus.*] "With desperate (strenuous) efforts."

⁷ *Natura locus jam ante præceps &c.*] "The ground, already naturally steep, had been broken away by a recent land-slip to the depth of," &c. In the account of this land-slip, Livy is believed to be guilty of another error: it would appear, according to Polybius, that the *length* of the land-slip, and not its *depth*, should be the subject of the statement. "At length," says the Greek historian, "they arrived at a place which neither elephants nor baggage-horses could pass, in consequence of the narrowness of the road, which had been carried away to the length of a stadium and a half. Though this had not been previously an unusual occurrence, the present was an aggravated in-

stance; so much so that the troops felt their courage droop, and resigned themselves to dejection and despair. Hannibal sought at first to avoid this obstacle by taking a circuitous route; but a fresh fall of snow having rendered that movement impossible, he abandoned it." (Polyb. iii. 54.) There are on record some fatally memorable accidents of this nature. Towards the end of the fourth century, the town of Velleia, under the Apennines, was overwhelmed by the fall of the adjacent mountain, so suddenly, that all the inhabitants with all their property, were buried by one crash. Another Roman town named Industria, at the foot of the Alps, is also said to have been destroyed by a similar visitation, at some more remote and uncertain period. The encroachment on the road, in this instance, must have been caused by the weight of an avalanche. The present road down the Italian side of the St. Bernard, lies along the river formed by the junction of the Doria and the Baltea, crossing and recrossing the stream at two points, between which the ancient road appears to have been rendered dangerous by avalanches.

U. C. 536. *Haud dubia res visa, quin⁸ per invia circa nec trita antea, quamvis longo ambitu, circumduceret agmen.* Ea vero via insuperabilis fuit. Nam quum super veterem nivem intactam nova modicæ altitudinis esset, molli nec præaltæ nivi facile pedes ingredientium insistebant⁹. Ut vero tot hominum jumentorumque incessu dilapsa est, per nudam infra glaciem¹ fluentemque tabem liquefientis nivis ingredie-

⁸ *Haud dubia res visa, quin &c.*] “There seemed no doubt that he must bring round the army, however long the deviation, through the surrounding pathless and previously untrdden waste.”

⁹ *Pedes insistebant.*] “Their steps rested firmly.”

¹ *Per nudam infra glaciem.*] “They advanced upon the exposed ice beneath it, and the liquid slime of the dissolving snow. The struggle there was desperate; as, in consequence of the slippery ice not holding their footsteps, and frustrating their feet more readily on the declivity, and, whether they helped themselves to rise with hands or knees, if they slipped with these supports and fell again, there were no stems or roots around them, on which an effort could be made with hand or foot: so that they merely rolled themselves on the smooth ice and thawing snow. The cattle indented it, &c.” This passage is literally translated by Livy from Polybius.

The condition of the French army, when overtaken by the snow on the retreat from Moscow, is thus described by M. Labaume. “We were within twenty leagues of Smolensko, and the prospect of arriving there in three days awakened a sort of intoxication in our hearts; when all on a sudden, the atmosphere, until then so clear, was shrouded in dark and chilly vapours. The sun, obscured by dense clouds, disappeared from our eyes: the snow, descending in large flakes, shut out the daylight, and confounded earth and sky; and the wind, blowing furiously, filled the woods with its frightful roar, and bent to the ground the dark fir-trees laden with icicles. The whole plain became one white and desolate surface. Amid these

gloomy horrors, the soldiers, overwhelmed by the snow and wind falling upon them in a whirling storm, were no longer able to distinguish the high road from the dykes; and often fell into the latter, which became their graves. Some, anxious to advance, dragging themselves on with difficulty, badly clothed and bare-footed, having neither food nor drink, groaning and shivering, afforded neither help nor sympathy to those who had fallen through exhaustion, and were expiring all around them. How frightfully did some of these wretched beings struggle against the agonies of death! Some might be heard bidding a tender farewell to brothers and comrades; others, as they heaved their last sigh, murmuring the names of their mothers and the land of their birth. Stretched upon the roads, they were distinguishable only by the ridges of snow that formed their winding-sheets, and presented, all along the march, as it were, the furrows of a graveyard. Lastly, clouds of ravens, flying for refuge to the woods, uttered ill-boding cries, as they passed above our heads; and troops of dogs, coming from Moscow to prey upon our bleeding limbs, came howling round us, as if to hasten the moment when we should become their food.”

It is remarkable, that the statement respecting the previous year's snow having remained unmelted, is borne out by the experience of tourists who have crossed the particular pass in question, (i. e. supposing the account to be taken from Polybius, and to relate to the Little St. Bernard.) It appears, that from the narrowness of the bed of the river, and the height of the precipitous rocks on both sides, which intercept the rays of the

bantur. Tætra ibi luctatio erat, ut a lubrica glacie, non ^{U.C. 536.} recipiente vestigium, et in prono citius pedes fallente: et, ^{A.C. 218.} seu manibus in assurgendo seu genu se adjuvissent, ipsis adminiculis prolapsi³ iterum corruerent, nec stirpes circa radicesve, ad quas pede aut manu quisquam emitit posset, erant; ita in levu tantum glacie tabidaque nive volutabantur. Jumenta secabant interdum etiam tum infimam ingredientia nivem, et prolapsa jactandis gravius in commiendo ungulis penitus perfringebant: ut pleraque, velut pedica capta, hærerent in durata et alte concreta glacie. Tandem, nequicquam jumentis atque hominibus fatigatis, castra in jugo posita⁴, ægerime ad id ipsum loco purgato: tantum nivis fodiendum atque egerendum fuit. Inde ad rupem muniendam, per quam unam via esse poterat, milites ducti, quum cædendum esset saxum, arboribus circa immanibus⁵ dejectis detruncatisque, struem ingentem lignorum faciunt: eamque, quum et vis apta faciendo igni coorta esset, succendent, ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt⁶. Ita torridam incendio rupein ferro pandunt, molliuntque anfractibus⁶ modicis clivos, ut non jumenta solum, sed elephanti etiam, deduci possent. Quatriiduum circa rupem consumptum, jumentis prope fame absumptis: nuda enim fere cacumina sunt, et, si quid est pabuli, obruunt nives.

37.

summer sun, the snow remains unthawed sometimes during the whole year, and forms a natural bridge over the stream for a considerable distance. "On voit," says a French writer, M. de Saussure, who passed through in 1792, "là sous ses pieds, des amas de neige, qui se sont conservés depuis l'hiver, et qui forment des ponts sur ce torrent." In the arrangement of this sentence, Drakenborch reads *pede se fallente*, (the Latinity of which is doubtful,) and omits *si* before *iterum corrue-*, which must accordingly depend on *ut*.

² *Castra in jugo posita.*] Having failed in his attempt to penetrate this pass, Hannibal was obliged to encamp, probably on the plain upon which the village of Artolica (*La Thuile*) stands, and to proceed, on the next day, to construct a road in order to turn the ravine, by passing behind the rocks on the right bank of the river.

³ *Arboribus circa immanibus, &c.*] Livy has been accused of contradicting himself here, in mentioning

the tall trees felled for the purpose of heating the rocks, and, immediately after, speaking of the *nuda cacumina*. But it may be observed, that the nakedness of the heights is evidently to be interpreted only with reference to pasture.

⁴ *Ardentiaque sara infuso aceto putrefaciunt.*] "Crumbled the heated rocks by pouring on vinegar." It has never been ascertained where this legend originated: where the Carthaginians procured such quantities of a thing so useless to a marching army as vinegar; or even what effect it could have produced upon primitive rock. Nothing of the kind is mentioned by Polybius, who merely states, that Hannibal, "having desisted from his first attempt, encamped near the narrow pass, and after clearing away the snow, employed his army in propping up and repairing the road," (and not, therefore, in constructing a new way.)

⁵ *Moliuntque anfractibus &c.*] "Reduced (lowered) the acclivities by easy angles."

U. C. 536. Inferiora valles et apricos quosdam colles⁶ habent, rivosque
 A. C. 218. prope silvas, et jam humano cultu digniora loca. Ibi jumenta in pabulum missa, et quies muniendo fessis hominibus
 data triduo. Inde ad planum descensum, etiam locis mol-
 lioribus et accolarum ingeniis.

38. Hoc maxime modo⁷ in Italiam perventum est, quinto
 mense a Carthagene nova, ut quidam auctores sunt, quinto
 decimo die⁸ Alpibus superatis. Quantæ copiæ⁹ transgresso
 in Italiam Hannibali fuerint, nequaquam inter auctores con-
 stat. Qui plurimum, centum millia peditum, viginti equitum
 fuisse scribunt: qui minimum, viginti millia peditum, sex
 equitum. L. Cincius Alimentus¹, qui captum se ab Hanni-
 bale scribit, maxime auctor me moveret, nisi confunderet
 numerum, Gallis Liguribusque additis: cum his octoginta
 millia peditum, decem equitum, adducta in Italiam: (magis

⁶ *Inferiora valles et apricos quosdam colles &c.*] This description corresponds exactly with what is known of the village of *Arebrigium* (*Pré St. Didier*), at the foot of the mountains: a rich, fertile, and genial valley of meadows, groves, and vineyards, presenting a strong contrast to the naked rocks and glaciers that hang over it. Into this valley, as they were now in a friendly country, it would appear that the surviving horses and elephants, which must have been by this time nearly starved, were sent down to feed. This march (of 200 Roman miles) was completed in five months: Hannibal having left Carthagena early in June, and arrived at the Italian foot of the mountains in the first week in November, A.U.C. 536, and B.C. 218.

⁷ *Hoc maximè modo.*] "In this way, most probably, (as nearly as can be ascertained.)"

⁸ *Quinto decimo die.*] The actual passage of the mountains occupied thirty-five days, according to Livy and Polybius, with a further addition of three days, if we suppose the final encampment among the Insubres to be the conclusion of the expedition, and make no allowance for the days spent in constructing the road.

⁹ *Quantæ copiæ.*] According to Polybius, who refers to an inscription left by the Carthaginians at *Lacinium*, Hannibal crossed the Pyrenees

with 50,000 infantry and 9,000 cavalry: those numbers were reduced, after crossing the Rhone, to 38,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry: on his arrival in Italy, he had but 20,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry: having lost 33,000 men on the whole march. This computation differs but slightly from that quoted by Livy from Cincius Alimentus; but in order to reconcile them, we must take into account, that the 80,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry, mentioned in the first instance, are the numbers with which Hannibal crossed the *Ebro*: and as to the rest, the 36,000 men, said to have been lost in *Taurinus*, agree sufficiently with the losses enumerated by Polybius. It may be observed, that no Ms. exhibits *in* before *Taurinus*. The omission would remove a difficulty; as the translation would then be, "he had lost on his descent into Italy from the Taurini," &c.

¹ *L. Cincius Alimentus.*] This early historian, like Fabius Pictor, wrote in Greek. Like Xenophon and Nævius, who recorded the events of the first Punic war, and Bernal Diaz, who has left an account of the American wars of Cortez, and the several English and French officers who have published reminiscences of modern expeditions, he had the advantage of witnessing, especially in the enemy's camp, the events of his narrative.

affluxisse³ verisimile est, et ita quidam auctores sunt) ex ipso U. C. 536. autem audisse Hannibale, postquam Rhodanum transierit, A. C. 218. triginta sex millia hominum, ingentemque numerum eorum et aliorum jumentorum amisisse, Taurinis, quæ Gallis proxima gens erat, in Italiam degressum. Id quum inter omnes constet, eo magis miror ambigi¹, quanam Alpes transierit: et vulgo credere, Penino, atque inde nomen⁴ ei jugo Alpium inditum, transgressum. Cœlius⁵ per Cremonis

³ *Magis affluxisse &c.*] "That they enlisted (joined his standard) there, is more probable."

³ *Eo magis miror ambigi &c.*] The cause of all the uncertainty is, simply that the ancient historians have omitted to *name* the particular mountains and passes to which their several theories relate. Had Polybius only mentioned the Graian Alps, it would have saved much discussion: because, in the existing state of the evidence, commentators can merely compare descriptions of places and computations of distances, with the physical features of the several passes.

⁴ *Penino, atque inde nomen &c.*] It was an ignorant mistake to have ever derived the ancient name of the Great St. Bernard from the term *Peni*. It was evidently so called, as Livy observes, after the name of the Celtic Deity *Pen*. The term *Pen* or *Pen* is still applied by the Belgians to a *peak*. Compare the Scotch *Ben*, and the cognate terms *Bin*, *Byn*, *Pen*, as Penman Mawr in Wales, &c.

⁵ *Cœlius (Antipater).*] This historian lived in the time of the Gracchi, (about A.U.C. 620,) something less than a century after the invasion by Hannibal. His works have been all lost; but there are on record abundant testimonies to the value of his authority. Brutus epitomised his history of the second Punic war, (*Cicero ad Att. lib. xiii. Ep. 8.*) and Cicero strongly commends his veracity and beauty of style, (*de Leg. i. and de Orat. ii. 20.*) The *Cremonis* (or *Centronis*) *jugum*, now known as the *Oramont*, lies between the Little St. Bernard and Mont Blanc, and led down, as Livy states, into the territory of the Gauls, called *Libui* or *Libicii*, who inhabited *Vercelle* (*Vercell*), *Laumellum*

(*Lomello*), and *Ticinum* (*Pavia*). It appears then, that the account given by Cœlius coincides very nearly with that of Polybius. It also agrees with the statement made by Cornelius Nepos, in his life of Hannibal. Julius Cœsar also has left an account of *his* march across the Alps; but he appears to have taken the route which was better known to the Romans, and to have crossed Mount Genevre by the road which was first rendered practicable by Pompey, in his expedition against Sertorius. "Diebus xl. exercitum paravi, hostesque in cervicibus jam Italæ agentes ab Alpibus in Hispaniam submovi, per eas iter aliud atque Hannibal nobis opportunius patefeci." (*Sallust. Hist. Fragm. lib. iii.*) In the time of Augustus, when a more constant and expeditious communication with the northern provinces became necessary, two roads were constructed through the Alps, over the Penine and Graian hills; one leading from Milan to Lyons; and the other from Milan to Vienna.

The Alps have been frequently crossed by armies within the period of modern history. During the Lombard wars in Italy, Pepin and his son Charlemagne marched through them: but the most remarkable passage in modern times was that effected by Francis I. in 1515, in his invasion of Lombardy, immediately before the decisive battle of Marignano. All the known and customary roads were occupied by the Swiss troops; and to avoid these, he was obliged to send the main body of his army by the valley of Barcelonette, south of the Durance, and then by the *Col de l'Argentiere* into Saluzzo, south of Turin.

It may be interesting to take some notice here of the memorable

U. C. 536. jugum dicit transisse: qui ambo saltus eum non in Tauri-
 A. C. 218. nos, sed per Salassos montanos ad Libuos Gallos deduxis-
 sent. Nec verisimile est, ea tum ad Galliam patuisse
 itinera; utique, quæ ad Peninum ferunt, obsæpta gentibus

passage of these mountains by Napoleon I, and instructive to compare the prudent foresight with which every contingency was anticipated, with the absence of preparation and mechanical skill in the former instance. Like Hannibal, the First Consul was diverted from the more direct road into Italy (through Mont Cenis), by a reluctance to descend among his enemies, the Austrians, who were then besieging Genoa, and obliged to look for a more circuitous route. General Marescot of the engineers having reported that the pass of the Great St. Bernard was practicable, though extremely difficult, it was resolved to select that road for the main body of the army, and to send smaller divisions by the St. Gothard, the Simplon, and Mont Cenis, in order to secure a larger command of supplies along the march. As the present roads were not in existence, the artillery was taken over the heights on sledges, and the carriages taken asunder on the French side of the passes, and put together again on the Italian side; provisions for men and horses were carried on in large quantities and with immense labour; and corps of blacksmiths and saddlers organized, to make repairs on the way. In this manner, the main body marched a distance of forty-five leagues, from the Lake of Geneva to the plains of Piedmont, including ten leagues without any roads passable for wheeled carriages. The march occupied twelve days, from the 13th to the 25th of May, 1800.

Livy's account of the whole expedition is treated as follows, in an *Essay on the subject by MM. Wickham and Cramer, (1828.)* "It appears from Livy's account—if we leave out all mention of what he has copied from Polybius, and read it with reference to itself alone—that Hannibal crossed the Rhone at Roquemaure; that he then, frightened by the Romans, marched up to

the Isand of the Allobroges; that he then returned through the Vo-contii and Tricorii till he reached the Durance, at a distance of nine days' march from the summit of the Alps; and that he then crossed the Mont Genevre, and descended among the Taurini. This marching and countermarching would alone be sufficient to make us suspect his accuracy; but when we find, which we shall upon comparing the two narratives, that he follows Polybius step by step to the Insula, then drops him during the return to the Durance, and then takes him up again in the same place where he had left off, beginning afresh from the Durance, as Polybius does from the Isere; and after this, he follows him word for word, with the exception of his own exaggeration, through a country which it is clear he knew nothing about—since the country described by Polybius is as different as possible from the road between the Durance and the Mont Genevre;—and when he finally brings him out with an enfeebled army among a hostile people;—what can we conclude, but that the Latin author is not only totally unworthy of credit, but that he was also so ignorant of geography, as not to be able even to make out a credible or intelligible account of his own hypothesis?" "Livy's account," says Gibbon, "is rather a romantic picture, calculated to please the fancy, than a faithful and judicious history capable of satisfying the understanding." On the contrary, Polybius assures us, (lib. iii. 48.) that, if there be any passage in his history on which, more than another, he can rely for its fidelity to actual facts, it is his description of the march of Hannibal from the Ebro to the Ticinus. The name *Passage* still perpetuated on a portion of the route described by Polybius, and a silver tablet found in the same place in *Dauphine*, are additional testimonies to his accuracy.

semigermanis fuissent. Neque, hercule, montibus his (si U. C. 536. quem forte id movet) ab transitu Poenorum ullo Veragri, A. C. 218. incolæ jugi ejus, norunt nomen inditum: sed ab eo, quem, in summo sacratum vertice, Peninum montani appellant.

Peropportune ad principia rerum⁶ Taurinis, proximæ genti, adversus Insubres motum bellum erat. Sed armare exercitum Hannibal, ut parti alteri auxilio esset, in reficiendo maxime⁷ sentientem contracta ante mala, non poterat. Otium etenim ex labore, copia ex inopia, cultus ex illuvie tabeque, squalida et prope efferata corpora varie movebant. Ea P. Cornelio consuli causa fuit, quum Pisæ navibus venisset, exercitu a Manlio Atilioque accepto tirone⁸, et in novis ignominiis⁹ trepido, ad Padum festinandi; ut cum hoste nondum refecto manum consereret. Sed quum Placentiam consul venit, jam ex stativis moverat Hannibal; Taurinorumque unam urbem¹, caput gentis ejus, quia volentes in amicitiam² non veniebant, vi expugnarat: junxitque sibi, non metu solum, sed etiam voluntate, Gallos accolæ Padi; ni eos, circumspectantes defectionis tempus, subito adventus consulis oppressisset. Et Hannibal movit³ ex Taurinis, incertos, quæ pars sequenda esset, Gallos præsentem se secuturos ratus. Jam prope in conspectu erant exercitus, convenerantque duces sicuti inter se nondum satis noti, ita⁴ jam imbutus uterque quadam admiratione alterius. Nam Hannibal et apud Romanos, jam ante Sagunti excidium, celeberrimum nomen erat: et Scipionem Hannibal eo ipso, quod adversus se dux potissimum lectus esset, præstantem virum credebat. Et auxerant inter se opinionem⁵; Scipio, quod, relictus in Gallia, obvius fuerat in Italiam transgressò Hannibali; Hannibal, et conatu tam

39.

⁶ *Ad principia rerum.*] "For a commencement of operations."

⁷ *In reficiendo maximè &c.*] "Which felt, especially in its recovery, the damage it had already received; for, rest succeeding to toil, abundance after privation, comfort after neglect and exhaustion, were producing various effects upon their disfigured and almost brutalized bodies."

⁸ *Exercitu tirone.*] "An army of raw troops (recruits)."

⁹ *In novis ignominiis, sc. their recent defeat by the Gauls.*

¹ *Taurinorumque unam urbem.*] The principal city of the Taurini took the name *Augusta Taurinorum*, when erected into a Roman colony

by Augustus. In all the invasions from the north, from the days of Attila to Francis I. it suffered all the horrors of war and devastation. It was not until the 13th century, when it became the capital of the Lavoyard Princes, that it acquired any importance.

² *Quia volentes in amicitiam.*] Other editions read *volentis*, i. e. *Hannibalis*, "refused his offer of alliance."

³ *Et Hannibal movit.*] "And Hannibal did move," &c.

⁴ *Sicuti inter se &c.—ita.*] "Though not yet well known to each other, still mutually impressed with some," &c.

⁵ *Auxerant inter se opinionem.*] "Enhanced their mutual estimate."

U. C. 536. audaci trajiciendarum Alpium, et effectu. Occupavit tamen
A. U. 218. Scipio Padum trajicere, et, ad Ticinum amnem⁶ motis castris,
prius, quam educeret in aciem, adhortandorum militum
causa, talem orationem exorsus est:

40. ‘Si eum exercitum, milites, educerem in aciem, quem in
‘Gallia mecum habui, supersedissem⁷ loqui apud vos. Quid
‘enim adhortari referret⁸ aut eos equites, qui equitatum
‘hostium ad Rhodanum flumen egregie vicissent, aut eas
‘legiones, cum quibus fugientem⁹ hunc ipsum hostem secutus,
‘confessionem cedentis ac detrectantis certamen pro victoria
‘habui? Nunc, quia¹ ille exercitus, Hispaniæ provinciæ²
‘scriptus, ibi cum fratre Cn. Scipione meis auspiciis rem
‘gerit, ubi eum gerere senatus populusque Romanus voluit;
‘ego, ut consulem ducem adversus Hannibalem ac Poenos
‘haberetis, ipse me huic voluntario certamini obtuli; novo
‘imperatori apud novos milites pauca verba facienda sunt.
‘Ne genus belli, neve hostem ignoretis; cum iis est vobis,
‘milites, pugnandum, quos terra marique priore bello
‘vicistis: a quibus stipendum per viginti annos exegistis: a
‘quibus capta belli præmia, Siciliam ac Sardiniam, habetis.
‘Erit igitur in hoc certamine is vobis illisque animus, qui
‘victoribus et victis esse solet. Nec nunc illi, quia audent,
‘sed quia necesse est, pugnaturi sunt: nisi creditis, qui
‘exercitu incolumi pugnam detrectavere, eos, duabus parti-
‘bus³ peditum equitumque in transitu Alpium amissis, quum
‘plures pæne perierint, quam supersunt, plus spei nactos

⁶ *Ad Ticinum amnem.*] Pavia derived its first and ancient name, Ticinum, from the river Ticinus (*Tesino*) on which it stood. The only memorable events by which its ancient name has been signalized were, this first engagement between Scipio and Hannibal, and the visit of the Emperor Augustus, to pay a compliment to the ashes of Drusus Nero. In the eighth century, the name Papia, (that of a Roman *gens*,) softened into Pavia, first appeared. Soon after it derived celebrity from its University, after having been the residence of some of the Gothic Princes, and subsequently the capital of the Lombard Kings.

⁷ *Supersedissem.*] I “would have forborne, (deemed it unnecessary.)” This verb literally signifies to “sit above” (to take a higher position); and hence, in a secondary sense, “to be placed above the necessity of.”

⁸ *Quid—referret.*] “Where would be the necessity (or object.)”

⁹ *Cum quibus fugientem &c.*] “With whom when I followed this same enemy in his flight, I regarded as a victory the admission of his retreat, and of his refusal of battle.”

¹ *Nunc quia &c.*] The apodosis to this conjunction begins at *novo imperatori*; sc. “because that army is elsewhere, and because I have offered myself, &c. A new commander must have a few words to say,” &c.

² *Hispaniæ provinciæ*, is a genitive; *meis auspiciis*, “on my responsibility;” because Spain was his (Cornelius’s) province.

³ *Duabus partibus.*] Two parts out of three, “two-thirds.” This statement renders *pæne* superfluous in the next sentence; and some commentators would omit it accordingly.

‘esse. At enim⁴ pauci quidem sunt, sed vigentes animis U.C. 536.
 ‘corporibusque, quorum robora ac vires⁵ vix sustinere vis A.C. 218.
 ‘ulla possit. Effigies, imo umbræ hominum, fame, frigore,
 ‘illuvie, squalore enecti, contusi ac debilitati inter saxa ru-
 ‘pesque. Ad hæc, præusti⁶ artus, nive rigentes nervi,
 ‘membra torrida gelu, quassata fractaque arma, claudi ac
 ‘debiles equi. Cum hoc equite, cum hoc pedite pugnaturi
 ‘estis: reliquias extremas hostium, non hostes, habebitis.
 ‘Ac nihil magis vereor, quam ne, vos quum pugnaveritis,
 ‘Alpes viciisse Hannibalem videantur. Sed ita forsitan de-
 ‘cuit, cum foederum ruptore duce ac populo deos ipsos, sine
 ‘ulla humana ope, committere ac profligare⁷ bellum: nos,
 ‘qui secundum deos violati sumus, commissum ac profliga-
 ‘tum confidere. Non vereor, ne quis me hoc vestri adhor-
 ‘tandi causa magnifice loqui existimet: ipsum aliter animo
 ‘affectum esse. Licuit in Hispaniam, provinciam meam,
 ‘quo jam profectus eram, cum exercitu ire meo: ubi et
 ‘fratrem consilii participem ac periculi socium haberem, et
 ‘Hasdrubalem potius, quam Hannibalem, hostem, et
 ‘minorem haud dubie molem belli. Tamen, quum præ-
 ‘terveherer navibus Galliæ oram, ad famam hujus hostis⁸
 ‘in terram egressus, præmisso equitatu, ad Rhodanum movi
 ‘castra. Equestri proelio, qua parte copiarum conserendi
 ‘manum fortuna data est, hostem fudi: peditum agmen,
 ‘quod in modum fugientium raptim agebatur, quia assequi
 ‘terra non poteram, regressus ad naves, quanta maxima
 ‘celeritate potui, tanto maris terrarumque circuitu, in radi-
 ‘cibus Alpium obvius fui. Huic timendo hosti⁹ utrum,
 ‘quum declinarem certamen, improvisus incidisse videor an
 ‘occurrere in vestigiis ejus? lassessere ac trahere ad decer-
 ‘nendum? Experiri juvat, utrum alias repente Cartha-
 ‘ginienses per viginti annos terra ediderit: an iidem sint,
 ‘qui ad Aegates pugnaverunt insulas, et quos ab Eryce
 ‘duodevicensis denariis æstimatost¹ emisistis: et utrum Han-

⁴ *At enim.*] These words, as usual, anticipate and give its full force to an obvious objection: *q. d.* “But, it may be said; they are few, to be sure; but,” &c.

⁵ *Robora ac vires.*] Refer respectively to *animis* and *corporibus*: i. e. passive and active strength—for resistance and aggression—“strength and energy.”

⁶ *Ad hæc, præusti &c.*] “Besides, their joints are scorched; their sinews frozen in the snow; their limbs parched by the frost (frost-bitten); arms shattered and broken; horses lame and disabled.” *Præusti,*

literally, “burned at the ends.”

⁷ *Committere ac profligare.*] “Begin and expedite.” The latter verb literally signifies, “to push out of the way.”

⁸ *Ad famam hujus hostis.*] “At the announcement of this enemy.”

⁹ *Huic timendo hosti &c.*] “This formidable enemy do I appear to have encountered unexpectedly, while declining an engagement; or to have come purposely to meet him on his way?”

¹ *Duodevicensis denariis æstimatost.*] “Valued at eighteen denarii each,” that is, about eleven shillings

U. C. 536. 'nibal hic sit æmulus itinerum Herculis, ut ipse fert, an
 A. C. 218. 'vectigalis stipendiariusque et servus populi Romani a patre
 'relictus: quem nisi Saguntinum scelus² agitaret, respiceret
 'profecto, si non patriam victimam, domum certe, patremque,
 'et foedera Hamilcaris scripta manu: qui, jussus a consule
 'nostro, præsidium deduxit ab Eryce: qui graves impositas
 'victis Carthaginiensibus leges fremens mœrensque accepit:
 'qui decedere Sicilia, qui stipendum populo Romano dare
 'pactus est. Itaque vos ego, milites, non eo solum animo,
 'quo adversus alios hostes soletis, pugnare velim; sed cum
 'indignatione quadam atque ira: velut si servos videatis
 'vestros arma repente contra vos ferentes. Licuit ad Ery-
 'cem clausos, ultimo suppicio humanorum, fame interficere:
 'licuit victricem classem in Africam trajicere, atque intra
 'paucos dies sine ullo certamine Carthaginem delere.
 'Veniam dedimus precantibus: emisimus ex obsidione:
 'pacem cum victis fecimus: tutelæ deinde nostræ duximus³,
 'quum Africo bello⁴ urgerentur. Pro his imparititis⁵, furiosum
 'juvenem sequentes, oppugnatum patriam nostram veniunt.
 'Atque utinam pro decore tantum hoc vobis, et non pro
 'salute, esset certamen. Non de possessione Siciliæ ac
 'Sardiniæ, de quibus quondam agebatur, sed pro Italia
 'vobis est pugnandum: nec est alius ab tergo exercitus,
 'qui, nisi nos vincimus, hosti obsistat; nec Alpes aliæ sunt,
 'quas dum superant, comparari nova possint præsidia.
 'Hic est obstandum⁶, milites, velut si ante Romana mœnia
 'pugnemus. Unusquisque se non corpus suum, sed con-
 'jugem ac liberos parvos armis protegere putet: nec
 'domesticas solum agit et curas, sed identidem hoc animo
 'reputet, nostras nunc intueri manus senatum populumque
 'Romanum: qualis nostra vis virtusque fuerit, talem deinde
 'fortunam⁷ illius urbis ac Romani imperii fore.'

42. Hæc apud Romanos consul. Hannibal, rebus prius,
 quam verbis, adhortando milites ratus, circumdato ad
 spectaculum exercitu⁸, captivos montanos vincitos in medio

and seven pence of our money. Scipio alludes of course to the ransom of the Carthaginian prisoners at the close of the first Punic war. They were obliged to release the Roman prisoners, and pay for their own.

² *Quem nisi Saguntinum scelus, &c.]* "Whom if his crimes at Saguntum were not maddening or bewildering." In English we would say, "who, if his crimes at Saguntum were not maddening him, would certainly," &c.

³ *Tutelæ nostræ duximus.]* "We considered them under our protec-

tion." *Tutelæ* is a genitive.

⁴ *Africo bello.]* See note on chap. i.

⁵ *Pro his imparititis.]* "For these benefits." On the passive use of dep. participles, see Rule 7, Introduction.

⁶ *Hic est obstandum.]* Observe the emphasis, "It is here that our stand must be made."

⁷ *Deinde fortunam.]* "The future condition."

⁸ *Circumdato ad spectaculum exercitu.]* "Having paraded the army for the exhibition."

statuit; armisque Gallicis ante eorum pedes projectis, inter- U. C. 536.
rogare interpretem jussit, ecquis, si vinculis⁹ levaretur, arma- A. C. 218.
que et equum victor acciperet, decertare ferro vellet? Quum
ad unum omnes ferrum pugnamque poscerent, et dejecta
in id sors¹ esset, se quisque eum optabat, quem fortuna in id
certamen legeret. Ut cujusque sors exciderat, alacer, inter
gratulantes gaudio exsultans, cum sui moris tripudiis² arma
raptim capiebat. Ubi vero dimicarent³, is habitus animorum
non inter ejusdem modo conditionis homines erat, sed etiam
inter spectantes vulgo, ut non vincentium magis, quam
bene morientium, fortuna laudaretur.

Quum sic aliquot spectatis paribus⁴ affectos dimisisset,
concone inde advocata, ita apud eos locutus fertur: 'Si,
' quem animum in alienæ sortis exemplo⁵ paullo ante
' habuistis, eundem mox in æstimanda fortuna vestra
' habueritis, vicimus, milites: neque enim spectaculum modo
' illud, sed quædam veluti imago⁶ vestræ conditionis erat.
' Ac nescio, an majora vincula majoresque necessitates vobis,
' quam captivis vestris, fortuna circumdederit. Dextra
' lævaque duo maria claudunt, nullam, ne ad effugium qui-

43.

⁹ *Equis, si vinculis, &c.]* "Who was willing to accept wager of battle, on condition of being released from bonds, and of receiving, if victorious, arms and a horse."

¹ *Dejecta in id sors, &c.]* "Lots were cast for that purpose."

² *Cum sui moris tripudiis.]* "With their characteristic (peculiar, national) dance." The Pyrrhic dance is a very ancient oriental institution. It is ascertained, that the practice began with and arose out of that of wearing armour. The several kindred tribes, known in different countries as Corybantes, Idei Dactyli, Telchines, Cyclopes, &c. were branches of an ancient Asiatic nation, who first employed metal for warlike purposes; and at their festivals, danced in armour, and beat time upon their shields. To this sort of dancing belonged the march of the Dorians, performed to the Anapæstic music of the παιᾶνες ἐμβατηροι; the military movement to which Homer alludes in the phrases, ὑπαντίδια πρωθίσται, and μελπίσθαι ἀρχή, and the sword dances of the ancient and modern Celts, noticed by Tacitus, (*Germ.*) It may not perhaps be generally known, that the fashion-

able polka (or Polish dance) of the present day, the tune of which is Anapæstic, (like the *La Volta* of our ancestors,) is merely a very subdued modification of the war-step of eastern Europe.

³ *Ubi vero dimicarent, &c.]* "And even when they actually engaged, such was the tone of sentiment, not only among men of the same class, (i. e. the other prisoners,) but the spectators in general."

⁴ *Aliquot spectatis paribus.]* "By the exhibition of several pairs (or duels)." It must be understood, that the prisoners were called out to fight with each other in pairs, on the terms above specified; sc. *arma et equum victor acciperet*. The object of this *tournament* appears to have been to restore the former *morale* of the army, which their recent hardships might probably have impaired.

⁵ *In alienæ sortis exemplo, &c.]* "If you entertain, respecting your own success, the sentiments which you have just evinced in the instance (or exhibition) of the vicissitudes of others," &c.

⁶ *Quædam veluti imago.]* "A sort of type;" a type, so to speak.

U. C. 536. 'dem, navem habentibus: contra Padus⁷ amnis, major Padus
 A. C. 218. 'ac violentior Rhodano; ab tergo Alpes urgent⁸, vix integris
 'vobis ac vigentibus transitæ. Hic vincendum aut morien-
 'dum, milites, est, ubi primum hosti occurristis. Et eadem
 'fortuna, quæ necessitatem pugnandi imposuit, præmia
 'vobis ea victoribus proponit, quibus ampliora homines ne
 'ab diis quidem immortalibus optare solent. Si Siciliam
 'tantum ac Sardiniam, parentibus nostris eruptas, nostra
 'virtute recuperaturi essemus, satis tamen ampla pretia
 'essent. Quicquid Romani tot triumphis partum conges-
 'tumque possident, id omne vestrum cum ipsis dominis
 'futurum est. In hanc tam opimam mercedem, agite, cum
 'diis bene juvantibus arma capite. Satis adhuc in vastis
 'Lusitaniæ⁹ Celtiberiæque¹ montibus, pecora consecando,
 'nullum emolumentum tot laborum periculorumque vestro-
 'rum vidistis: tempus est jam, opulenta vos ac ditia stipen-
 'dia facere, et magna operæ pretia mereri, tantum itineris
 'per tot montes fluminaque et tot armatas gentes emensos.
 'Hic vobis terminum laborum fortuna dedit: hic dignam
 'mercedem, emeritis stipendiis, dabit. Nec, quam magni
 'nominis bellum est, tam difficilem existimari vicitiam
 'fore². Sæpe et contemptus hostis cruentum certamen
 'edidit, et incluti populi regesque perlevi momento victi
 'sunt. Nam, dempto hoc uno fulgore³ nominis Romani,
 'quid est, cur illi vobis comparandi sint? Ut viginti anno-
 'rum⁴ militiam vestram cum illa virtute, cum illa fortuna
 'taceam; ab Herculis columnis⁵, ab Oceano terminisque

⁷ *Contra Padus.*] As the Carthaginians lay at the foot of the Alps, the Po, with its branches and tributaries, formed a sort of irregular semicircle in front.

⁸ *Ab tergo Alpes urgent.*] "Close behind you are the Alps."

⁹ *Lusitaniæ.*] "Under this name Portugal was originally an integral part of Spain, and continued so until A.D. 1139, when it was erected into a separate kingdom under the following circumstances. During the Crusade proclaimed by Innocent III. against the Moors of Spain, one of the French Princes, Henry of Burgundy, distinguished himself so eminently, that Alphonso VI. of Castile gave him his daughter in marriage, with the feudal ownership of Portugal, as a county. Alphonso, the son of Henry and this Princess, was afterwards proclaimed King of Portugal on the field, where he inflicted a decisive defeat upon the

Mohammedans. It lost its independence again, during a short interval, in the time of the unfortunate Don Sebastian. The name Portugal is derived from *Portus Calle*, the old name of *Oporto*.

¹ *Celtiberiæque.*] This district was as nearly as possible identical in extent with the kingdom of Aragon, and new and old Castile, (*Castilla nueva y vieja*.)

² *Nec, quam magni nominis, &c.*] "Nor are you to suppose victory as arduous as the name of the war is imposing."

³ *Dempto hoc uno fulgore.*] "With the single exception of this prestige."

⁴ *Ut viginti annorum, &c.*] "Not to mention your twenty years' campaign, with all its (*illæ*) heroism and all its successes."

⁵ *Ab Herculis columnis.*] The Carthaginians and other Phœnicians had been from a very early period trading to Spain. Gades was an

' ultimis terrarum, per tot ferocissimos Hispaniæ et Galliæ U. C. 536.
 ' populos vincentes huc pervenistis: pugnabitis cum exer- A. C. 218.
 ' citu tirone, hac ipsa æstate cæso, victo, circumpresso a
 ' Gallis, ignoto adhuc duci suo, ignorantique ducem. An
 ' me, in prætorio patris, clarissimi imperatoris, prope
 ' natum, certe eductum, domitorem Hispaniæ Galliæque,
 ' victorem eundem⁶ non Alpinarum modo gentium, sed ipsa-
 ' rum, quod multo majus est, Alpium, cum semestri hoc
 ' conferam duce, desertore exercitus sui⁷? Cui si quis,
 ' demptis signis, Poenos Romanosque hodie ostendat, igno-
 ' raturum certum habeo, utrius exercitus sit consul. Non
 ' ego illud parvi æstimo, milites, quod nemo vestrum est,
 ' cuius non ante oculos ipse sæpe militare aliquod ediderim
 ' facinus; cui non idem ego, virtutis spectator ac testis,
 ' notata temporibus locisque⁸ referre sua possim decora.
 ' Cum laudatis a me millies donatisque, alumnus prius om-
 ' nium vestrum, quam imperator, procedam acie adversus
 ' ignotos inter se ignorantesque. Quocunque circumtuli
 ' oculos, plena omnia video animorum ac roboris; veteranum
 ' peditem, generosissimarum gentium equites frenatos et
 ' infrenatos⁹, vos socios fidelissimos fortissimosque, vos Car-
 ' thaginienses, quum ob patriam, tum ob iram justissimam,
 ' pugnaturos. Inferimus bellum, infestisque signis¹ descen-
 ' dimus in Italiam, tanto audacius fortiusque pugnaturi,
 ' quanto major spes, major est animus inferentis vim, quam
 ' arcentis. Accedit præterea animos et stimulat dolor,
 ' injuria, indignitas². Ad supplicium depoposcerunt me
 ' ducem primum, deinde vos omnes, qui Saguntum oppug-
 ' nassetis: deditos ultimis cruciatibus affecturi fuerunt.
 ' Crudelissima ac superbissima gens sua omnia suique arbitrii
 ' facit³. Cum quibus bellum, cum quibus pacem habeamus,
 ' se modum imponere æquum censem: circumscribit inclu-

44.

older colony than Carthage itself. Their inducement, however, to establish more recent settlements, was the possession of the gold and silver mines of the Sierra Morena which the natives could not work.

⁶ *Victorem eundem.*] "And the conqueror also."

⁷ *Desertore exercitus sui.*] Scipio's own army was in Spain. See his address, chap. xl.

⁸ *Notata temporibus locisque.*] "With all particulars of (specified by) times and places."

⁹ *Frenatos et infrenatos.*] It was the practice of several Nomad nations to ride without bridles, guiding their horses by the voice and the pressure

of the knee, which left both hands as free as those of infantry soldiers. Gibbon mentions a king of the Comani (during the Crusades) who fought with a sword in each hand, and rode in this fashion.

¹ *Infestisque signis.*] The literal translation of this phrase has no meaning in English. We must say, "on an aggressive expedition;" "as invaders."

² *Dolor, injuria, indignitas.*] "Resentment," (pain, or soreness of mind,)—"sense of wrong,"—"feeling of degradation."

³ *Sua omnia suique arbitrii facit.*] "Regard every thing as their own, and at their own disposal."

U.C. 536. 'ditque nos terminis montium fluminumque, quos ne exce-
 A.C. 218. 'damus⁴: neque eos, quos statuit, terminos observat. Ne
 'transieris Iberum: ne quid rei tibi sit cum Saguntinis. Ad
 'Iberum est Saguntum⁵: nusquam te vestigio moveris. Pa-
 'rum est, quod veterrimas provincias meas⁶ Siciliam et Sar-
 'diniam adimis: etiam Hispanias? et inde cessero, in Africam
 'transcendes. Transcendes autem, dico? Duos consules
 'hujus anni, unum in Africam, alterum in Hispaniam mise-
 'runt. Nihil usquam nobis relictum est, nisi quod armis
 'vindicarimus. Illis timidis et ignavis licet esse, qui re-
 'spectum habent⁷, quos suus ager, sua terra, per tuta ac
 'pacata itinera fugientes, accipient: vobis necesse est fortibus
 'viris esse, et, omnibus inter victoriam⁸ mortem certa
 'desperatione abruptis, aut vincere, aut, si fortuna dubitabit,
 'in p[ro]cello potius, quam in fuga, mortem oppetere. Si hoc
 'bene fixum omnibus destinatumque in animo est, iterum
 'dicam, vicitis⁹: nullum momentum ad vincendum homini
 'ab diis immortalibus acrius datum est.'

45. His adhortationibus quum utrimque ad certamen accensi
 militum animi essent, Romani ponte Ticinum jungunt¹, tu-
 tandique pontis causa castellum insuper imponunt. Poenus,
 opere occupatis hostibus, Mahabalem cum ala Numidarum,
 equitibus quingentis, ad depopulandos sociorum populi
 Romani agros mittit. Gallis parci quam maxime jubet,

⁴ *Quos ne excedamus.*] "Which we are not to transgress." This phrase is elliptical: we must understand a verb before *ne*; sc. "which (they command) that we," &c.

⁵ *Ad Iberum est Saguntum.*] This is sometimes understood interrogatively; as a reply on the Carthaginian side.

⁶ *Veterrimas provincias meas.*] The Carthaginians had been in possession of Sardinia, and had contested the possession of Sicily with the kings of Syracuse and Agrigentum, for about 250 years before the commencement of the first Punic war.

The term *provincia*, according to Niebuhr, is a modification of *pro-
 ventus*, which is used by Cicero and others in the sense of "revenue." This theory accords with the actual relation in which the Roman provinces stood to the government, and which was exclusively financial. Their connexion merely involved the payment of a revenue, as an equivalent for civil administration: they af-

firmed, originally, no military assistance, except on extraordinary occasions, and then only as mercenaries.

⁷ *Qui respectum habent.*] "Who have a resource left—an alternative," literally, "something to look back upon."

⁸ *Omnibus inter victoriam, &c.*] "All (compromises or alternatives) between," &c.

⁹ *Vicitis.*] "You are already victorious: never has a stronger incentive to be conquerors been given to man by the immortal gods." *Momentum acrius*, which is Draken-borch's reading, is rejected by other critics, in consequence of the incongruity of adjective and substantive. *Telum*, which agrees better with the adjective, has been substituted.

¹ *Ponte Ticinum jungunt.*] "Spanned the Ticinus with a bridge." The scene of this battle at the Ticinus is a few miles to the west of the village of Marengo, memorable for the defeat of the Austrians by Napoleon I.

principumque animos sollicitari ad defectionem. Ponte U. C. 536.
perfecto, traductus Romanus exercitus in agrum Insubrium, A. C. 218.
quinque millia passuum a Victumulis² consedit. Ibi Han-
nibal castra habebat: revocatoque propere Maharbale
atque equitibus, quum instare certamen cerneret, nihil
unquam satis³ dictum præmonitumque ad cohortandos mi-
lites ratus, vocatis ad concionem certa præmia pronuntiat,
in quorum spem pugnarent. ‘Agrum sese daturum esse
‘in Italia, Africa, Hispania, ubi quisque velit, immunem
‘ipsi, qui accepisset, liberisque; qui pecuniam, quam
‘agrum, maluisset, ei se argento satisfacturum: qui so-
‘ciorum cives Carthaginenses fieri vellent, potestatem
‘facturum: qui domos redire malent, daturum se operam,
‘ne cujus suorum popularium mutatam secum fortunam
‘esse vellent.’ Servis quoque dominos prosecutis liber-
tatem proponit, binaque pro his mancipia dominis se red-
diturum. Eaque ut rata scirent fore, agnum læva manu,
dextra silicem retinens, si falleret, Jovem ceterosque pre-
catus deos, ita se mactarent, quemadmodum ipse agnum
mactasset, secundum precationem caput pecudis saxo elisit.
Tum vero omnes, velut diis auctoribus⁴ in spem suam quis-
que acceptis, id moræ, quod nondum pugnarent, ad po-
tienda sperata rati, prælium uno animo et voce una
poscunt.

Apud Romanos haudquaquam tanta alacritas erat, super
cetera recentibus etiam territos prodigiis. Nam et lupus
intraverat castra, laniatisque obvni ipse intactus evaserat;
et examen apum⁵ in arbore prætorio imminentem consederat.
Quibus procuratis, Scipio, cum equitatu jaculatoribusque
expeditis profectus ad castra hostium, exque propinquo co-
pias, quantæ, et cuius generis essent, speculandas, obvius
fit Hannibali, et ipsi cum equitibus ad exploranda circa
loca progresso⁶. Neutri alteros primo cernebant: densior
deinde⁷ incessu tot hominum equorumque oriens pulvis
signum propinquantium hostium fuit. Constitit utrumque
agmen, et prælio sese expediebant⁸. Scipio jaculatores et

46.

² *Victumulis.*] Nothing memo-
rable is recorded of this town, which
stood near Placentia.

³ *Nihil unquam satis, &c.*] “Con-
sidering no addresses or warnings
superfluous.”

⁴ *Velut diis auctoribus, &c.*] “As
though they had severally ob-
tained the sanction of Heaven for
their hopes.”

⁵ *Examen apum.*] The appear-
ance of a swarm of bees in an
unusual place was believed to presage

an invasion of foreigners. (*Virgil*,
Æn. vii. 62—70.)

⁶ *Et ipsi—progresso.*] “Who had
also come forward.”

⁷ *Densior deinde.*] “Afterwards,
the increasing thickness of the dust,
raised by the motion of so many
men and horses, indicated the ap-
proach of enemies.”

⁸ *Constituit—expediebant.*] Ob-
serve the difference of the tenses;
“they halted, and began to make
ready.”

U. C. 536. Gallos equites in fronte locat ; Romanos, sociorumque quod
 A. C. 218. roboris fuit, in subsidiis. Hannibal frenatos equites in me-
 dium accipit, cornua Numidis firmat. Vixdum clamore
 sublato, jaculatores fugerunt inter subsidia. Ad secundam
 aciem inde equitum certamen erat aliquamdiu anceps :
 dein, quia turbabant equos pedites intermixti, multis laben-
 tibus ex equis, aut desilientibus, ubi suos premi circum-
 ventos vidissent, jam magna ex parte ad pedes pugna ve-
 nerat : donec Numidæ, qui in cornibus erant, circumvecti
 paullulum⁹, ab tergo se ostenderunt. Is pavor perculit Ro-
 manos, auxitque pavorem consulis vulnus, periculumque
 intercursu tum primum pubescentis¹ filii propulsatum. Hic
 erit juvenis, penes quem perfecti hujusce belli laus est,
 Africanus² ob egregiam victoriam de Hannibale Poenisque
 appellatus. Fuga tamen effusa³ jaculatorum maxime fuit,

⁹ *Numidæ—circumvecti paullu-
 lum.*] This manœuvre of “turning
 the flanks” is one by which more
 battles have been won than any
 other recorded in the history of war;
 except perhaps the opposite move-
 ment of breaking the centre of an
 enemy’s line, when it has been
 weakened too much for the purpose
 of outflanking. The victories of the
 French at Austerlitz, and the Eng-
 lish at Salamanca, were won by
 breaking through divisions weak-
 ened by extension. In almost every
 battle lost by the Romans, it may
 be observed, that it was by being
 outflanked that they were defeated;
 especially in those of the second
 Punic war. Sempronius was de-
 feated at the Trebia, and Varro at
 Cannæ, with armies more numerous
 than the enemy; because they re-
 fused to change their form of battle-
 array, and were inferior in cavalry
 to the Carthaginians. The Roman
 armies, whose evil genius in this
 war was *routine*, always formed
 their camps and their line of battle
 in the same order. In camp, they
 always fortified themselves in a
 square area, irrespectively of the
 features of the locality; and in battle
 they always formed three lines, with
 cavalry on the wings. Hannibal’s
 chief superiority consisted in his
 faculty of adapting his tactics to
 circumstances; and thus evincing
 more of the military genius of mo-
 dern times. The duty of a military

commander is more difficult, and
 requires a higher order of talent,
 in the present age than among the
 ancients, and his influence is more
 decisive on the result of a battle.
 In ancient warfare, a general, sta-
 tioned at a distance of 500 feet from
 the enemy, was out of danger, and
 could more conveniently see and
 direct movements. In modern times,
 a general five times farther off may
 be exposed to the fire of bat-
 teries, and still be so distant, that many
 of the enemy’s movements may
 escape his notice. Modern fields of
 battle are also much more extended;
 the choice of ground more important;
 and operations require to be studied
 on a larger scale.

¹ *Tum primum pubescentis.*]
 “Then just approaching manhood.”
 The student will of course remember
 a similar incident in the history of
 Alexander the Great.

² *Africanus.*] This was the first
 instance in Roman history, if we
 except that of Manlius Torquatus,
 of a title acquired by military service.
 It may be observed, that the title
 of Maximus, added to the name of
 Fabius, was not acquired in war;
 (see note, lib. xxii. ch. 8.)

³ *Fuga tamen effusa, &c.*] “The
 flight, however, was disorderly, espe-
 cially that of the light infantry, who
 were the first upon whom the Numi-
 dians charged.” In the regular
 armies of antiquity, there were two
 species of infantry, light and heavy.

quos primos Numidæ invaserunt. Alius confertus equita- U.C. 536.
tus consulem in medium acceptum, non armis modo, sed A.C. 218.
etiam corporibus suis, protegens, in castra, nusquam tre-
pide neque effuse cedendo, reduxit. Servati consulis de-
cuss Cœlius ad servum natione Ligurem delegat. Malim⁴
equidem de filio verum esse, quod et plures tradidere auc-
tores, et fama obtinuit.

Hoc primum cum Hannibale proelium fuit; quo facile apparuit, et equitatu meliorem Pœnum esse, et ob id cam-
pos patentes, quales sunt inter Padum Alpesque, bello ge-
rendo Romanis aptos non esse. Itaque proxima nocte,
jussis militibus vasa silentio colligere, castra ab Ticino mota,
festinatumque ad Padum est⁵; ut ratibus, quibus junx-
erat flumen, nondum resolutis, sine tumultu atque insecta-
tione hostis, copias trajiceret. Prius Placentiam pervenere,
quam satis sciret Hannibal ab Ticino profectos: tamen ad
sexcentos moratorum in citeriore ripa, segniter ratem sol-
ventes, cepit. Transire non potuit pontem, ut extrema
resoluta erant, tota rate in secundam aquam labente. Cœ-
lius auctor est, Magonem cum equitatu et Hispanis pediti-
bus flumen extemplo transnasse; ipsum Hannibalem per
superiora Padi vada exercitum traduxisse, elephantis in or-
dinem ad sustinendum impetum fluminis oppositis. Ea
peritis amnis ejus⁶ vix fidem ficerint. Nam neque equites,
armis equisque salvis⁷, tantam vim fluminis superasse veri-
simile est, ut jam Hispanos omnes inflati transvexerint

47.

The invention of gunpowder gradually abolished this distinction: although for some time after that innovation, the arquebusiers represented the ancient *velites*, and the pikemen the *gravis armaturæ*. Since the celebrated engineer Vauban abolished the use of pikes and lances among foot-soldiers, and substituted the fire-lock and bayonet, all infantry has been light; grenadiers being the only remaining vestige of the heavy.

⁴ *Malim.*] “I should prefer,” (i. e. I am more inclined to believe —take more pleasure in believing) “that it were true of the son.” In addition to the other authorities, young Scipio’s claim to the honour is confirmed by Polybius, who says, that he, himself, heard the fact stated by Lælius.

⁵ *Festinatumque est.*] “And a hasty movement was made,” &c. The Consul’s object in crossing to

the southern bank of the river, was to draw the enemy down to the more uneven ground at the foot of the Apennines. It would be Hannibal’s object, on the other hand, to inflict as much loss as possible on the enemy where they were; and accordingly we find the Romans breaking up the bridge behind them in such haste, as to leave 600 men on the northern bank. *Transire non potuit*, “he was unable to cross the bridge; as the whole wood-work drifted down the stream, as soon as (*ut*) the ends were detached.”

⁶ *Ea peritis amnis ejus.*] “This can scarcely find credit with those who are familiar with that river.”

⁷ *Armis equisque salvis.*] “Consistently with the safety of their arms and horses.” *Ut*, “although” (it may be true that) “inflated skins bore all the Spaniards across; since the shallows of the Po had to be approached by a circuit,” &c.

U. C. 536. utres: ut multorum dierum circuitu Padi vada petenda.⁸
 A. C. 218. fuerant, qua exercitus gravis impedimentis traduci posset. Potiores apud me auctores sunt, quia biduo vix locum rate jungendo flumini inventum tradunt; ea cum Magone equites Hispanorum expeditos præmissos. Dum Hannibal, circa flumen legationibus Gallorum audiendis moratus, traxit gravius peditum agmen, interim Mago equitesque ab transitu fluminis diei unius itinere Placentiam ad hostes contendunt. Hannibal paucis post diebus sex millia a Placentia castra communivit, et postero die, in conspectu hostium acie directa, potestatem pugnæ fecit.

48. Insequenti nocte cædes in castris Romanis, tumultu tamen quam re major⁹, ab auxiliaribus Gallis facta est. Ad duo millia peditum et ducenti equites, vigilibus ad portas trucidatis, ad Hannibalem transfugiunt: quos Pœnus benigne allocutus, et spe ingentium donorum accensos, in civitates quemque suas, ad sollicitandos popularium animos dimisit. Scipio, cædem eam signum defectionis omnium Gallorum esse ratus, contactosque eo scelere¹, velut injecta rabie, ad arma ituros: quanquam gravis adhuc vulnere erat, tamen quarta vigilia noctis insequentis tacito agmine profectus ad Trebiam fluvium², in loca altiora collesque impeditiores equiti castra movet. Minus, quam ad Ticinum, fefellit³: missisque Hannibal primum Numidis, deinde omni equitatu, turbasset utique novissimum agmen, ni aviditate prædæ in vacua Romana castra Numidæ devertisserent. Ibi dum, perscrutantes loca omnia castrorum, nullo satis digno moræ⁴ pretio tempus terunt, emissus hostis de

⁸ *Padi vada petenda &c.*] To find these, it was necessary to proceed to the north, and of course further from the Roman station near Placentia. *Ut* would appear to introduce an additional reason for doubting the statement in question; but, any sense in which that conjunction can be used with the indicative, is so unsuitable to a logical sequence, as to suggest some conception of the text.

⁹ *Tumultu quam re major.*] "More alarming than important."

¹ *Contactosque eo scelere, &c.*] "Contaminated by that crime, as by some infectious madness."

² *Trebiam fluvium.*] This river passes within about three miles of Piacenza; and may be regarded as one of the branches of the Po, into which it falls at the point where the battle took place. "The banks," says Mr. Eustace (*Class. Tour*), "though

low, are yet sufficiently elevated, in a military sense. Not actually at the confluence of the two rivers, but a little higher up the Po, where the battle took place, the stream is wide enough to form a line of defence, and yet shallow enough to be fordable at many points. Its sides, on the right as you ascend the stream, where Mago lay in ambush, are still covered with reeds and brushwood." A memorable modern battle was fought on the same spot between the Russians under Marshal Suwarow and the army of the French Republic, in which, after a struggle of two days, the former were successful.

³ *Minus, quam ad Ticinum, fefellit*] "He was less successful in escaping detection than at the Ticinus."

⁴ *Nullo satis digno moræ &c.*] "Wasted time, without any adequate compensation for the delay."

manibus est: et quum jam transgressos Trebiam Romanos, U.C. 536.
metantesque castra conspexissent, paucos moratorum occi- A. C. 218.
derunt, citra flumen interceptos. Scipio, nec vexationem
vulneris in via⁵ jactati ultra patiens, et collegam (jam enim
et revocatum ex Sicilia audierat) ratus exspectandum, lo-
cum, qui prope flumen tutissimus stativis est visus, delec-
tum communiit. Nec procul inde Hannibal quum conse-
disset, quantum victoria equestris elatus, tantum⁶ anxius in-
opia, quæ per hostium agros euntem, nusquam præparatis
commeatibus, major in dies excipiebat, ad Clastidium⁷ vi-
cum, quo magnum frumenti numerum congesserant Ro-
mani, mittit. Ibi quum vim pararent, spes facta prodi-
tionis: nec sane magno⁸ pretio, nummis aureis quadringen-
tis, Dasio Brundisino præfecto præsidii corrupto, traditur
Hannibali Clastidium. Id horreum fuit Poenis sedentibus
ad Trebiam. In captivos ex tradito præsidio, ut fama
clementiæ⁹ in principio rerum colligeretur, nihil sævitum
est.

Quum ad Trebiam terrestre constitisset¹ bellum, interim
circa Siciliam insulasque Italiæ imminentes², et a Sem-
pronio consule, et ante adventum ejus, terra marique res
gestæ. Viginti quinqueremes³ cum mille armatis ad depo-
pulandam oram Italiæ a Carthaginiensibus missæ, novem
Liparas, octo insulam Vulcani tenuerunt, tres in fretum
avertit æstus. Ad eas conspectas a Messana duodecim
naves ab Hierone⁴ rege Syracusanorum missæ, qui tum
forte Messanæ erat, consulem Romanum opperiens, nullo
repugnante captas naves Messanam in portum deduxerunt.
Cognitum ex captiuis, præter viginti naves, cuius ipsi clas-

49.

⁵ *Vexationem vulneris in via &c.*] “The irritation of his wound inflamed by the rough motion of the journey.”

⁶ *Quantum victoriæ—elatus, tantum &c.*] The difficulty of arranging a relative clause in the beginning of an English sentence, imparts an inevitable awkwardness to any literal translation of a period of this form. We must adopt some such paraphrase as, “elevated as he was by the success of his cavalry; equally distressed by,” &c.

⁷ *Clastidium.*] In Liguria, on the via Posthumia, now *Schiarezzo*.

⁸ *Nec sane magno &c.*] The compound negative must be resolved in translation: sc. “And having bribed the commander of the garrisou by a not very large present,” &c. The *nummus aureus* of the Romans was equal to about sixteen

shillings and four-pence (100 H.S.), and was first coined during this war.

⁹ *Ut fama clementiæ &c.*] “In order to cultivate (or court) a reputation for clemency.”

¹ *Ad Trebiam—constitisset.*] “Became concentrated on the Trebia.”

² *Insulasque Italiæ imminentes.*] “Islands adjacent to Italy.”

³ *Viginti quinqueremes &c.*] The apposition, in Latin, of *novem*, *octo*, and *tres*, to *viginti*, (of the contained to the containing numbers,) cannot be preserved consistently with the English idiom. We must say, “of the twenty galleys sent to devastate the coast of Italy, nine reached the Liparæ, eight the isle of Vulcan, and three,” &c.

⁴ *Hierone.*] For particulars respecting Hiero, see lib. xxxiv. chap. 4.

U. C. 536. sis essent, in Italiam missas, quinque et triginta alias quinque
 A. C. 218. queremes Siciliam petere ad sollicitandos veteres socios.
 Lilybæi occupandi⁵ præcipuam curam esse: credere eadem
 tempestate, qua ipsi disjecti forent, eam quoque classem
 ad Ægates insulas dejectam. Hæc sicut audita erant, rex
 M. Æmilio prætori, cuius Sicilia erat provincia, perscribit,
 monetque, Lilybæum firmo teneret præsidio. Extemplo
 et circa a prætore⁶ ad civitates missi legati tribunique, qui
 suos ad curam custodiæ intenderent; ante omnia Lilybæum teneri⁷: ad apparatus belli, edicto proposito, ut socii
 navales decem dierum cocta cibaria ad naves deferrent;
 ubi signum datum esset, ne quis moram concendendi fa-
 ceret: perque omnem oram, qui ex speculis prospicerent
 adventantem hostium classem. Simul itaque, quanquam⁸
 de industria morati cursum navium erant Carthaginenses,
 ut ante lucem accederent Lilybæum, præsensum tamen
 est, quia et luna pernox erat, et sublatis armamentis venie-
 bant; extemplo datum e speculis signum, et in oppido ad
 arma conclamatum est, et in naves consensum: pars mili-
 tum in muris portarumque in stationibus, pars in navibus
 erant. Et Carthaginenses, quia rem fore haud cum im-
 paratis cernebant, usque ad lucem portu se abstinuerunt,
 demendis armamentis eo tempore aptandaque ad pugnam
 classe absumpto. Ubi illuxit, recepere classem in altum,
 ut spatium pugnæ esset, exitumque liberum e portu naves
 hostium haberent. Nec Romani detrectavere pugnam, et
 memoria circa ea ipsa loca gestarum⁹ rerum freti, et mili-
 tum multitudine ac virtute. Ubi in altum enecti sunt, Ro-
 manus conserere pugnam¹, et ex propinquo vires conferre

50. 5 *Lilybæi occupandi.*] Lilybæum

(now *Boco*) was the capital of the Carthaginian dominions in Sicily; and having resisted Pyrrhus and the Romans in previous wars, was considered impregnable.

6 *Circa a prætore &c.*] i. e. *ad*
civitates circā. “The lieutenants and tribunes were sent by the Praetor to the surrounding states, to urge their friends to diligence in watching.” Other editions read *prætorem*, “in attendance on the Praetor.”

7 *Lilybæum teneri*, is governed by *intenderent*, signifying (by a Zeugma) “to command.”

8 *Simul itaque, quanquam &c.*] The nearest English translation of this very idiomatic sentence must be something like the following. “As soon therefore as a view was ob-

tained, (for it was obtained, notwithstanding that (*quanquam*—*ta- men*) the Carthaginians had shortened their speed, in order to reach Lilybæum before day; because the moon shone all night, and they were advancing with sails set,) a signal was immediately” &c.

9 *Memorid circa ea ipsa loca gestarum &c.*] This must be an allusion to the battle at the Ægates, which were within view, because in front of Lilybæum itself, the Romans had on a former occasion received so signal and galling a defeat, under P. Claudio, that the Consul was superseded by a Dictator, A. Atilius Calatinus.

1 *Romanus conserere pugnam &c.*] The difference here specified had always existed between the two fleets. The Carthaginians had been

velle: contra eludere Pœnus, et arte, non vi, rem gerere, U. C. 536.
naviumque, quam virorum aut armorum, malle certamen A. C. 218.
facere. Nam ut sociis navalibus affatim instructam clas-
sem, ita inopem milite habebant: et, sicubi conserta navis
esset, haudquaquam par numerus armatorum ex ea pugna-
bat. Quod ubi animadversum est, et Romanis multitudo
sua auxit animum, et paucitas illis minuit. Extemplo sep-
tem naves Punicæ circumventæ; fugam ceteræ ceperunt.
Mille et septingenti fuere in navibus capti, milites nautæ-
que; in his tres nobiles Carthaginiensium. Classis Ro-
mana incolumis, una tantum perforata² navi, sed ea quoque
ipsa reduce, in portum rediit.

Secundum hanc pugnam, nondum gnaris ejus, qui Mes-
sanæ erant, Ti. Sempronius consul Messanam venit. Ei
fretum intranti rex Hiero classem ornatam³ obviam duxit:
transgressusque ex regia in prætoriam navem, gratulatus
sospitem cum exercitu et navibus advenisse, precatusque
prosperum ac felicem in Siciliam transitum; statum deinde
insulæ et Carthaginiensium conata exposuit: pollicitusque
est, quo animo priore bello populum Romanum juvenis ad-
juvisset, eo senem adjuturum. Frumentum vestimentaque
sese legionibus consulis sociisque navalibus gratis præbitu-
rum. Grande periculum Lilybæo maritimisque civitatibus
esse, et quibusdam volentibus⁴ novas res fore. Ob hæc
consuli nihil cunctandum visum, quin Lilybæum classe
peteret: et rex regiaque classis una profecti. Navigantes
inde, pugnatum ad Lilybæum fusasque et captas hostium
naves, accepere. A Lilybæo consul, Hierone cum classe
regia dimisso, relictoque prætore ad tuendam Siciliæ oram,
ipse in insulam Melitam⁵, quæ a Carthaginiensibus teneba-
tur, trajecit. Advenienti Hamilcar Gisgonis filius præ-
fectus præsidii, cum paullo minus duobus millibus militum,
oppidumque cum insula traditur: inde post paucos dies
reditum Lilybæum, captivique et a consule et a prætore,
præter insignes nobilitate viros, sub corona vierunt.
Postquam ab ea parte satis tutam Siciliam censebat con-

51.

for centuries trained in the naval tactics and evolutions of the Greeks: the Romans, on the contrary, having made their first essay in naval warfare during the first Punic war, were obliged, as under Duilius, to arm their galleys with grapples and falling gang-ways, in order to assimilate the battle to a hand-to-hand encounter on land.

² *Perforatæ.*] "Staved in."

³ *Classem ornatam.*] "In line of battle," or, "fully equipped," or

"decorated."

⁴ *Quibusdam volentibus*, is a translation of the Greek idiomatic phrase, *τοις βουλόμενοις ξεσθαι*.

⁵ *Melitam.*] Malta (in the middle ages *Malache*) was originally a Phœnician settlement, taken by Carthage about 400 B. C. It was given to the Knights of St. John by Charles V., and resisted the Turks in the memorable siege of 1565. It was taken by the French in 1799; and by the English in 1800.

U. C. 536. sul, ad insulas Vulcani⁶, quia fama erat stare ibi Punicam
 A. C. 218. classem, trajecit: nec quisquam hostium circa eas insulas inventus. Jam forte transmiserant⁷ ad vastandam Italiæ oram: depopulatoque Vibonensi agro⁸, urbem etiam terrebant. Repetenti Siciliam consuli exscensio hostium in agrum Vibonensem facta nuntiatur: literæque ab senatu de transitu in Italiam Hannibal is, et, ut primo quoque tempore collegæ ferret auxilium, missæ traduntur. Multis simul anxius curis, exercitum, extemulo in naves impositum, Ariminum supero mari misit: Sex. Pomponio legato cum viginti quinque longis navibus Vibonensem agrum maritimamque oram Italæ tuendam attribuit: M. Æmilio prætori quinquaginta navium classem explevit: ipse, compositis Siciliæ rebus, decem navibus oram Italæ legens, Ariminum pervenit: inde cum exercitu suo profectus ad Trebiam flumen, collegæ conjungitur⁹.

52. Jam ambo consules, et quicquid Romanarum virium erat, Hannibali oppositum¹, aut illis copiis defendi posse Romanum imperium, aut spem nullam aliam esse, satis declarabat. Tamen consul alter, equestri prælio uno et vulnere suo minutus², trahi rem malebat: recentis animi alter, eoque ferocior³, nullam dilationem patiebatur. Quod inter Trebiam Padumque agri est, Galli tum incolebant; in duorum præpotentium⁴ populorum certamine, per ambiguum favorem, haud dubie gratiam victoris spectantes. Id Romani, ne quid modo moverent, æquo satis, Pœnus periniquo

⁶ *Insulas Vulcani.*] sc. Lipara, Strongylè, (Strombolo), Hieræ, Eri-cusa (Alicudi), Phœnicusa, "the Isle of Palms," (Felicudi,) Didyme, and Euonymos.

⁷ *Jam forte transmiserant.*] "They happened to have by this time gone across to" &c.

⁸ *Vibonensi agro.*] In Lucania, so called after the chief town Vibona (*Monte Leone*, or, *St. Euphemia*).

⁹ *Collegæ conjungitur.*] Middle verb, "effected a junction with his colleague." His route was along the *via Æmilia*, which led directly from Ariminum to Placentia.

¹ *Ambo consules, et quicquid—oppositum.*] This agreement of words in sense, but not in Syntax, very common in Attic Greek, is called by Grammarians, the *σχῆμα πρὸς τὸ σημανθεὸν*. "The circumstance that both the Consuls, and all the existing strength of Rome, were

opposed to Hannibal, proved clearly," &c.

² *Minutus.*] Accordingly as we understood this phrase figuratively or literally, we may translate either by "discouraged," which makes a better antithesis with the following clause; or, by "incapacitated," or, "disabled;" as a legal phrase, it signifies, "disqualified, degraded," &c. Compare Homer, Il. O. 492.

³ *Ferocior.*] "More confident." It is a very general error to understand *ferox* in the sense of "fierce." It literally signifies "proud," and is accordingly the origin of the French word *fier*.

⁴ *In duorum præpotentium &c.*] "Confidently anticipating the favour of the conqueror, in a contest between two powerful nations, from a neutral policy. The Romans took this patiently enough, provided they would only refrain from any movement."

animo ferebat, ab Gallis accitum se venisse ad liberan- U.C. 536.
dos eos, dictitans. Ob eam iram, simul ut præda militem A.C. 218.
aleret, duo millia peditum et mille equites, Numidas ple-
rosque, mixtos quosdam et Gallos, populari omnem dein-
ceps agrum⁶ usque ad Padi ripas jussit. Egentes ope Galli,
quum ad id dubios servassent animos, coacti ab auctoribus
injuriæ ad vindices futuros declinant⁷: legatisque ad con-
sulem missis, auxilium Romanorum terræ, ob nimiam cul-
torum fidem in Romanos laboranti, orant. Cornelio nec
causa, nec tempus agendæ rei placebat: suspectaque ei
gens erat, quum ob infida multa facinora, tum, ut alia
vetustate obsolevissent⁸ ob recentem Boiorum perfidiam.
Sempronius contra, continendis in fide sociis maximum
vinculum esse primos, qui eguisserent ope, defensos⁹, cense-
bat. Tum collega cunctante, equitatum suum, mille peditum
jaculatoribus ferme admixtis¹⁰, ad defendendum Galli-
cum agrum trans Trebiam mittit. Ii sparsos et incompo-
sitos, ad hoc graves præda plerosque, quum inopinatos inva-
sissent, ingentem terrorem cædemque ac fugam usque
ad castra stationesque hostium fecere: unde multitudine
effusa pulsi, rursus subsidio suorum præcium restituere.
Varia inde pugna sequente¹¹, quanquam ad extremum
æquassent certamen, major tamen hostium Romanis fama
victoriæ fuit.

Ceterum nemini omnium major justiorque, quam ipsi
consuli, videri; gaudio efferri, 'qua parte copiarum alter
'consul victus foret, ea se viciisse. Restitutos ac refectos
'militibus animos: nec quemquam esse, præter collegam,
'qui dilatam dimicationem vellet: eum, animo magis, quam
'corpore, ægrum, memoria vulneris aciem ac tela horrere.
'Sed non esse cum ægro senescendum¹². Quid enim ultra

53.

⁵ *Omnem deinceps agrum.*] 'Every field from that point to the banks,' &c.

⁶ *Coacti—declinant.*] "Were compelled to turn from the perpetrators of the wrong to those likely to be their avengers."

⁷ *Ut alia vetustate obsolevissent.*] "Though the rest (other events) had been effaced by time."

⁸ *Primos, qui eguisserent ope, defensos.*] "The protection of those who had first required help."

⁹ *Jaculatoribus ferme admixtis.*] "With a general sprinkling of javelin-men." Crevier's reading is *M. peditibus, jaculatoribus ferme, admixtis*, which is an improvement.

¹⁰ *Varia inde pugna sequente.*]

"And though the rest of the action was doubtful," and they eventually restored the balance of the contest; still the reputation of victory was more with the Romans than the enemy." (sc. *major fama victoriae hostium.*) In addition to suggesting the above reading instead of *sequentes*, Gronovius proposes also to read *justiorque* instead of *hostium*, as the other adjective is repeated in the following sentence.

¹¹ *Non esse cum ægro senescendum.*] "They must not sink into (be infected by) a sick man's apathy. Why should there be any further delay or waste of time? What third Consul; what second army?" &c.

U.C. 536. 'differri aut teri tempus? Quem tertium consulem, quem
 A.C. 218. 'alium exercitum exspectari? Castra Carthaginiensium
 'in Italia, ac prope in conspectu urbis esse. Non Siciliam
 'ac Sardiniam victis ademptas, nec cis Iberum Hispaniam
 'peti, sed solo patrio terraque, in qua geniti forent, pelli
 'Romanos. Quantum ingemiscant,' inquit, 'patres nostri,
 'circa moenia Carthaginis bellare soliti, si videant nos,
 'progeniem suam, duos consules consularesque exercitus,
 'in media Italia paventes intra castra; Poenum, quod in-
 'ter Alpes Apenninumque agri sit, suæ ditionis fecisse?'"
 Hæc assidens ægro collegæ, hæc in prætorio prope con-
 cionabundus⁴ agere. Stimulabat et tempus propinquum
 comitiorum, ne in novos consules bellum differretur, et
 occasio in se unum vertendæ gloriæ, dum æger collega erat.
 Itaque, nequicquam dissentiente Cornelio, parari⁵ ad pro-
 pinquum certamen milites jubet. Hannibal, quum, quid
 optimum foret hosti, cerneret⁶, vix ullam spem habebat,
 temere atque improvide quicquam consules acturos. Quum
 alterius ingenium, fama prius, deinde re cognitum, percitum
 ac ferox sciret esse, ferociusque factum prospero cum
 prædatoribus suis certamine crederet; adesse gerendæ rei
 fortunam haud diffidebat. Cujus ne quod prætermitteret
 tempus, sollicitus intentusque⁷ erat, dum tiro hostium esset
 miles, dum meliorem ex ducibus inutilem vulnus faceret,
 dum Gallorum animi vigerent: quorum ingentem multitu-
 dinem sciebat segnus securoram, quanto longius ab domo
 traherentur. Quum ob hæc taliaque speraret propinquum
 certamen, et facere, si cessaretur⁸, cuperet; speculatoresque
 Galli, ad ea exploranda, quæ vellet, tutiores⁹, quia in utris-
 que castris militabant, paratos pugnæ esse Romanos retu-
 lissent; locum insidiis circumspectare Poenus coepit. Erat
 in medio¹ rivus, præaltis utrimque clausus ripis, et circa
 obitus palustribus herbis et, quibus inculta ferme vestiuntur,
 virgultis vepribusque. Quem ubi equiti quoque tegendo
 sat latebrosum locum circumvectus² ipse oculis perlu-

³ *Pœnum—fecisse &c.]* "And still more so by," &c.

the Carthaginians after subjecting" &c.

⁴ *Concionabundus.]* "In the style &c.

of a public address."

⁵ *Parari, (mid. verb.)* "to pre- &c.

pare themselves, to make ready."

⁶ *Hannibal, quum cerneret, &c.]* "Hannibal, seeing, as he did, what

would be best for the enemy, scarcely entertained any hope, &c.; but, as he knew, first by report, and then by experience, that the temper of one of them was impetuous and sanguine, and believed that it was rendered

⁷ *Sollicitus intentusque.]* "Anxious and vigilant."

⁸ *Et facere, si cessaretur.]* And was anxious to make it so, in case there should be any delay."

⁹ *Ad ea exploranda, quæ vellet, tutiores.]* "Less exposed to danger in making the discoveries which he desired."

¹ *In medio.]* "Between them," (sc. the two armies.)

² *Quem ubi—circumvectus.]* "And when he rode round, and took a personal survey," &c.

stravit: 'Hic erit locus,' Magoni fratri ait, 'quem teneas. U. C. 536.
 'Delige centenos viros ex omni pedite atque equite; cum A. C. 218.
 'quibus ad me³ vigilia prima venias. Nunc corpora curare
 'tempus est.' Ita prætorium missum⁴. Mox cum delectis
 Mago aderat. 'Robora virorum⁵ cerno,' inquit Hannibal:
 'sed, ut et numero etiam, non animis modo, valeatis, sin-
 'gulis vobis novenos ex turmis manipulisque vestri similes
 'eligit. Mago locum monstrabit, quem insideatis. Hos-
 'tem cæcum ad has belli artes habebitis.' Ita mille equi-
 tibus Magoni, mille peditibus dimissis, Hannibal prima luce
 Numidas equites, transgressos Trebiam flumen, obequitare
 jubet hostium portis, jaculandoque in stationes elicere ad
 pugnam hostem: injecto deinde certamine⁶ cedendo sen-
 sim citra flumen pertrahere. Hæc mandata Numidis.
 Ceteris ducibus peditum equitumque præceptum, ut pran-
 dere omnes juberent: armatos deinde, instratisque equis,
 signum exspectare.

Sempronius, ad tumultum Numidarum primum omnem
 equitatum, ferox ea parte virium, deinde sex millia peditum,
 postremo omnes copias ad destinatum jam ante consilio⁷,
 avidus certaminis, eduxit. Erat forte brumæ tempus et
 nivalis dies in locis Alpibus Apenninoque interjectis⁸, pro-
 pinquitate etiam fluminum ac paludium prægelidis. Ad
 hoc raptim eductis hominibus atque equis, non capto ante
 cibo⁹, non ope ulla ad arcendum frigus adhibita, nihil caloris
 inerat: et quicquid auræ fluminis¹ appropinquabant, afflabat

³ *Cum quibus ad me, &c.]* "And come with them to me."

⁴ *Ita prætorium missum.]* "On this understanding the council was dismissed."

⁵ *Robora virorum, &c.]* "I perceive strength of men (picked men), and, in order to have strength of numbers also," &c.

⁶ *Injectio—certamine.]* "When an engagement was provoked."

⁷ *Ad destinatum jam ante consilio.]* "According to the previously designed arrangement;" or, *ad (certamen) jam ante consilio destinatum*, "to an encounter previously planned."

⁸ *In locis Alpibus Apenninoque interjectis.]* This district (the Milanese) for its climate, soil, and scenery, is the favourite theme of the praises of all travellers in Italy. "The climate," says Eustace, (chap. ii.) "like that of Italy at large, is uniform and serene; but, as the more southern provinces are refreshed, during the sultry season, by a breeze

from the sea, so these plains are cooled by gales that blow constantly from the bordering mountains. Hence the traveller, who has been panting and melting away in the glowing atmosphere of Florence and Genoa, no sooner crosses the Apennines, and descends into the Milanese, than he finds himself revived by a freshness the more agreeable and unexpected, because he still continues to enjoy the same unclouded sky and azure firmament." It may be added, that no part of Italy, or, indeed, no part of Europe, has suffered so much, in proportion to its extent, from those successive hordes of invaders, whom the wealth and refinement of the south attracted across the Alps.

⁹ *Non capto ante cibo.]* "Without first taking food; without using any means to counteract the cold."

¹ *Quicquid auræ fluminis, &c.]* "The nearer they approached the breeze from the river, the sharper was the cold that blew upon them."

U.C. 536. acrior frigoris vis. Ut vero refugientes Numidas inse-
A.C. 218. quentes aquam ingressi sunt, (et erat pectoribus tenuis aucta

nocturno imbr) tum utique egressis rigere omnibus corpora,

ut vix armorum tenendorum potentia essent, et simul lassitudine,

procedente jam die, fame etiam deficere. Hannibal inter miles, ignibus ante tentoria factis, oleoque per manipulos, ut mollirent artus, missis, et cibo per otium capto, ubi transgressos flumen hostes nuntiatum est, alacer animis corporibusque arma capit, atque in aciem procedit. Baliares locat ante signa, levem armaturam, octo ferme millia hominum; dein graviorem armis peditem², quod virium, quod roboris erat: in cornibus circumfudit decem millia equitum; et ab cornibus in utramque partem divisos elephantes statuit. Consul effusos sequentes equites, quum ab resistantibus subito Numidis incauti exciperentur, signo receptui dato, revocatos circumdedit peditibus³. Duodeviginti millia Romani erant, socium nominis Latini viginti; auxilia præterea Cenomanorum: ea sola in fide manserat Gallica gens. His copiis concussum est. Prælium a Baliaribus ortum est; quibus quum majore robore⁴ legiones obsisterent, deductæ propere in cornua leves armaturæ sunt. Quæ res efficit, ut equitatus Romanus extemplo urgeretur: nam quum vix jam⁵ per se resisterent decem millibus equitum quattuor millia, et fessi plerisque integris, obruti sunt insuper velut nube jaculorum a Baliaribus conjecta. Ad hoc elephanti, eminentes ab extremis cornibus⁶, equis maxime non visu modo, sed odore insolito territis, fugam late faciebant. Pedestris pugna par animis magis, quam viribus, erat; quas recentes Pœnus, paullo ante curatis corporibus, in prælium attulerat: contra, jejuna fessaque⁷ corpora Romanis et rigidentia gelu torpebant. Restitissent tamen animis, si cum pedite solum foret pugnatum. Sed et Baliares, pulso equite, jaculabantur in latera, et elephanti jam in medium peditum aciem sese tulerant: et Mago Numidæque, simul latebras eorum improvida præterlata acies est, exorti ab tergo ingentem tumultum ac terrorem fecere. Tamen in tot circumstantibus malis mansit aliquamdiu immota acies, maxime præter

² *Graviorem armis peditem, &c.]*
 “All the power and resistance of his more heavily armed infantry.”

³ *Revocatos circumdedit peditibus.]*
 “When recalled, he posted them on the flanks of the infantry.”

⁴ *Quibus quum majore robore, &c.]*
 “And as the legion, with their greater solidity, withstood these.”

⁵ *Nam quum vix jam, &c.]* “For, as four thousand men, and these

exhausted, were already scarcely able, of themselves, to resist ten thousand, for the most part fresh, they were further overpowered,” &c.

⁶ *Eminentia ab extremis cornibus.]* “Adding still more to the length of the wings.”

⁷ *Jejuna fessaque, &c.]* “The bodies of the Romans, hungry and weary and stiff with cold, were benumbed.”

spem omnium adversus elephatos. Eos velites⁸, ad id U C. 536. ipsum locati, verutis conjectis et avertere, et insecuri A. C. 218. aversos sub caudis, qua maxime molli cute vulnera accipiunt, fodiebant. Trepidantes propeque jam⁹ in suos cōsternatos media acie in extremam, ad sinistrum cornu, adversus Gallos auxiliares agi jussit Hannibal. Extemplo haud dubiam fecere fugam. Additus quoque novus terror Romanis, ut fusa auxilia sua viderunt. Itaque, quum jam in orbem pugnarent, decem millia ferme hominum, quum alia evadere nequissent, media Afrorum acie, quæ Gallicis auxiliis firmata erat, cum ingenti cæde hostium perrupere: et, quum neque in castra reditus esset flumine interclusis, neque præ imbri satis decernere possent, qua suis opem ferrent, Placentiam recto itinere perrexere. Plures deinde in omnes partes eruptiones factæ: et, qui flumen petiere, aut gurgitibus absumpti sunt, aut inter cunctationem ingrediendi ab hostibus oppressi. Qui passim per agros fuga sparsi erant, vestigia cedentis sequentes agminis, Placentiam contendere: aliis timor hostium audaciam ingrediendi flumen fecit, transgressique in castra pervenerunt. Imber nive mixtus, et intoleranda vis frigoris, et homines multos, et jumenta, et elephatos prope omnes, absumpsit. Finis insequendi hostis Poenis flumen Trebia fuit: et ita torrentes gelu in castra rediere, ut vix lætitiam victoriæ sentirent. Itaque nocte insequenti, quum præsidium cas-

⁸ *Velites.*] The use of this name here is, technically speaking, a prolepsis; as Velites were not formally established in the Roman army, until the siege of Capua. (See l. xxvi. c. 44.)

Chap. lvi. In order to understand the topography of the battle on the Trebia, it is necessary to remember, that Hannibal was stationed between the rivers (Trebia and Padus), and the Romans at the further side of the Trebia, which thus separated the two armies, (*erat in medio rurus*). On the bank at his own side, Hannibal laid the ambush described in chap. liv; and in order to provoke the Romans to come across the river at that point, he sent over his cavalry to menace the camp, and retreat when pursued. In following the Carthaginian cavalry back through the river, the Romans (cavalry and infantry) became disabled by cold, and, as the day advanced, by hunger. As soon as the Romans advanced sufficiently to have the ambuscade

on their rear, the additional assault from behind completed the rout already impending. Hannibal's tactics during the engagement were an attack on the Roman infantry by the Baleares, and (when this was resisted) the removal of those light skirmishers to the flanks, where they galled the Roman cavalry, already inconvenienced by the elephants: finally, after the assault on the rear, and the repulse of the elephants, a charge of these animals on the Gallic (Roman) allies. This movement completed the dispersion of the Romans, who, fearing to enter the river a second time, retreated in the direction of Piacenza, with the exception of a small number collected by Scipio, and led to Cremona.

⁹ *Trepidantes propeque jam, &c.*] "As they (the elephants) were just now running wildly among their owners, now in disorder, Hannibal ordered them to be driven from centre to flank against the Gallic auxiliaries on the left wing."

U.C. 536. trorum, et quod reliquum ex magna parte militum erat,
 A.C. 218. ratibus Trebiam trajicerent, aut nihil sensere, obstrepente
 pluvia; aut, quia jam moveri præ lassitudine nequibant ac
 vulneribus, sentire sese dissimularunt: quietisque Pœnis,
 ticto agmine ab Scipione consule exercitus Placentiam est
 perductus: inde Pado trajectus Cremonam, ne duorum
 exercitum hibernis una colonia premeretur.

57. Romam tantus terror ex hac clade perlatus est, ut jam
 ad urbem crederent infestis signis hostem venturum; nec
 quicquam spei aut auxilii esse, quo portis mœnibusque
 vim arcerent. 'Uno consule ad Ticinum victo, altero ex
 'Sicilia revocato, duobus consulibus, duobus consularibus
 'exercitibus victis, quos alios duces, quas alias legiones
 'esse, quæ arcessantur.' Ita territis Sempronius consul
 avenit, ingenti periculo per effusos passim ad prædandum
 hostium equites, audacia magis¹, quam consilio aut spe fal-
 lendi resistendive, si non falleret, transgressus. Id quod
 unum maxime in præsentia desiderabatur, comitiis con-
 sularibus habitis, in hiberna rediit. Creati consules Cn.
 Servilius et C. Flaminius.

Ceterum ne hiberna quidem Romanis quieta erant,
 vagantibus passim Numidis equitibus, et, qua his impedi-
 tiora erant², Celtiberis³ Lusitanisque. Omnes igitur clausi
 undique commeatus erant, nisi quos Pado naves subve-
 herent. Emporium⁴ prope Placentiam fuit, et opere magno
 munitum, et valido firmatum præsidio. Ejus castelli ex-
 pugnandi spe cum equitibus ac levi armatura profectus
 Hannibal, quum plurimum in celando incepto⁵ ad effectum
 spei habuisset, nocte adortus, non fefellit vigiles. Tantus
 repente clamor est sublatus, ut Placentiæ quoque audiretur.
 Itaque sub lucem cum equitatu consul aderat, jussis qua-
 drato agmine legionibus sequi. Equestre prælium interim
 commissum: in quo, quia saucius Hannibal pugna ex-

¹ *Audacia magis, &c.]* "Rather through desperation, than with any plan or hope of escaping detection; or, in case he should escape, of making resistance."

² *Qua his impeditiora erant.]* "And where the ground was too uneven for these," (sc. the Numidians.)

³ *Celtiberis.]* The Celtiberians were a mixed race, between the Celts and the Iberians. The latter hold the rank of Aborigines, having been found in Spain by the Phœnicians. Their descendants and representatives at the present day are

the Basques, inhabiting Guipuscoa, Biscay, Alava, Navarre, and the country between the Bidassoa and the Adour.

⁴ *Emporium]* "A dépôt." Several of those stations subsequently retained this as a proper name: e. g. the Emporia (now *Ampurias*) in Spain, from which Hannibal began his march.

⁵ *Quum plurimum in celando in-
 cepto, &c.]* "Though he had his best hope of success in concealing his purpose, and made his attack in the night, he did not elude the vigilance of the guards."

cessit, pavore hostibus injecto, defensum egregie præsi- U. C. 536.
dium est. Paucorum inde dierum quiete sumpta, et vixdum A. C. 218.
satis percurato vulnere, ad Victumvias ire pergit oppug-
nandas. Id emporium a Romanis Gallico bello⁶ fuerat
munitum. Inde⁷ locum frequentaverant accolæ mixti un-
dique ex finitimis populis; et tum terror populationum eo
plerosque ex agris compulerat. Hujus generis multitudo,
fama impigre defensi⁸ ad Placentiam præsidii accensa, armis
arreptis obviam Hannibali procedit. Magis agmina, quam
acies⁹, in via concurrerunt; et, quum ex altera parte nihil,
præster inconditam turbam, esset, in altera et dux mili, et
duci fidens miles, ad triginta quinque millia hominum a
paucis fusa. Postero die, deditio facta, præsidium intra
mcenia accepere: jussique arma tradere quum dicto par-
issent¹, signum repente victoribus datur, ut tanquam vi
captam urbem diriperent. Neque ulla, quæ in tali re
memorabilis scribentibus videri solet, prætermissa clades
est²: adeo omnis libidinis, crudelitatisque, et inhumanæ
superbiæ editum in miseros est exemplum. Hæ fuere
hibernæ expeditiones Hannibalis.

Haud longi inde temporis, dum intolerabilia frigora
erant, quies mili data est: et ad prima ac dubia signa
veris³ profectus ex hibernis, in Etruriam dicit, eam quoque
gentem, sicut Gallos Liguresque, aut vi aut voluntate ad-
juncturus. Transeuntem Apenninum adeo atrox adorta
tempestas est, ut Alpium fœditatem⁴ prope superaverit.

58.

⁶ *Gallico bello.*] This must have been the war of A. U. C. 464. When the Senones and Boii were defeated by Dolabella and Aemilius Papus.

⁷ *Inde.*] “From that time,” or possibly, “for that reason,” (sc. its being fortified.)

⁸ *Famæ impigre defensi &c.*] “By the report of the prompt defence of the garrison at Placentia.”

⁹ *Magis agmina, quam acies &c.*] “They were rather lines of march than lines of battle that met,” &c.

¹ *Jussique arma tradere quum dicto parvissent.*] “And, although they had obeyed the summons to surrender their arms.”

² *Neque ulla—prætermissa clades est &c.*] “Nor was any severity omitted that historians consider worthy of record on such an occasion; to such a degree (so unreservedly) was every form of insult, cruelty, and inhuman oppression inflicted upon” &c.

Chap. lviii. The passage of the Apennines, in a less favourable season of the year, appears to have been as disastrous an undertaking for the Carthaginian army as that of the Alps.

“Horrebat glacie, saxe inter Lubrica summo
Piniferum celo miscens caput, Apenninus:
Considerat nix alta trabes, et vertice celso
Canus apex structæ surgebat ad astra
pruina.”
(*Silius Ital.* ix. 741.)

It was fortunate for the Romans that so formidable a barrier, just at that time, after their defeat on the Trebia, stood between them and their enemy. After the most obstinate efforts, Hannibal was compelled to return to the plain; a respite which gave the Romans time to raise new levies, and organize all their available strength for a fresh struggle.

³ *Prima ac dubia signa veris.*] “The first undecided (partial) appearances of Spring.”

⁴ *Alpium fœditatem &c.*] “That

U. C. 536. Vento mixtus imber quum ferretur in ipsa ora, primo,
 A. C. 218. quia aut arma omittenda erant, aut contra emitentes vortice
 intorti affligebantur, constitere: dein, quum jam spiritum
 includeret nec reciprocare animam sineret, aversi a vento
 parumper consedere. Tum vero ingenti sono cœlum
 strepere, et inter horrendos fragores micare ignes: capti
 auribus et oculis metu omnes torpere. Tandem, effuso
 imbre, quum eo magis accensa vis venti esset, ipso illo, quo
 deprehensi erant, loco castra ponere necessarium visum est.
 Id vero laboris velut de integro initium fuit. Nam nec
 explicare quicquam, nec statuere⁵ poterant; nec, quod
 statutum esset, manebat, omnia perscindente vento et
 rapiente: et mox aqua levata vento, quum super gelida
 montium juga concreta esset, tantum nivosæ grandinis de-
 jecit, ut, omnibus omissis, procumberent homines, tegmi-
 nibus suis magis obruti, quam tecti. Tantaque vis frigoris
 insecura est, ut, ex illa miserabili hominum⁶ jumentorumque
 strage quum se quisque attollere ac levare vellet, diu ne-
 quiret, quia, torpentibus rigore nervis, vix flectere artus
 poterant. Deinde, ut tandem agitando sese mouere ac re-
 cepere animos, et raris locis⁷ ignis fieri est cœptus, ad
 alienam opem quisque inops tendere. Biduum eo loco,
 velut obsessi, mansere. Multi homines, multa jumenta,
 elephanti quoque ex his, qui prœlio ad Trebiam facto
 superfuerant, septem absumperunt.

59. Degrессус Apennino retro ad Placentiam castra movit,
 et ad decem millia progressus consedit. Postero die duo-
 decim millia peditum, quinque equitum adversus hostem
 ducit. Nec Sempronius consul (jam enim redierat ab
 Roma) detrectavit certamen: atque eo die tria millia pas-
 suum⁸ inter bina castra fuere. Postero die ingentibus

it almost surpassed the horrors (the inclemency) of the Alps. When the wind mingled with rain beat right against their faces; at first they halted; because, either their arms must be thrown away, or, while struggling forward, they were bent by the storm, and thrown down."

⁵ *Nec explicare quicquam, nec statuere &c.*] "They could neither unpack (unfold) nor set up any thing," (sc. any tents.)

⁶ *Ex illa miserabili hominum &c.*] "Of that pitiable scene of prostrate men and cattle, when any attempted to rise and stand up, they were for a long time unable; because, with sinews numbed by the cold, they could scarcely bend their limbs."

With this we may compare a similar description in M. Labaume's history of the retreat from Moscow. "Many of them," he writes, "suffering more from cold than hunger, forsook all their baggage, to come and lie down before some large fire; but, at the moment of departure, those wretches had lost the power to rise, and preferred falling into the hands of the enemy, to making any effort to continue the march."

⁷ *Raris locis.*] "Here and there."

⁸ *Millia passuum.*] Of the measurement of distances by paces, it may be observed, that a *passus* was really two steps, though apparently but one movement; it was the distance from the point off which

animis, vario eventu, pugnatum est. Primo concursu adeo U.C. 536. res Romana superior fuit, ut non acie vincerent solum, sed A. C. 218. pulsos hostes in castra persequerentur; mox castra quoque oppugnarent. Hannibal, paucis propugnatoribus in vallo portisque positis, ceteros confertos in media castra recepit, intentosque signum ad erumpendum spectare jubet. Jam nona ferme diei hora⁹ erat, quum Romanus, nequicquam fatigato milite, postquam nulla spes erat potiundi castris, signum receptui dedit. Quod ubi Hannibal accepit, laxatamque pugnam¹ et recessum a castris vidit, extemplo equitibus dextra lœvaque emissis² in hostem, ipse cum peditum robore mediis castris erupit. Pugna raro ulla magis sœva, et cum utriusque partis pernicie clarior fuisset, si extendi eam dies in longum spatium sivisset. Nox accensum ingentibus animis³ proelium diremit. Itaque acrior concursus fuit, quam cædes; et, sicut æquata ferme pugna erat, ita clade pari discessum est. Ab neutra parte sexcentis plus peditibus, et dimidium ejus equitum cecidit. Sed major Romanis, quam pro numero, jactura fuit: quia equestris ordinis aliquot, et tribuni militum quinque, et præfecti sociorum tres, sunt interfici. Secundum eam pugnam Hannibal in Ligures, Sempronius Lucam⁴ concescit. Venienti in Ligures⁵ Hannibali per insidias intercepti duo quæstores Romani, C. Fulvius et L. Lucretius, cum duobus tribunis militum, et quinque equestris ordinis sena-

the foot was raised, to that where the same foot was set down again; i. e. about five feet.

⁹ *Jam nona ferme diei hora &c.]* The military movements, detailed in this chapter, may be illustrated by observing, that the Carthaginian troops, weakened and discouraged by the hardships described in the preceding, were unable to resist the Romans, who had enjoyed some rest; and, that Hannibal had a twofold object in delaying an engagement till this late hour of the day; first, to fatigue the Romans; and secondly, to prevent them, in the event of their success, from immediately following up their advantage.

¹ *Laxatamque pugnam.]* “The slackening (or, falling off) of the assault.” The metaphor is from a pressure or ligature strained to a high degree of tension.

² *Equitibus dextra lœvaque emissis.]* It is observed by military authorities, that cavalry is intended to

perform two different duties. Upon a march, it should be disposed in such a manner as to scour the country, to reconnoitre, and to pursue: in action, on the contrary, the most efficient service it is capable of performing, is charging suddenly and in a mass upon the weak points and breaches of an enemy’s line. From the distinction between these two duties arose the difference between light and heavy cavalry.

³ *Accensum ingentibus animis.]* “Animated by strong emotions.”

⁴ *Lucam, on the Auser (Sterchio), now Lucca.*

⁵ *Venienti in Ligures &c.]* “There were surrendered to Hannibal, on his arrival among the Ligurians, two Roman Quæstors treacherously arrested, C. F. and L. L., with two military tribunes, and five of the equestrian order, principally sons of senators, in order to confirm his belief of the sincerity of their (the Ligurians’) friendship and alliance.”

U. C. 536. torum ferme liberis, quo magis ratam fore cum his pacem
A. C. 218. societatemque crederet, traduntur.

60. Dum hæc in Italia geruntur, Cn. Cornelius Scipio, in Hispaniam cum classe et exercitu missus, quum, ab ostio Rhodani profectus, Pyrenæosque montes circumvectus, Emporiis⁶ appulisset classem, exposito ibi exercitu, orsus a Lacetanis, omnem oram usque ad Iberum flumen, partim renovandis societibus, partim novis instituendis, Romanæ ditionis fecit. Inde conciliata⁷ clementiæ fama, non ad maritimos modo populos, sed, in mediterraneis quoque ac montanis, ad ferociores jam gentes valuit: nec pax modo apud eos, sed societas etiam armorum, parata est: validæque aliquot auxiliorum cohortes ex iis conscriptæ sunt. Hannonis cis Iberum provincia erat: eum reliquerat Hannibal ad regionis ejus præsidium. Itaque prius, quam alienarentur omnia, obviam eundum ratus⁸, castris in conspectu hostium positis, in aciem eduxit. Nec Romano differendum certamen visum: quippe qui sciret⁹, cum Hannone et Hasdrubale sibi dimicandum esse; malletque adversus singulos separatim, quam adversus duos simul, rem gerere. Nec magni certaminis¹ ea dimicatio fuit. Sex millia hostium cæsa, duo capta cum præsidio castrorum: nam et castra expugnata sunt, atque ipse dux cum aliquot principibus capiuntur²: et Scissis, propinquum castris oppidum, expugnatur. Ceterum præda oppidi parvi pretiis rerum fuit; suppellex barbarica³, ac vilium mancipiorum. Castra militem ditavere; non ejus modo exercitus, qui victus erat, sed et ejus, qui cum Hannibale in Italia militabat, omnibus fere caris rebus⁴, ne gravia impedimenta ferentibus essent, citra Pyrenæum relictis.

61. Priusquam certa hujus⁵ cladis fama accideret, transgressus

⁶ *Emporiis.*] See chap. 57, note. *Lacetanis*, in Catalonia.

⁷ *Inde conciliatd.*] “Having thereby acquired a character for,” &c. *valint*, “exercised an influence.”

⁸ *Itaque prius—obviam eundum ratus.*] “Deeming it necessary, therefore, to interpose before all should be estranged.”

⁹ *Quippe qui sciret.*] “Knowing as he did.”

¹ *Nec magni certaminis &c.*] “But that was not a contest of much obstinacy.”

² *Ipse dux, &c. capiuntur.*] Observe the idiom; *dux cum al. p incipibus*, being equivalent to a nom. plur.

³ *Suppellex barbarica &c.*] This sentence also is very peculiarly con-

structed; *suppellex* being in apposition to *præda*; and *mancipiorum* to *rerum*. sc. “The plunder, however, consisted of things of little value: foreign furniture and (a booty of) worthless slaves.”

⁴ *Omnibus ferè caris rebus &c.*] “As almost every thing of value belonging not only to the army just defeated, but to that also &c. had been left south of the Pyrenees, lest the baggage might be an incumbrance to carry.”

⁵ *Priusquam certa hujus &c.*] “Hasdrubal having crossed the Ebro with 8000 infantry and 1000 cavalry, before any authentic intelligence of this loss could reach him; under the impression that he should arrive (*tanquam occursurus*).”

Iberum Hasdrubal cum octo millibus peditum, mille U.C. 536.
equitum, tanquam ad primum adventum Romanorum occur- A.C. 218.
surus, postquam perditas res ad Scissim amissaque castra
acepit, iter ad mare convertit. Haud procul Tarracone⁶
classicos milites⁷ navalesque socios, vagos palantesque per
agros, (quod ferme fit, ut secundæ res negligentiam creent)
equite passim dimisso, cum magna cæde, majore fuga ad
naves compellit. Nec diutius circa ea loca morari ausus,
ne a Scipione oppimeretur, trans Iberum sese recepit. Et
Scipio, raptim ad famam novorum hostium agmine acto,
quum in paucos præfectos navium animadvertisset, præ-
silio Tarracone modico relicto, Emporias cum classe rediit.
Vixdum digresso eo⁸, Hasdrubal aderat: et, Ilergetum
populo, qui obsides Scipioni dederat, ad defectionem
impulso, cum eorum ipsorum juventute agros fidelium
Romanis sociorum vastat. Excito deinde Scipione hibernis,
toto cis Iberum rursus cedit⁹ agro. Scipio, relictam ab
auctore defectionis Ilergetum gentem quum infesto exercitu
invasisset, compulsiis omnibus Athanagiam, urbem¹, quæ
caput ejus populi erat, circumsedit: intraque dies paucos,
pluribus quam ante obsidibus imperatis, Ilergetes, pecunia
etiam multatos, in jus ditionemque recepit. Inde in Ause-
tanos prope Iberum, socios et ipsos Poenorum, procedit:
atque, urbe eorum obsessa, Lacetanos auxilium finitimus
ferentes nocte, haud procul jam urbe, quum intrare vellent,
excepit insidiis. Cæsa ad duodecim millia: exuti pæne
omnes armis, domos passim palantes per agros diffugere;
nec obsessos alia ulla res, quam iniqua opugnantibus hiems,
tutabatur. Triginta dies obsidio fuit: per quos raro unquam
nix minus quattuor pedes alta jacuit: adeoque pluteos²
ac vineas Romanorum operuerat, ut ea sola, ignibus aliquo-
ties conjectis ab hoste, etiam tutamentum fuerit. Postremo
quum Amusitus princeps eorum ad Hasdrubalem profu-
gisset, viginti argenti talentis³ pacti deduntur. Tarraconem
in hiberna redditum est.

Romæ aut circa urbem multa ea hieme prodigia facta:
aut (quod evenire solet, motis semel in religionem animis)

⁶ *Tarracone, now Tarragon.*

⁷ *Classicos milites.* [al. classiarios]. These were what we now know by the name "marines." *Socii navales* were the regular sailors.

⁸ *Vixdum digresso eo &c.*] "He had scarcely left, when Hasdrubal was on the spot."

⁹ *Rursus cedit.*] "Once more withdrew from," &c.

¹ *Athanagiam, urbem.*] On the Sicoris (*Segre*) in Catalonia.

² *Pluteos.*] These were "parapets"

or "breastworks," or "galleries," covering the trenches in which approaches by zig-zags &c. were made. In modern warfare, the process is much the same; the "sappers" protecting themselves, at short distances, with gabions and fascines, which are analogous to the ancient *vineæ*.

³ *Argenti talentis.*] The silver talent was the name not of a coin but of a sum. It contained 60 minæ, and was equal to about £193.

U.C. 536. multa nuntiata, et temere credita sunt: in quis ingenuum
 A.C. 218. infantem semestrem in foro olitorio triumphum clamasse: et foro boario bovem in tertiam contignationem sua sponte escendisse, atque inde tumultu habitatorum territum sese dejecisse: et navium speciem de cœlo⁴ affulsiisse, et ædem Spei, quæ est in foro olitorio, fulmine ictam: et Lanuvii hastam se commovisse: et corvum in ædem Junonis devolasse, atque in ipso pulvinario consedisse: et in agro Amiternino multis locis hominum specie⁵ procul candida veste visos, nec cum ullo congressos: et in Piceno lapidibus pluississe: et Cære sortes extenuatas⁶: et in Gallia lupum vigili gladium e vagina raptum abstulisse. Ob cetera prodigia libros adire decemviri jussi. Quod autem lapidibus pluisset in Piceno, novendiale sacrum edictum, et subinde aliis procurandis prope tota civitas operata fuit. Jam primum omnium urbs lustrata est, hostiæque majores, quibus editum est⁷, diis cæsæ: et donum ex auri pondo quadraginta Lanuvium ad Junonis portatum est; et signum æneum matronæ Junoni in Aventino dedicaverunt; et lectisternium⁸ Cære, ubi sortes attenuatæ erant, imperatum; et supplicatio Fortunæ in Algido; Romæ quoque et lectisternium Juventati, et supplicatio ad ædem Herculis nominatim⁹: deinde universo populo circa omnia pulvinaria

⁴ *Navium speciem de cœlo &c.*] Appearances of this sort are more easily explicable than the generality of the portents of antiquity. It is now generally known, of course, that dense vapours floating at a certain angle with the sun and an object below, will present a reflection of the latter; and that this occurs more frequently in warm latitudes, where evaporation is more constant and abundant. As a general rule, the meteoric portents, recorded by Livy and other ancient writers, may be attributed to volcanic phenomena, exaggerated by the imagination of ignorant and superstitious spectators. It is remarked by Niebuhr, that extraordinary meteoric phenomena, from this cause, are generally found in Grecian and Roman history to coincide in time with pestilences, also caused by meteoric influences; and this theory is curiously illustrated by the fact, stated by Procopius, that the great plague at Constantinople, (A.D. 747.) was preceded by similar appearances. In this particular instance, the ships seen in the sky were, most probably,

those in which Scipio was crossing just then from the mouth of the Rhone to the coast of Spain.

⁵ *Hominum specie.*] This might also have been a mirage of the same nature as the giant, seen by travellers, on the Hartz Mountain, imitating the gestures of the spectator.

⁶ *Sortes extenuatas.*] “Shrunk—diminished in size.” The *sortes* were tablets bearing inscriptions of some sort. In all portents, and in dreams especially, the increase and diminution of the size of any object were respectively favourable or unlucky.

⁷ *Quibus editum est.*] “To the gods specified in the order.” *Edere* is properly applied to the responses from an oracle, or other consecrated source of information.

⁸ *Lectisternum.*] See Roman Antiquities for particulars. The ceremony is one of great antiquity among the Chinese and other Asiatic nations.

⁹ *Ædem Herculis nominatim.*] “Specially (i. e. for individuals) at the temple of Hercules, and generally at all temples for the whole people.”

indicta; et Genio¹ majores hostiæ cæsæ quinque; et U. C. 536. C. Atilius Serranus prætor vota suscipere jussus, si in A. C. 218. decem annos² respublica eodem stetisset statu. Hæc procurata votaque ex libris Sibyllinis, magna ex parte levaverant religione animos.

Consulm designatorum alter Flaminius, cui eæ legiones, quæ Placentiæ hibernabant, sorte evenerant, edictum et literas ad consulem misit, ut is exercitus Idibus Martiis Arimini adesset in castris. Huic in provincia consulatum inire consilium erat, memori veterum certaminum³ cum Patribus; quæ tribunus plebis, et quæ postea consul, prius de consulatu, qui abrogabatur, dein de triumpho habuerat; invisus etiam Patribus ob novam legem, quam Q. Claudius tribunus plebis adversus senatum, uno Patrum adjuvante C. Flaminio, tulerat: ne quis senator, cuive senatorius pater fuisse, maritimam navem⁴, quæ plus quam trecentarum amphorarum esset, haberet. Id satis habitum ad fructus ex agris vectandos: quæstus omnis Patribus indecorus visus. Res, per summam contentionem acta, invidiam apud nobilitatem suasori legis Flaminio, favorem apud plebem alterumque inde consulatum, peperit. Ob hæc ratus auspiciis ementiendis, Latinarumque feriarum mora, et consularibus aliis impedimentis⁵ retenturos se in urbe, simulato itinere privatus clam in provinciam abiit. Ea res, ubi palam facta est, novam insuper iram infestis jam ante Patribus movit: ‘Non cum senatu modo, sed jam cum diis immortalibus, ‘C. Flaminium bellum gerere. Consulem ante inauspicato ‘factum revocantibus ex ipsa acie diis atque hominibus non

63.

¹ *Genio.*] This name appears to have been a mystic form of expression, for that which neither ancients nor moderns have yet very clearly understood—the vital principle. It is what Heraclitus seems to have intended by the phrase, θεῖον λόγον ἀνανοῦσ, what the Greeks generally call *Δαίμον*, and is designated in the jargon of the astrologers as *κλῆρος Δαίμονος*.

² *Vota suscipere—si in decem annos, &c.*] “To undertake vows (which were to be paid) in case the Republic should have (when the time came) stood for ten years.”

³ *Veterum certaminum, &c.*] On the first of these (*quæ tribunus*) Val. Maximus records, that when Flaminius was passing his law, for the apportionment of conquered lands in Gaul, he resisted all the entreaties and threats of the Senate, until his

father interposed, to whose authority he submitted. On the second (*quæ consul*) Plutarch mentions, that the augurs had pronounced his election informal; and that he suppressed the letter of recall sent by the Senate, until after he had defeated the Gauls. He was consequently refused a triumph, and compelled to resign his office.

⁴ *Maritimam navem, &c.*] The object of this law was evidently to check any tendency to a mercantile spirit among the nobility; and the motive was a desire to prevent such dealings with and interest in the concerns of foreigners, as might interfere with the sincerity of their patriotism.

⁵ *Consularibus aliis impedimentis.*] “Hindrances incidental to the Consulship.”

U.C. 536. 'paruisse; et nunc conscientia spretorum et Capitolium et
 A.C. 218. 'sollennem votorum nuncupationem fugisse: ne die initi
 'magistratus Jovis optimi maximi templum adiret: ne se-
 'natum, invisus ipse, et sibi uni invisum⁶, videret consule-
 'retque: ne Latinas indiceret, Jovique Latiali solenne
 'sacrum in monte⁷ faceret: ne, auspicato profectus in
 'Capitolium ad vota nuncupanda, paludatus⁸ inde cum
 'lictoribus ad provinciam iret. Lixæ modo sine insignibus,
 'sine lictoribus, profectum clam, furtim⁹, haud aliter quam
 'si exsiliæ causa solum vertisset. Magis pro majestate
 'videlicet imperii Arimini, quam Romæ, magistratum ini-
 'turum, et in deversorio hospitali, quam apud penates suos,
 'prætextam sumpturum.' Revocandum universi retrahendumque¹ censuerunt; et cogendum omnibus prius
 præsentem in deos hominesque fungi officiis, quam ad
 exercitum et in provinciam iret. In eam legationem (le-
 gatos enim mitti placuit) Q. Terentius et M. Antistius
 profecti, nihil magis eum moverunt, quam priori consulatu
 literæ moverant ab senatu missæ. Paucos post dies magis-
 tratum init, immolautique ei vitulus jam ictus e manibus
 sacrificantium sese quum proripiueret, multos circumstantes
 cruore respersit. Fuga procul² etiam major apud ignaros,
 quid trepidaretur, et concursatio fuit: id a plerisque in
 omen magni terroris acceptum³. Legionibus inde duabus a
 Sempronio prioris anni consule, duabus a C. Atilio prætore
 acceptis, in Etruriam per Apennini tramites exercitus duci
 est cœptus.

⁶ *Senatum, invisus ipse, et sibi uni invisum, &c.*] "To avoid meeting and consulting the Senate, disliked as he was, and their only enemy."

⁷ *Sollenne sacrum in monte.*] "The anniversary festival on the (Alban) hill," where the *seriae Latinæ* were always celebrated.

⁸ *Paludatus* may signify, in a secondary sense, "with a formal military commission."

⁹ *Clam, furtim.*] The difference would appear to be, that the former

implies a concealment of the act; the latter, a concealment of the motive.

¹ *Retrahendumque.*] "Brought back by force—arrested."

² *Fuga procul, &c.*] "The dismay and consternation was still greater among those who were at a distance, and ignorant of the cause of alarm."

³ *In omen—acceptum.*] "Understood as an omen."

LIBER XXII.

EPITOME.

Hannibal, per continuas vigilias in paludibus oculo amisso, venit in Etruriam; per quas paludes quadriduo et tribus noctibus sine ulla requie iter fecit. C. Flaminius consul, homo temerarius, contra auspicia profectus, signis militaribus effossis, quæ tolli non poterant, et ab equo, quem conscenderat, per caput devolutus, insidiis ab Hannibale circumventus, ad Trasimenum lacum cum exercitu cæsus est. Sex millia, quæ eruperant, fide ab Maharbale data, perfidia Hannibalis vincta sunt. Quum ad nuntium cladis Romæ luctus esset, duæ matres, ex insperato receptis filiis, gaudio mortuæ sunt. Ob hanc cladem ex Sibyllinis libris ver sacrum votum. Quum deinde Q. Fabius Maximus dictator, adversus Hannibalem missus, nollet acie cum eo configere, ne, contra ferocem tot victoriis hostem, territum adversis præliis militem pugnæ committeret, et, opponendo se tantummodo, conatus Hannibalis impediret: M. Minucius magister equitum, ferox et temerarius, criminando dictatorem tanquam segnem et timidum, effecit, ut populi jussu æquaretur ei cum dictatore imperium; divisoque exercitu, quum iniquo loco conflixisset, et in maximo discrimine legiones ejus essent, superveniente cum exercitu Fabio Maximo discriminis liberatus est. Quo beneficio victus castra cum eo junxit, et patrem eum salutavit; idemque facere milites jussit. Hannibal, vastata Campania, inter Casilinum oppidum et Calliculam montem a Fabio clausus, sarmentis ad cornua boum alligatis et incensis, præsidium Romanorum, quod Calliculam insidebat, fugavit: et sic transgressus est saltum. Idemque Q. Fabii Maximi dictatoris, quum circumposita ureret, agro pepercit, ut illum tanquam proditorem suspectum faceret. Æmilio deinde Paullo et Terentio Varrone consulibus et ducibus, cum maxima clade adversus Hannibalem ad Cannas pugnatum est: cæsaque eo prælio Romanorum quadraginta quinque millia, cum Paullo consule et senatoribus octoginta, consularibus atque prætoriis aut ædiliciis triginta. Post quam cladem quum a nobilibus adolescentibus propter desperationem consilium de relinquenda Italia iniretur, P. Cornelius Scipio tribunus militum, qui postea Africanus nuncupatus est, stricto super capita deliberantium ferro, juravit, se pro hoste habiturum eum, qui in verba sua non jurasset; effectique, ut omnes, minime relictum iri a se Italianam, jurejurando astringerentur. Præterea trepidationem urbis et luctum, et res in Hispania meliore eventu gestas continet. Opimia et Floronii, Vestales virgines, incesti damnatae sunt. Propter paucitatem vero militum servorum octo millia armata sunt. Captivi, quum potestas esset redimendi, redempti non sunt. Varroni obviam itum est, et gratiæ actæ, quod de republica non desperasset.

U. C. 537. **J**AM ver appetebat, quum Hannibal ex hibernis movit,
A. C. 217. et nequicquam ante conatus transcendere Apenninum
intolerandis frigoribus, et¹ cum ingenti periculo moratus ac
metu. Galli, quos prædæ populationumque conciverat
spes, postquam pro eo, ut ipsi ex alieno agro raperent age-
rentque, suas terras sedem belli esse, premique utriusque
partis exercituum hibernis viderunt; verterunt retro ad
Hannibalem ab Romanis odia: petitusque sæpe principum
insidiis², ipsorum inter se fraude, eadem levitate, qua con-
senserant, consensum indicantium, servatus erat; et, mu-
tando nunc vestem, nunc tegumenta capitis³, errore etiam
sese ab insidiis munierat. Ceterum hic quoque ei timor
causa fuit maturius movendi ex hibernis.

Per idem tempus Cn. Servilius consul Romæ Idibus
Martiis magistratum iniit. Ibi quum de republica retu-
lisset, redintegrata in C. Flaminium invidia est. 'Duos se
' consules creasse, unum habere. Quod enim illi justum
' imperium⁴, quod auspiciū⁵ esse? Magistratus id a domo,
' publicis privatisque penatibus, Latinis feriis actis, sacrificio
' in monte perfecto, votis rite in Capitolio nuncupatis, se-
' cum ferre: nec privatum auspicia sequi, nec sine auspiciis
' profectum in externo ea solo nova atque integra⁶ concipere
' posse.' Augebant metum prodigia ex pluribus simul locis
nuntiata: in Sicilia militibus aliquot spicula, in Sardinia
autem in muro circumeunti vigilias equiti scipionem, quem
manu tenuerat, arsisse, et litora crebris ignibus fulsisse, et
scuta duo sanguine sudasse, et milites quosdam ictos fulmi-
nibus, et solis orbem minui visum: et Præneste ardentes
lapides⁷ cælo cecidisse: et Arpis parmas in cælo visas,
pugnantemque cum luna solem⁸: et Capenæ duas interdiu
lunas ortas⁹: et aquas Cæretes sanguine mixtas fluxisse;
fontemque ipsum Herculis cruentis manasse sparsum ma-
culis: et in Antiati metentibus cruentas in corbem spicas

¹ *Et nequicquam—et.*] "Having been frustrated in his previous attempt to cross the Apennines, by the excessive cold; at the same time that his delay involved considerable danger and apprehension."

² *Petitusque sæpe principum insidiis, &c.*] "And, though frequently assailed by the treachery of the princes, was saved by their mutual disloyalty, as they betrayed their conspiracy with the same capriciousness with which they had combined."

³ *Tegumenta capitīs.*] These were wigs, of which he had a great number, suited to different ages and complexions.

⁴ *Justum imperium.*] "Legitimate authority."

⁵ *Auspiciū.*] "Right of divination."

⁶ *Nova atque integra.*] "New and unprejudiced."

⁷ *Ardentes lapides.*] Drakenborch reads *lampadas*; but the change is unnecessary.

⁸ *Pugnantemque cum luna solem.*] This merely implies that the sun and moon were both visible above the horizon.

⁹ *Duas interdiu lunas ortas.*] sc. When, at new moon, a full moon is made visible by the reflexion of the earth's light.

cedidisse : et Faleriis cœlum findi velut magno hiatu visum ; U. C. 537. quaque patuerit, ingens lumen effulsiſſe : sortes sua sponte A. C. 217. attenuatas, unamque excidisse, ita scriptam : MAVORS TE-
LUM SUUM CONCUTIT : et per idem tempus Romæ signum Martis Appia via ad simulacra luporum sudasse : et Capuæ speciem cœli ardentis fuisse, lunæque inter imbræ ca-
dantis. Inde minoribus etiam dictu prodigiis fides habita : capras lanatas quibusdam factas, et gallinam in marem, gallum in feminam sese vertisse. His, sicut erant nuntiata, expositis, auctoribusque in curiam introductis, consul de re-
ligione Patres consuluit. Decretum, ut ea prodigia, partim majoribus hostiis, partim lactentibus, procurarentur : et uti supplicatio per triduum ad omnia pulvinaria haberetur. Cetera, quum decemviri libros inspexissent, ut ita fierent, quemadmodum cordi esse divis, carminibus præfarentur. Decemvirorum monitu decretum est, Jovi primum donum fulmen aureum pondo quinquaginta fieret ; Junoni Miner-
væque ex argento dona darentur ; et Junoni Reginæ in Aventino, Junonique Sospitæ Lanuvii majoribus hostiis sacrificaretur ; matronæque, pecunia collata, quantum con-
ferre cuique commodum esset, donum Junoni Reginæ in Aventinum ferrent, lectisterniumque fieret ; quin et ut li-
bertinæ et ipsæ, unde Feroniæ¹ donum daretur, pecuniam pro facultatibus suis conferrent. Hæc ubi facta, decemviri Ardeæ in foro majoribus hostiis sacrificarunt. Postremo Decembri jam mense ad ædem Saturni Romæ immolatum est, lectisterniumque imperatum, (et eum lectum senatores straverunt) et convivium publicum ; ac per urbem Saturnalia diem ac noctem clamatum, populusque eum diem festum habere ac servare in perpetuum jussus.

Dum consul placandis Romæ diis habendoque delectu² dat operam, Hannibal, profectus ex hibernis, quia jam Flaminium consulem Arretium pervenisse fama erat, quum aliud longius, ceterum commodius, ostenderetur iter, pro-
prietem viam per paludem petit, qua fluvius Arnus per eos dies³ solito magis inundaverat. Hispanos et Afros, (id omne veterani erat robur exercitus) admixtis ipsorum impedimentis, necubi consistere coactis necessaria ad usus dees-

2.

¹ *Feroniæ.*] She was the tutelary deity of the libertinæ ; and had a temple and grove about three miles from Anxur.

² *Habendoque delectu.*] Other editions read *trahendo*, i. e. “postponing the levy,” in order of course to embarrass Flaminius.

³ *Per eos dies.*] “At that season.” The valley of the Arno is memorable

for many classical associations. In the immediate neighbourhood stood the Tuscan villa of the younger Pliny, near Tifernum (*città di Castello*), and now stands *Arezzo*, the birthplace of Petrarch, and of Guido l’Aretino, who invented the scale of musical notes now in use. Near it also is the celebrated *Vallombrosa* ; and still nearer, *Florence*.

U.C. 537. sent, primos ire jussit: sequi Gallos, ut id agminis medium
A.C. 217. esset; novissimos ire equites: Magonem inde cum expeditis Numidis cogere agmen, maxime Gallos, si tædio laboris longæque viæ (ut est mollis ad talia gens) dilaberrantur aut subsisterent, cohidentem. Primi, qua modo præirent duces, per præaltas fluvii ac profundas⁴ voragine, hausti pæne limo immergentesque se, tamen signa sequerantur. Galli neque sustinere se prolapsi⁵, neque assurgere ex voraginibus poterant; aut corpora animis, aut animos spe sustinebant: alii fessa ægre trahentes membra; alii, ubi semel victis tædio animis procubuissent, inter jumenta, et ipsa jacentia passim, morientes: maximeque omnium vigiliæ conficiebant, per quatriduum jam et tres noctes toleratæ. Quum, omnia obtinentibus aquis⁶, nihil, ubi in sicco fessa sternerent corpora, inveniri posset, cumulatis in aquas sarcinis insuper incumbebant. Jumentorum itinere toto⁷ prostratorum passim acervi tantum, quod extaret aqua⁸, quærentibus ad quietem parvi temporis necessarium cubile dabant. Ipse Hannibal, æger oculis ex verna primum in temperie variante calores frigoraque, elephanto, qui unus superfuerat, quo altius ab aqua extaret, vectus; vigiliis tandem et nocturno humore palustrique cœlo gravante caput, et quia medendi nec locus nec tempus erat, alteros oculo capitur.

3. Multis hominibus jumentisque foede amissis, quum tandem de paludibus emersisset, ubi primum in sicco potuit, castra locat: certumque per præmissos exploratores habuit, exercitum Romanum circa Arretii moenia esse. Consulis deinde consilia atque animum, et situm regionum, itineraque, et copias ad commeatus expediendos, et cetera, quæ cognosse in rem erat, summa omnia cum cura⁹ inquirendo exsequebatur. Regio erat in primis Italæ fertilis¹, Etrusci

⁴ *Præaltas—profundas.*] These epithets differ in signifying, the former, “rising to a high level,” and the latter, “extending far downwards.” We may translate by the terms “full” and “deep.”

⁵ *Sustinere se prolapsi.*] “Keep themselves from falling.” For *aut corpora &c. aut*, Crevier reads, *neque—neque*. It is more probable, however, that Livy wrote *haud &c. haud*.

⁶ *Omnia obtinentibus aquis.*] All the rivers in this part of Italy are flooded in winter, and almost altogether disappear in summer.

⁷ *Jumentorum itinere toto, &c.*] “The heaps of cattle, lying along the whole line of march, alone afforded

a surface above the water to those who sought a resting place indispensable to a few moments’ repose.”

⁸ *Tantum, quod extaret aqua.*] May be also taken after *quærentibus*: thus, “to those who sought merely some resting place above the water;” that is, who were satisfied with all else, if the surface were only dry.

⁹ *Summæ omnia cum cura.*] “All this he fully and carefully investigated;” literally, “persisted in inquiring,” &c.

¹ *Regio erat in primis Italæ fertilis, &c.*] These Etrurian plains, enclosed by two chains of hills, and intersected by the river *Chiana* or *Clanis*, form the *val d’Arno*, as cele-

campi, qui Fæsulas inter Arretiumque jacent, frumenti ac U. C. 537. pecoris et omnium copia rerum opulenti. Consul ferox ab A. C. 217. consulatu priore, et non modo legum ac Patrum majestatis, sed ne deorum quidem satis metuens. Hanc insitam ingenio⁸ ejus temeritatem fortuna prospero civilibus bellicisque rebus successu aluerat. Itaque satis apparebat⁹, nec deos nec homines consulentem, ferociter omnia ac præpropere acturum. Quoque pronior esset in via sua, agitare eum atque irritare Poenus parat: et, læva relicto hoste, Fæsulas petens, medio Etruriæ agro prædatum¹⁰ profectus, quantam maximam vastitatem potest, cædibus incendiisque consuli procul ostendit. Flaminius, qui ne quieto quidem hoste¹¹ ipse quieturus erat, tum vero, postquam res sociorum ante oculos prope suos ferri agique vidit, suum id dedecus ratus, per medium jam Italiam vagari Poenum, atque, obstante nullo, ad ipsa Romana moenia ire oppugnanda; ceteris omnibus in consilio salutaria magis, quam speciosa¹², suadentibus, 'collegam exspectandum, ut conjunctis exercitibus, 'communi animo consilioque rem gererent; interim equitatu auxiliisque levium armorum ab effusa prædandi licentia hostem cohibendum;' iratus se ex consilio proripuit, signumque simul itineris pugnæque proposuit. 'Quin imo Arretii ante moenia sedeamus,' inquit: 'hic enim patria et penates sunt. Hannibal emissus e manibus perpopulatur Italiam, vastandoque et urendo omnia ad Romana moenia perveniat; nec ante nos hinc moverimus, quam, sicut olim Camillum ab Veis', C. Flaminium ab Arretio Patres acciverint.' Hæc simul increpans, quum ociosus signa convelli juberet, et ipse in equum insiluisset, equus repente corruuit, consulemque lapsum super caput effudit.

brated in modern times for beauty and fertility, as the vale of Tempe among the ancients. Fæsulae (*Fiesole*) was originally, as was also Arretium, one of the twelve Etrurian cities; and after the submission of the whole confederacy to Rome, colonized by Sylla. It existed in considerable prosperity until the commencement of the eleventh century, when it was destroyed in a war with Florence. It is now a comparatively deserted, but still beautiful, village. Standing on an eminence, it commands a view of Florence and the valley.

⁸ *Hanc insitam ingenio, &c.* ⁹ "This constitutional imprudence circumstances had encouraged by the favourable results of civil and military

transactions."

¹⁰ *Satis apparebat.]* "It was quite evident."

¹¹ *Medio Etruriæ agro prædatum,]* i. e. (in) medio agro.

¹² *Qui ne quieto quidem hoste, &c.]* "Who would not have remained quiet even during the repose of the enemy."

¹³ *Salutaria magis, quam speciosa.]* "Rather beneficial than imposing."

¹⁴ *Sicut olim Camillum ab Veis, &c.]* There is probably a twofold meaning in this allusion to Camillus. In the first place, the Government at home is charged with a habitual insensibility to the value of its generals: and secondly, but less directly, Flaminius compares himself with the conqueror of Veii.

U.C. 537. Territis omnibus, qui circa erant, velut fœdo omine incipi-
 A.C. 217. endæ rei, insuper nuntiatur, signum, omni vi moliente
 signifero, convelli nequire. Conversus ad nuntium, 'Num
 'literas quoque⁸,' inquit, 'ab senatu affer, quæ me rem
 'gerere vetent? Abi, nuntia, signum effodiant, si ad con-
 'vellendum manus præ metu obtorpuerint.' Incedere inde
 agmen cœpit; primoribus, super quam quod dissenserant⁹ a
 consilio, territis etiam duplii prodigio; milite in vulgus
 lœto ferocia ducis, quum spem magis ipsam, quam causam
 spei, intueretur.

4. Hannibat, quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem Trasime-
 numque lacum, omni clade belli pervastat, quo magis iram
 hosti ad vindicandas sociorum injurias acuat. Et jam per-
 venerant ad loca insidiis nata, ubi maxime¹ montes Corto-

⁸ *Num literas quoque, &c.*] An allusion to his recall by the Senate on a former occasion.

⁹ *Super quam quod dissenserant, &c.*] "In addition to the fact of their having disapproved of" (to their previous dissent from) "his plans."

¹ *Uli maxime.*] "Just at the point where," &c. The place chosen by Hannibal for this engagement was the plain, (about six miles long, by four miles in breadth,) enclosed on one side by the lake, and on the other by a semicircular wall of mountains (the *Gualandra*), to which the only entrances were narrow defiles at each extremity, lying between the water and a precipice, and very closely resembling the pass of Caudium. On the banks of the lake, which is about ten miles long and seven wide, there stand at present three modern villages, Torricelli, Passignano, and Borghetto. The road from Torricelli winds along the bank to Passignano, which is situated at one defile; and at the other end of the plain, where the mountains project upon the lake, stands Borghetto. It was in the centre of the plain, so enclosed, that Hannibal encamped with his African and Spanish troops. The Baleares and other light infantry were distributed through the recesses of the mountains; and the cavalry ordered to occupy the defile as soon as the Romans should have passed through it. The Consul

had no sooner cleared the pass at Borghetto, which he did before day-break in the morning (*vixdum satis certa luce*), in his anxiety to attack the enemy whom he saw in front, than he was informed, by the shout rising all around him, that he was entrapped: the lake was on his right; the main body of the enemy in front, on a rising ground toward Torricelli; the light troops occupying the Gualandra hills on the left; and the cavalry closing up the pass on the rear. While the Romans, thus hemmed in, were endeavouring to form a line of battle, a thick mist, rising from the water, darkened the whole scene, and brought on inextricable confusion. The battle lasted about three hours; and the return of sunshine shewed the ground, especially toward the hills near Borghetto, covered with the bodies of the Romans, and the lake stained with their blood. One of the two streamlets that flow from the hills, and which nearly bisects the plain, is still known by the name *Sanguinetto*, or *Fossa del sangue*. It is supposed to run by the spot where Flaminius fell, and to have on that day rolled a stream of blood to the lake. On an eminence over the road, near Borghetto, the ruins of a castle are still called "the tower of Hannibal," and a small village in the neighbourhood, where human bones are frequently dug up, has received the name *Ossigna*, the origin of which is recorded in the following

nenses Trasimenus subit. Via tantum interest perangusta, U. C. 537. velut ad id ipsum de industria relicto spatio: deinde paulo A. C. 217. latior patescit campus; inde colles assurgunt. Ibi castra in aperto locat, ubi ipse cum Afris modo Hispanisque consideret. Baliares ceteramque levem armaturam post montes circumducit: equites ad ipsas fauces saltus, tumulis apte tegentibus, locat; ut, ubi intrassent Romani, objecto equitatu, clausa omnia lacu ac montibus essent.

Flaminius quum pridie solis occasu ad lacum pervenisset, inexplorato, postero die, vixdum satis certa luce, angustiis superatis, postquam in patentiores campum pandi agmen coepit, id tantum hostium, quod ex adverso erat, conspexit: ab tergo et super caput decepere insidiæ. Poenus ubi, id quod petierat², clausum lacu ac montibus et circumfusum suis copiis habuit hostem, signum omnibus dat simul invadendi. Qui ubi, qua cuique proximum fuit, decucurrere, eo magis Romanis subita atque improvisa res fuit, quod orta ex lacu nebula campo, quam montibus, densior sederat, agminaque hostium ex pluribus collibus ipsa inter se satis conspecta, eoque magis pariter decucurrerunt. Romanus clamore prius undique orto, quam satis cerneret, se circumventum esse sensit; et ante in frontem lateraque pugnari coeptum est, quam satis instrueretur acies, aut expediri arma, stringique gladii possent. Consul, perculsis omnibus,

5.

barbarous inscription over a doorway:

“ Nomen habet locus his Ossain, ab ossibus illis
Quæ dolus Hannibal fudit, et hasta simul.”

It is reported, and, as at Marathon, believed by the native peasantry, that a sound of clashing shields and charging armies is sometimes heard upon this plain at night. A similar superstition prevails at Neerwinden, where the French under Dumourier were defeated, in 1793, by the Austrians under the Prince of Saxe Coburg; and at Tewkesbury, where, on the plain still known as “*the bloody field*,” a numerous force of Lancastrians were massacred. This popular belief is beautifully illustrated by Ugo Foscolo in the lines on Marathon.

————— “il navigante,
Che veleggio quel mar sotto l’ Eubea,
Vedea per l’ ampia oscurità scintile,” &c.

² *Poenus ubi, id quod petierat, &c.*] “As soon as the Carthaginian had his enemy—as he had been desiring—shut in by the lake

and the hills, and surrounded by his own troops, he gave the signal of attack to all at the same moment; and when they ran down by their several shortest ways, the movement was the more sudden and unforeseen by the Romans, as the mist rising from the lake had rested more thickly on the plain than on the hills; and the divisions of the enemy came down with a clear view of each other from the several valleys, and therefore, more simultaneously. The Romans perceived by the shout that rose all around them, before they could see clearly, (i. e. obtain an open view,) that they were surrounded; and the battle began in front and on the flanks, before their lines could be well formed, their arms adjusted, or their swords drawn.” *Collibus* instead of *vallibus* has been suggested by Lipsius, under the impression that the whole space was but one valley. The name, however, may be applicable to the several recesses and inequalities on the sides of the hills.

U. C. 537. ipse satis, ut in trepida re³, impavidus turbatos ordines, ver-
 A. C. 217. tente se quoque ad dissonos clamores, instruit, ut tempus
 locusque patitur; et quacunque adire audirique potest, ad-
 hortatur, ac stare et pugnare jubet; 'nec enim inde votis
 'aut imploratione deum, sed vi ac virtute, evadendum esse.
 'Per medias acies ferro viam fieri: et, quo timoris minus
 'sit, eo minus ferme periculi esse'. Ceterum præ strepitu
 ac tumultu nec consilium nec imperium accipi poterat:
 tantumque aberat, ut sua signa atque ordinem et locum
 nosceret miles, ut vix ad arma capienda aptandaque pugnæ
 competeret animus⁴: opprimerenturque quidam, onerati
 magis his, quam tecti: et erat in tanta caligine major usus
 aurium quam oculorum. Ad gemitus vulnerum ictusque
 corporum aut armorum, et mixtos strepantium paventium-
 que clamores, circumferebant ora oculosque. Alii fugientes⁵
 pugnantium globo illati hærebant: alios redeuntes in pug-
 nam avertebat fugientium agmen. Deinde, ubi in omnes
 partes nequicquam impetus capti, et ab lateribus montes ac
 lacus, a fronte et ab tergo hostium acies claudebat, apparuit-
 que, nullam, nisi in dextra ferroque, salutis spem esse; tum
 sibi quisque dux adhortatorque factus ad rem gerendam, et
 nova de integro pugna exorta est; non illa ordinata⁶ per
 principes hastatosque ac triarios, nec ut pro signis ante-
 signani, post signa alia pugnaret acies; nec ut in sua legione
 miles, aut cohorte, aut manipulo esset. Fors conglobat, et
 animus suus cuique⁷ ante aut post pugnandi ordinem dabat:
 tantusque fuit ardor armorum⁸, adeo intentus pugnæ animus,

³ *Ut in trepidâ re.*] "Considering his dangerous position."

⁴ *Viam fieri—esse.*] The present infinitive implies that these are general observations: sc. "A path can be opened with the sword through surrounding ranks; and the less fear there is, the less in general the danger."

⁵ *Vix—competeret animus.*] "They had scarcely presence of mind."

⁶ *Alii fugientes &c.*] "Some were impeded in their flight by coming in contact with" &c.

⁷ *Non illa ordinata &c.*] The regular arrangement of the Roman line of battle is intelligible, as being available only on the supposition that they stood in a *quincunx*. Such an arrangement would have afforded the intervals necessary for the use of the weapons of the ranks behind the van, and for

the occasional retreat of these latter, in order to allow those who stood behind them to come to the front. The Macedonian phalanx was drawn up "sixteen deep," all armed with the *sarissa*, which was fourteen ells long; so that five lines of spearheads projected before the first rank.

⁸ *Animus suus cuique.*] "His own amount of courage determined each man's position for fighting, in the front or in the rear:" *pugnandi* follows *ordinem*.

⁹ *Tantusque fuit ardor armorum.*] "And so intense was their warlike excitement: so bent upon the battle were their minds, that the earthquake, which overthrew considerable portions of several towns in Italy, turned back the rivers from their impetuous course, and forced the sea into their channels, and rocked

ut eum motum terræ, qui multarum urbium Italie magnas U. C. 587.
partes prostravit, avertitque cursu rapidos amnes, mare A. C. 317.
fluminibus invexit, montes lapsu ingenti proruit, nemo
pugnantium senserit.

6.

Tres ferme horas pugnatum est, et ubique atrociter. Circa consulem tamen acrior infestiorque¹ pugna est. Eum et robora virorum sequebantur, et ipse, quacunque in parte premi ac laborare senserat suos, impigre ferebat opem; insignemque armis et hostes summa vi petebant, et tuebantur cives: donec Insuber eques (Ducario nomen erat) facie quoque noscitanus², 'Consul, en,' inquit, 'hic est,' popularibus suis, 'qui legiones nostras cecidit, agrosque et urbem est depopulatus. Jam ego hanc victimam Manibus peremptorum foede civium dabo:' subditisque calcaribus equo, per confertissimam hostium turbam impetum facit: obtruncatoque prius armigero, qui se infesto venienti obviam objecerat, consulem lancea transfixit. Spoliare cupientem triarii objectis scutis arcuere. Magnæ partis fuga inde primum cœpit: et jam³ nec lacus, nec montes obstabant pavori. Per omnia arta præruptaque⁴ velut cæci evadunt: armaque et viri super alium alii præcipitantur. Pars magna, ubi locus fugæ deest, per prima vada⁵ paludis in aquam progressi, quoad capitibus humerisque exstare possunt, sese immergunt. Fuere, quos inconsultus pavor nando etiam capessere fugam impulerit. Quæ ubi immensa ac sine spe⁶ erat, aut deficiensibus animis hauriebantur gurgitibus, aut nequicquam fessi vada retro ægerrime repetebant, atque ibi ab ingressis aquam hostium equitibus passim trucidabantur. Sex millia ferme primi agminis, per adversos hostes eruptione impigre facta, ignari omnium, quæ post se agerentur, ex saltu evasere. Et, quum in tumulo quodam constitissent, cla-

down mountains with a heavy crash,
not one of the combatants felt."

And such the storm of battle on this day,
And such the frenzy, whose convulsion blinds
To all save carnage that, beneath the fray,
An earthquake reel'd unheededly away!
None felt stern Nature rocking at his feet,
And yawning forth a grave for those who lay
Upon their bucklers for a winding-sheet:
Such the absorbing hate when warring nations
meet! *Childe Harold*, iv. 63.

¹ *Acrior infestiorque.*] "More fierce and deadly."

² *Insuber—facie—noscitanus.*] Because Flaminius had commanded against them in his former Consulship.

³ *Inde primum—jam.*] "From that moment the rout began, and thenceforth," &c.

⁴ *Omnia arta præruptaque.]*
"Every defile and precipice."

⁵ *Prima vada.]* "The nearest shallows."

⁶ *Quæ ubi immensa ac sine spe*
&c.] "And when this proved endless and hopeless, they were either overwhelmed in the water, as their courage (or strength) failed; or, after having in vain exhausted themselves (*fessi*: mid. voice), made their way back with difficulty to the shallows, and there they were slaughtered indiscriminately by the enemy's cavalry," &c.

⁷ *Ex, quum in tumulo quodam*
constitissent.] "And, though they took up a position on a rising ground, as they could only hear the sound of

U. C. 537. morem modo ac sonum armorum audientes, quæ fortuna
 A. C. 217. pugnæ esset, neque scire, nec perspicere præ caligine
 poterant. Inclinata denique re, quum incandescente sole
 dispulsa nebula aperuisset diem, tum liquida jam luce
 montes campique perditas res stratamque ostendere fœde
 Romanam aciem. Itaque, ne in conspectos procul immit-
 teretur eques, sublatis raptim signis, quam citatissimo pot-
 erant agmine, sese abripuerunt. Postero die, quum super
 cetera extrema fames etiam instaret, fidem dante Mahabale,
 qui cum omnibus equestribus copiis nocte consecutus erat,
 si arma tradidissent, abire cum singulis vestimentis passurum,
 sese dediderunt. Quæ Punica religione⁸ servata fides ab
 Hannibale est, atque in vincula omnes conjecit.

7. Hæc est nobilis ad Trasimenum pugna, atque inter
 paucas memorata populi Romani clades. Quindecim millia⁹
 Romanorum in acie cæsa sunt; decem millia, sparsa fuga
 per omnem Etruriam, diversis itineribus urbem petiere. Mille quingenti hostium in acie, multi postea utrimque ex
 vulneribus perierte. Multiplex cædes utrimque facta tra-
 ditur ab aliis. Ego¹, præterquam quod nihil haustum ex
 vano velim, quo nimis inclinant ferme sribentium animi,
 Fabium æqualem temporibus hujusce belli potissimum auc-
 torem habui. Hannibal, captivorum qui Latini nominis
 essent, sine pretio dimissis, Romanis in vincula datis, segre-
 gata ex hostium coacervatorum cumulis corpora suorum
 quum sepeliri jussisset, Flaminii quoque corpus, funeris
 causa magna cum cura inquisitum, non invenit.

Romæ, ad primum nuntium cladis ejus, cum ingenti
 terrore ac tumultu concursus in forum populi est factus.
 Matronæ vagæ per vias², quæ repens clades allata, quæve

voices and clash of arms, they were
 unable in the darkness to ascertain or
 see what was the turn of the battle."

⁸ *Quæ Punicæ religione &c.]*
 "But this promise was kept by
 Hannibal with Punic sincerity," &c.

⁹ *Quindecim millia &c.]* The
 calculation given here by Livy, on
 the authority of Fabius, shews a
 proportion of ten deaths to one against
 the Romans. The proportion of
 deaths at Thermopylæ was about
 100 to one against the Persians, the
 largest on record.

¹ *Ego.]* The position of the
 pronoun requires a very emphatic
 translation: we must say, "I, for my
 part, in addition to my objection to
 any thing drawn from imagination,"
 &c.

² *Matronæ vagæ per vias, &c.]*

It is in the delineation of such scenes
 as Rome must have presented on this
 occasion of terror, suspense, and
 despair, that Livy always exhibits
 his power of description to most
 advantage. The lines and shadows
 of the following passage are so
 skilfully touched and so artistically
 true, that it seems entitled to some
 attempt to present it in English:
 sc. "The matrons, wandering
 through the streets, enquired of all
 who met them what sudden calamity
 had been announced, or, what was
 the fate of the army. As the
 multitude, like a crowded assembly,
 looking to the comitium and the
 senate-house, were calling on the
 magistrates; M. Pomponius the
 Prætor, after some delay and a
 short time before sunset, proclaimed,

fortuna exercitus esset, obvios percunctantur. Et quum U. C. 537. frequentis concionis modo turba in comitium et curiam versa magistratus vocaret; tandem haud multo ante solis occasum M. Pomponius prætor, 'Pugna,' inquit, 'magna 'victi sumus:' et, quanquam nihil certius ex eo auditum est, tamen aliis ab alio impleti rumoribus domos referunt, 'consulem cum magna parte copiarum cæsum: superesse 'paucos, aut fuga passim per Etruriam sparsos, aut captos 'ab hoste.' Quot casus exercitus victi fuerant, tot in curas disperiti eorum animi erant, quorum propinqui sub C. Flaminio consule meruerant, ignorantium, quæ cujusque suorum fortuna esset: nec quisquam satis certum habet, quid aut speret aut timeat. Postero, ac deinceps aliquot diebus, ad portas major prope mulierum, quam virorum, multitudo stetit, aut suorum aliquem, aut nuntios de his operiens: circumfundebanturque obviis sciscitantes; neque avelli, utique ab notis, prius, quam ordine omnia inquisissent, poterant. Inde varios vultus digredientium ab nuntiis cerneret, ut cuique aut læta aut tristia nuntiabantur: gratulantesque aut consolantes redeuntibus domos circumfusos. Feminarum præcipue et gaudia insignia erant, et luctus. Unam in ipsa porta, sospiti filio repente oblatam, in conspectu ejus exspirasse ferunt; alteram, cui mors filii

'we have been defeated in a great battle.' And although nothing more explicit had been heard from him: still, full of the news communicated from one to another, they severally brought home the intelligence 'that the consul and a considerable portion of the army were slain; and that a few were still alive, either dispersed in flight through Etruria, or prisoners of the enemy.' As many as had been the disasters of the defeated army, were the various forms of anxiety into which their minds were thrown whose friends had been serving under C. Flaminius, not knowing what might be the fate of their several relatives; for none had any thing definite either to hope or fear. On the next and several succeeding days, a crowd, consisting more of women than men, stood at the gates, expecting either some of their relatives, or some intelligence about them: and they pressed around all who came, with anxious inquiries, and could not tear themselves away, from acquaintances especially, be-

fore they had exhausted their whole series of questions. Then might be observed the various expressions of countenance as they turned away from their informants, and the groups of congratulating or condoling friends who accompanied them on their return home. Among the women especially, joy and sorrow both were strongly marked. One woman, just at the gate, suddenly meeting her son coming back in safety, dropped dead, it is said, before his eyes; another, to whom her son's death had been erroneously reported, while waiting in despair at home, expired under the overpowering joy of the first sight of his return. The Prætors kept the senate in the house for several days from day-break to sun-set, deliberating under what commander, or by what forces, the victorious Carthaginians could be checked." A very similar description is given of the aspect of the city after the defeat at the *Furœ Caudinœ*; with the difference that, on that occasion, the senate appeared in mourning for the national disgrace.

U. C. 537. falso nuntiata erat, mæstam sedentem domi, ad primum
 A. C. 217. conspectum redeuntis filii gaudio nimio examinatam.
 Senatum prætores per dies aliquot ab orto usque ad occidentem solem in curia retinent, consultantes, quonam duce,
 aut quibus copiis, resisti victoribus Pœnis posset.

8. Priusquam satis certa³ consilia essent, repens alia nuntiatur clades: quattuor millia equitum, cum C. Centenio prætore⁴ missa ad collegam ab Servilio consule, in Umbria, quo post pugnam ad Trasimenum auditam averterant iter, ab Hannibale circumventa. Ejus rei fama varie homines affecit. Pars, occupatis majore ægritudine animis, levem, ex comparatione priorum, ducere recentem equitum jacturam: pars non id, quod acciderat⁵, per se æstimate, sed, ut in affecto corpore quamvis levis causa magis, quam valido gravior, sentiretur; ita tum ægræ et affectæ civitati quodcunque adversi inciderit, non rerum magnitudine, sed viribus extenuatis, quæ nihil, quod aggravaret, pati possent, æstimandum esse. Itaque ad remedium, jam diu⁶ neque desideratum nec adhibitum, dictatorem dicendum, civitas confugit: et quia et consul aberat, a quo uno dici posse videbatur; nec per occupatam armis Punicis Italiam facile erat aut nuntium, aut literas mitti; nec⁷ dictatorem populus creare poterat, quod nunquam ante eam diem factum erat: prodicatorem populus creavit Q. Fabium Maximum⁸, et magistrum equitum M. Minucium Rufum. Hisque negotium ab senatu datum, ut muros turresque urbis firmarent, et præsidia disposerent, quibus locis videretur, pontesque rescinderent fluminum: ad penates pro urbe dimicandum esse, quando Italiam tueri nequissent.

9. Hannibal recto itinere per Umbriam usque ad Spoletum⁹

³ *Priusquam satis certa, &c.*] “Before their plans could be well defined.”

⁴ *Proprætore.*] “With the authority of commander.” Centenius had never been a Prætor.

⁵ *Pars non id, quod acciderat, &c.*] “Some estimated what had happened not on its own merits, but that as an influence however slight is felt more sensibly in a disordered frame, than one more powerful in a state of health; so, whatever happened to the state in its present weak and shaken condition, should be regarded not with reference to its actual importance; but to its exhausted strength, which was now beyond the endurance of further oppression.”

⁶ *Remedium, jam diu &c.*] The

last preceding Dictatorship had been that of Atilius Calatinus, who had superseded the Consul A. Claudius Pulcher, in the first Punic war, and was the first Dictator who commanded out of Italy.

⁷ *Nec per occupatam &c.—neo.*] These compound negatives, following *et*, must be resolved in translation into “and—not.”

⁸ *Q. Fabium Maximum.*] This cognomen was not a military title, having been acquired by Fabius in his censorship for his services to the aristocratic party in the revision of the city tribes, (see lib. ix. 46.) by the separation and consolidation of the *libertini*.

⁹ *Spoletum.*] The repulse of Hannibal from the walls of Spoleto is still commemorated by local tradition,

venit. Inde, quum perpopulato agro urbem oppugnare ^{U.C. 537.} adortus esset, cum magna cæde suorum repulsus, conjectans ^{A.C. 217.} ex unius coloniæ haud nimis prospere tentatæ viribus, quanta moles Romanæ urbis esset, in agrum Picenum avertit iter, non copia solum omnis generis frugum abundantem, sed refertum præda, quam effuse avidi atque egentes rapiebant. Ibi per dies aliquot stativa habita: reflectusque miles, hibernis itineribus ac palustri via prælioque, magis ad eventum secundo, quam levi aut facili, affectus. Ubi satis quieti datum, præda ac populationibus magis, quam otio aut requie, gaudentibus, profectus Prætorianum Hadrianumque agrum¹, Marsos inde Marrucinosque et Pelignos devastat, circaque Arpos et Luceriam proximam Apuliæ regionem. Cn. Servilius consul, levibus præliis cum Gallis actis, et uno oppido ignobili expugnato, postquam de collegæ exercitusque cæde audivit, jam mœniibus patriæ metuens, ne abesset in discrimine extremo, ad urbem iter intendit. Q. Fabius Maximus dictator iterum², quo die magistratum init, vocato senatu, ab diis orsus, quum edocuissest Patres, plus negligentia cærimoniarum auspiciorumque, quam temeritate atque inscitia, peccatum a C. Flaminio consule esse, quæque piacula iræ³ deum essent, ipsos deos consulendos esse; pervicit, ut, quod non ferme decernitur, nisi quum tætra prodigia nuntiata sunt, decemviri libros Sibyllinos adire juberentur. Qui, inspectis fatalibus libris, retulerunt Patribus, ‘quod ejus belli causa votum ‘Marti foret, id non rite factum, de integro atque amplius ‘faciendum esse: et Jovi ludos magnos, et ædes Veneri ‘Erycinæ ac Menti vovendas esse, et supplicationem lecti- ‘sterniumque habendum, et ver sacrum vovendum, si bellatum ‘prospere esset, resque publica in eodem, quo ante bellum ‘fuisset, statu permansisset.’ Senatus, quoniam Fabium belli cura occupatura esset, M. Æmilium prætorem, ex collegii pontificum sententia, omnia ea ut mature fiant, curare jubet. His senatusconsultis perfectis, L. Cornelius Lentulus pontifex maximus, consulente collegio prætorum,

10.

and an inscription over the arch of an ancient gate, which is still called *Porta di Annibale*.

¹ *Prætorianum Hadrianumque agrum &c.*] Not venturing to approach the city, even after his repeated successes in the north, Hannibal passed across to the eastern side of Italy, plundering and devastating as he went, until he had marched considerably to the south of Rome, on the opposite coast.

² *Dictator iterum.*] Fabius had

been Dictator on a former occasion (five years previously, according to some authorities) with C. Flaminius as master of the horse: but only for the purpose of an election.

³ *Quæque piacula iræ &c.*] This genitive may be regarded as governed either by *piacula* or *essent*: sc. either “what were the proper atonements under the Divine displeasure; or, what atonements were suited to (demanded by) the anger of Heaven.”

U. C. 537. omnium primum populum consulendum de vere sacro censet: injussu populi voveri non posse. Rogatus in hæc verba populus, 'Velitis jubeatisne' hoc sic fieri? si respublica 'populi Romani Quiritium ad quinquennium proximum, 'sicut velim eam, salva servata erit hisce duellis; (quod 'duellum populo Romano cum Carthaginiensi est, quæque 'duella cum Gallis sunt, qui cis Alpes sunt) datum donum 'duit populus Romanus Quiritium, quod ver attulerit ex 'suillo, ovillo, caprino, bovillo grege, quæque profana erunt, 'Jovi fieri, ex qua die senatus populusque jusserset. Qui 'faciet, quando volet, quaque lege volet, facito: quo modo 'faxit, probe factum esto. Si id moritur, quod fieri oportebit, profanum esto, neque scelus esto. Si quis rumpet 'occidetve insciens, ne fraus esto. Si quis clepsit, ne populo 'scelus esto, neve cui cleptum erit. Si atro die faxit 'insciens, probe factum esto. Si nocte sive luce, si servus 'sive liber faxit, probe factum esto. Si antidea senatus 'populusque jusserset fieri, ac faxit, eo populus solitus, liber 'esto.' Ejusdem rei causa ludi magni voti æris trecentis triginta tribus millibus, trecentis triginta tribus, triente: præterea bubus Jovi trecentis, multis aliis divis bubus albis, atque ceteris hostiis. Votis rite nuncupatis, supplicatio edicta: supplicatumque iere cum conjugibus ac liberis non urbana multitudo tantum, sed agrestium etiam, quos in aliqua sua fortuna⁴ publicæ quoque contingebat cura. Tum lectisternium per triduum habitum, decemviris sacrorum curantibus. Sex pulvinaria in conspectu fuere: Jovi ac Junoni unum: alterum Neptuno ac Minervæ; tertium Marti ac Veneri; quartum Apollini ac Dianæ; quintum Vulcano ac Vestæ; sextum Mercurio ac Cereri. Tum ædes votæ. Veneri Erycinæ ædem Q. Fabius Maximus dictator vovit; quia ita ex fatalibus libris editum erat, ut is voveret, cuius maximum imperium in civitate esset. Menti ædem T. Otacilius prætor vovit.

11. Ita rebus divinis peractis, tum de bello reque de publica dictator retulit, quibus quotve legionibus victori hosti ob viam eundum esse Patres censerent. Decretum, 'ut ab

⁴ *Velitis jubeatisne.*] The old Latin, of which the following formula is a specimen, belongs most probably to the æra of the renaissance after the destruction of the city by the Gauls. Livy says, (lib. vi. 1.) that during the search for any public documents that might have escaped the conflagration, all those relating to religious ceremonies were suppressed by the pontifices. "Ut religione obstrictos haberent multitudinis

animos." It must be almost superfluous to observe, that the phrases *salva servata*—*duellum*—*donum duit*—*faxit*—*scelus esto*—*clepsit*—*cleptum*—*antidea* (*antea*), belong to an age long previous to that, when the language was polished and harmonized by Cicero and his contemporaries.

⁵ *In aliqua sud fortunæ.*] "To whom under any personal circumstances the condition of the state (*publicæ fortunæ*) was a matter of anxiety."

‘Cn. Servilio consule exercitum acciperet: scriberet præ- U. C. 537.
 ‘terea ex civibus sociisque, quantum equitum ac peditum A. C. 217.
 ‘videretur: cetera omnia ageret faceretque, ut e republica
 ‘duceret.’ Fabius duas se legiones adjecturum ad Servili-
 ‘anum exercitum dixit. His, per magistrum equitum
 scriptis, Tibur diem ad conveniendum edixit. Edictoque
 proposito, ut quibus oppida castellaque immunita essent,
 uti in loca tuta commigrarent; ex agris quoque demigra-
 rent omnes regionis ejus, qua iturus Hannibal esset, tectis
 prius incensis ac frugibus corruptis, ne cujus rei copia esset⁶;
 ipse, via Flaminia⁷ profectus obviam consuli exercituique,
 quum ad Tiberim circa Ocricum prospexit agmen,
 consulemque cum equitibus ad se prodeuntem, viatorem
 misit, qui consuli nuntiaret, ut sine lictoribus ad dictatorem
 veniret. Qui quum dicto paruisse, congressusque eorum
 ingentem speciem dictaturæ apud cives sociosque, vetus-
 tate jam prope oblitos ejus imperii, fecisset⁸; literæ ab
 urbe allatae sunt, naves onerarias, commeatum ab Ostia in
 Hispaniam ad exercitum portantes, a classe Punica circa
 portum Cosanum⁹ captas esse. Itaque extemplo consul
 Ostiam proficisci jussus, navibusque, quæ ad urbem Ro-
 manam aut Ostiæ essent, completis milite ac navalibus
 sociis, persecui hostium classem, ac litora Italæ tutari.
 Magna vis hominum conscripta Romæ erat: libertini etiam,
 quibus liberi essent¹, et ætas militaris, in verba juraverant.
 Ex hoc urbano exercitu, qui minores quinque et triginta
 annis erant, in naves impositi: alii, ut urbi præsiderent,
 relieti.

Dictator, exercitu consulis accepto a Fulvio Flacco le-
 gato, per agrum Sabinum Tibur, quo diem ad convenien-
 dum edixerat novis militibus, venit: inde Præneste², ac
 transversis limitibus in viam Latinam est egressus; unde,
 itineribus summa cum cura exploratis, ad hostem ducit;
 nullo loco, nisi quantum necessitas cogeret, fortunæ se

12.

⁶ *Ne cujus rei copia esset.]* “So that there should be no supplies of any sort,” or, “so as to leave nothing in his power.” *Copia* signifies “abundance” in the primary, and “opportunity” in a secondary sense.

⁷ *Via Flaminid.]* This road had been constructed, four years previously, from Rome to Ariminum, (190 English miles,) by the same Flaminius who fell at the Thrasymene. He was at that time Censor.

⁸ *Ingentem speciem — fecisset.]* Presented an imposing display.”

⁹ *Portum Cosanum.]* One of the

seaports of Etruria.

¹ *Quibus liberi essent.]* Because these, in the absence of real property, would constitute a pledge of fidelity to the state, and create an interest in its preservation.

² *Præneste.]* Now Palestrina, about 25 miles from Rome.

In order to meet Hannibal, the Dictator was obliged to march to the south-east. The scene of the manœuvres between the two commanders was the Falernian plain, lying between the mountains Massicus and Callicula.

U. C. 537. commissurus. Quo primum die haud procul Arpis in conspectu hostium posuit castra, nullo mora facta, quin Pœnus educeret in aciem, copiamque pugnandi faceret: sed ubi quieta omnia apud hostes, nec castra ullo tumultu mota videt; increpans quidem, victos tandem quoque Martios animos Romanis, debellatumque, et concessum³ propalam de virtute ac gloria esse, in castra rediit: ceterum tacita cura animum incensus, quod cum duce, haudquaquam Flaminio Sempronioque simili, futura sibi res esset; ac tum demum edocti malis Romani parem Hannibali ducem quæsissent. Et prudentiam quidem, non vim⁴, dictatoris extempro timuit. Constantiam haud dum expertus, agitare ac tentare animum movendo crebro castra, populandoque in oculis ejus agros sociorum, cœpit. Et modo citato agmine e conspectu abibat, modo repente⁵ in aliquo flexu viæ, si excipere degressum in æquum posset, occultus subsistebat. Fabius per loca alta agmen ducebat, modico ab hoste intervallo, ut neque omitteret eum⁶, neque congrederetur. Castris, nisi quantum usus necessario cogeret, tenebatur miles. Pabulum et ligna nec pauci petebant, nec passim. Equitum levisque armaturæ statio, composita instructaque in subitos tumultus, et suo militi tuta omnia, et infesta effusis hostium populatoribus præbebat. Neque universo periculo⁷ summa rerum committebatur: et parva momenta levium certaminum ex tuto cœptorum, finitimo receptu, assuefaciebant territum pristinis cladibus militem, minus jam tandem aut virtutis aut fortunæ poenitere suæ. Sed non Hannibalem magis infestum tam sanis consiliis habebat, quam magistrum equitum: qui nihil aliud, quam quod impar erat imperio⁸, moræ ad rempublicam præcipi-

³ *Debellatumque, et concessum &c.*] “That resistance was over, and all claim to valour and glory confessedly abandoned.” Observe the antithesis of *quidem* and *cæterum*.

⁴ *Prudentiam quidem, non vim &c.*] “It was the judgment, not the strength, of the Dictator, which he at once began to fear—not having as yet proved his firmness, he proceeded to provoke and tempt his patience,” &c.

⁵ *Modo repente.*] “He would sometimes take a position, unseen, upon some angle of the road, on the chance of being able (*si posset*) to surprise him as he descended to the plain.”

⁶ *Ut neque omitteret eum.*] “So as neither to lose sight of him, nor

meet him.”

⁷ *Neque universo periculo &c.*] The copula in *neque* appears to join this to the preceding sentence.

“The general safety, however, was never hazarded in a decisive trial; while the partial influences of slight skirmishes, safely undertaken, and with a convenient means of retreat, accustomed the soldiers, daunted by their past misfortunes, to feel, at length, less dissatisfied with their power or their success.”

⁸ *Quod impar erat imperio.*] The Emperor Napoleon I. used to say, that one incompetent commander was better than two skilful generals of equal authority. This is true of every responsibility in which measures must be modified by circumstances.

tandam habebat. Ferox rapidusque in consiliis, ac lingua U. C. 537.
immodicus, primo inter paucos, dein propalam in vulgus, A. C. 217.
pro cunctatore segnem⁹, pro cauto timidum, affingens vicina
virtutibus vitia, compellabat: premendoque superiorem
(quæ pessima ars¹ nimis prosperis multorum successibus
cervit) sese extollebat.

Hannibal ex Hirpinis in Samnium transit: Beneventa-
num depopulatur agrum: Telesiam urbem² capit: irritat
etiam de industria ducem, si forte accensum tot indignita-
tibus cladibusque sociorum detrahere ad æquum certamen
possit³. Inter multitudinem sociorum Italici generis, qui
ad Trasimenum capti ab Hannibale dimissique fuerant,
tres Campani equites erant, multis jam tum illecti donis
promissisque Hannibalis ad conciliandos popularium ani-
mos. Hi nuntiantes, si in Campaniam exercitum admovis-
set, Capuæ⁴ potiendæ copiam fore, quum res major, quam
auctores, esset, dubium Hannibalem, alternisque fidentem
ac diffidentem, tamen, ut Campanos ex Samnio peteret,
moverunt; monitos, ut etiam atque etiam promissa rebus
affirmarent, jussosque, cum pluribus et aliquibus principum
redire ad se, dimisit. Ipse imperat duci, ut se in agrum
Casinatem ducat: edoctus a peritis regionum, si eum salt-
um occupasset⁵, exitum Romano ad opem ferendam sociis
interclusurum. Sed Punicum abhorrens ab Latinorum
nominum prolatione, pro Casino Casilinum dux ut acci-
peret, fecit; aversusque ab suo itinere, per Allifanum,
Calatinumque, et Calenum agrum, in campum Stellatem
descendit: ubi quum montibus fluminibusque clausam re-
gionem circumspexisset, vocatum ducem percunctatur, ubi
terrarum esset? Quum is Casilini eo die mansurum eum

13.

⁹ *Pro cunctatore segnem &c.*] “Apathetic instead of deliberate, timorous instead of circumspect.”

¹ *Quæ pessima ars &c.*] “The most unprincipled (vicious) policy that ever grew from inordinate success in many instances.”

² *Telesiam urbem.*] Memorable as the birthplace of the celebrated Caius Pontius, who conducted the second and third Samnite wars against Rome, and has been called by historians, *the Samnite Hannibal*. With much injustice too, for Pontius was a philosopher and a gentleman.

³ *Si forte—possit.*] “On the chance of being able (of succeeding in)” &c.

⁴ *Capuæ.*] The tragical circum-
stances of the punishment of Capua
are detailed in chapters xiv. xv. and

xvi. of the 26th book. The city is described by Cicero (Rull. ii.), as having exceeded Rome in magnificence. Its ruins, which are but shapeless masses, though extending over a considerable space, are about two miles distant from the modern town, which was built in the ninth century, on the site of the ancient Casilinum. Having recovered its destruction by the Romans, ancient Capua was finally destroyed in the reign of Honorius, by Genseric, king of the Vandals.

⁵ *Si eum saltum occupasset, &c.*] “Having learned from persons acquainted with the locality, that, if he took possession of that pass, he would intercept the Roman from bringing assistance to his allies.”

U.C. 537. dixisset, tum demum cognitus est error, et Casinum longe
 A.C. 217. inde alia regione esse⁶: virgisque cæso duce, et ad reliquo-
 rum terrorem in crucem sublato, castris communitis, Ma-
 harbalem cum equitibus in agrum Falernum prædatum
 dimisit. Usque ad aquas Sinuessianas⁷ populatio ea per-
 venit. Ingentem cladem, fugam tamen terroremque latius,
 Numidæ fecerunt. Nec tamen is terror, quum omnia
 bello flagrarent, fide socios dimovit: videlicet quia justo
 et moderato regebantur imperio; nec abnuebant, quod
 unum vinculum fidei est, melioribus parere.

14. Ut vero ad Vulturnum flumen⁸ castra sunt posita, exure-
 baturque amoenissimus Italiæ ager, villæque passim in-
 cendiis fumabant, per juga Massici montis Fabio ducente,
 tum prope de integro seditio accensa. Quieverant enim
 per paucos dies; quia, quum celerius solito ductum agmen
 fuisset, festinari ad prohibendam populationibus Cam-
 paniam crediderant. Ut vero in extrema juga⁹ Massici mon-
 tis ventum est, hostesque sub oculis erant, Falerni agri
 colonorumque Sinuessæ¹ tecta urentes, nec ulla erat mentio
 pugnæ, 'Spectatumne huc,' inquit Minucius, 'ut rem
 'fruendam oculis, sociorum cædes et incendia, venimus?
 'Nec, si nullius alterius nos, ne civium quidem horum
 'pudet, quos Sinuessam colonos patres nostri miserunt, ut
 'ab Samnite hoste tuta hæc ora esset: quam nunc non
 'vicus Samnis urit, sed Poenus advena, ab extremis orbis
 'terrarum terminis, nostra cunctatione et socordia, jam huc
 'progressus. Tantum, pro! degeneramus a parentibus
 'nostris, ut, præter quam oram² illi Punicas vagari classes,

⁶ *Casinum longè inde alia regione esse.*] The road to Casinum, which lay on the *via Latina*, was nearly due north, passing behind, and to the east of, Mons Callicula. Instead of advancing to that position, where he would have diverted the attention of Fabius from Campania, his guide led him to the left, across to Casilinum, which, as it lay near Capua, he naturally supposed to be the place intended.

⁷ *Aquas Sinuessianas.*] "The baths or hot wells of Sinuessa," frequented in the Augustan age by Roman invalids. (*Sinuessa tepens*, Sil. Ital. viii. 529.) It was originally named Sinope.

⁸ *Vulturnum flumen.*] (Now the *Voltorno*) flowed within about two miles and a half of ancient Capua, to which the river originally gave its name. It intersected the *Campagna*

of Capua, which Cicero calls *ager orbis terræ pulcherrimus*, (Rull. ii. 28.): a panegyric repeated here by Livy.

⁹ *In extrema juga.*] "The end of the ridge." The mountain terminated at Sinuessa, descending nearly due south from the point where it formed an angle with Mons Callicula. Between the two mountains lay the *Falernus ager*.

¹ *Colonorumque Sinuessæ.*] It was during the third Samnite war that colonies were planted at Sinuessa and Minturnæ, to protect Campania from the periodical incursions of the enemy.

² *Ut, præter quam oram, &c.*] "That the shore along which they considered it a disgrace to their government (an insult to their sovereignty) that Carthaginian fleets should cruise, we now behold infested

' dedecus esse imperii sui duxerint, eam nos nunc plenam U.C. 537.
 ' hostium Numidarumque ac Maurorum jam factam videa- A.C. 217.
 ' mus? Qui modo, Saguntum oppugnari indignando³ non
 ' homines tantum, sed foedera et deos, ciebamus, scanden-
 ' tem moenia Romanæ coloniæ Hannibalem lenti specta-
 ' mus. Fumus ex incendiis⁴ villarum agrorumque in oculos
 ' atque ora venit; strepunt aures clamoribus plorantium
 ' sociorum, saepius nos, quam deorum invocantium opem.
 ' Nos hic pecorum modo per aestivos saltus deviasque calles⁵
 ' exercitum ducimus, conditi⁶ nubibus silvisque. Si hoc
 ' modo per agrando cacumina saltusque M. Furius recipere
 ' a Gallis urbem voluisse, quo hic novus Camillus, nobis
 ' dictator unicus in rebus affectis quæsitus, Italianam ab Han-
 ' nibale recuperare parat, Gallorum Roma esset: quam
 ' vereor, ne, sic cunctantibus nobis, Hannibali ac Poenis
 ' toties servaverint majores nostri. Sed vir, ac vere Roma-
 ' nus, quo die, dictatorem eum ex auctoritate Patrum jus-
 ' suque populi dictum, Veios allatum est, quum esset satis
 ' altum Janiculum, ubi sedens prospectaret hostem, descen-
 ' dit in æquum: atque illo ipso die media in urbe, qua
 ' nunc busta Gallica sunt, et postero die citra Gabios cecidit
 ' Gallorum legiones. Quid? post multos annos, quum ad
 ' Furculas Caudinas ab Samnite hoste sub jugum missi
 ' sumus, utrum tandem L. Papirius Cursor⁷ juga Samnii
 ' perlustrando, an Luceriam premendo obsidendoque, et
 ' lacescendo victorem hostem, depulsum ab Romanis cervi-
 ' cibus jugum superbo Samniti imposuit? Modo C. Lu-
 ' tatio quæ alia res, quam celeritas, victoriam dedit? quod
 ' postero die, quam hostem vidit, classem gravem com-

by an enemy, and appropriated by Moors and Numidians."

³ *Saguntum oppugnari indignando.*] "In our indignation (resentment) at the assault of Saguntum."

⁴ *Fumus ex incendiis, &c.*] The Falernian plain lay immediately to the south of the Massic hills, which overlooked all Campania as far as Mons Tifata.

⁵ *Per aestivos saltus deviasque calles.*] The first of these adjectives may signify either "sunny," as lying on the southern face of the mountain; or, "shady," i. e. such as one resorts to in summer. "Sunny (or shady) defiles, and unfrequented paths."

⁶ *Conditi.*] (Mid. voice,) "hiding ourselves."

⁷ *L. Papirius Cursor.*] This general had in the first instance, as

Dictator, fought with and defeated the Samnites. In the year following, the Consuls Calvinus and Posthumius sustained the notorious defeat at the Caudine pass; and, when the Senate ignored their capitulation, were surrendered to the Samnites, at the suggestion of Posthumius himself. Pontius, the Samnite general, refused to accept and set them at liberty; and the succeeding Consuls, Publius and Papirius, retaliated the defeat and the ignominious ceremony by which it had been signalized. Fabius, the present Dictator, had taken an active part in that war, having been Master of Horse to Papirius; and, subsequently, Lieutenant to his own son, Fabius Gurges.

U. C. 587. ‘meatibus⁸ impeditam suomet ipsam instrumento atque ap-
A. C. 217. ‘paratu, oppressit. Stultitia est, sedendo aut votis debel-
‘lari credere posse. Armari copias oportet, deducendas in
‘æquum, ut vir cum viro congregari. Audendo atque
‘agendo res Romana crevit, non his segnibus consiliis, quæ
‘timidi cauta vocant.’ Hæc velut concionanti Minucio
circumfundebatur tribunorum equitumque Romanorum
multitudo, et ad aures quoque militum dicta ferocia vol-
bantur: ac, si militaris suffragii res esset, haud dubie fere-
bant⁹, Minucium Fabio duci prælaturos.

15. Fabius pariter¹, in suos haud minus quam in hostes in-
tentus, prius ab illis invictum² animum præstat. Quanquam
probe scit³, non in castris modo suis, sed jam etiam Romæ
infamem suam cunctationem esse, obstinatus tamen eodem
consiliorum tenore æstatis reliquum extraxit: ut Hannibal,
destitutus ab spe summopere petiti certaminis, jam hibernis
locum circumspectaret: quia ea regio⁴ præsentis erat copiæ,
non perpetuæ, arbusta vineæque, et consita omnia magis
amœnis, quam necessariis fructibus. Hæc per exploratores
relata Fabio. Quum satis sciret, per easdem angustias,
quibus intraverat Falernum agrum, redditum⁵, Calliculam
montem et Casilinum occupat modicis præsidiis; quæ urbs,
Vulturno flumine dirempta, Falernum ac Campanum agros
dividit: ipse jugis iisdem exercitum reducit, misso ex-
ploratum cum quadringentis equitibus sociorum L. Hostilio
Mancino. Qui ex turba⁶ juvenum audientium sæpe fero-

⁸ *Classem gravem commeatibus.*] “Laden (freighted or encumbered) with provisions.” This was the fleet in which Hanno was bringing provisions to the Carthaginian army at Eryx. The phrase *gravis commentibus* will be found in quite a different sense (and different syntax) in l. vii. 37.

⁹ *Haud dubiè ferebant.*] “They plainly (unequivocally) intimated,” &c.

¹ *Pariter.*] “At the same time.”

² *Prius ab illis (sc. suis) invictum, &c.*] “Against the former in the first instance,” i. e. in order to be proof against the enemy, it was necessary that he should first successfully resist his own people.

³ *Probè scit.*] There is a force and beauty in this use of the present tense, which cannot be conveyed in English: we may say, “though he was, all the while, fully aware,” &c.

⁴ *Quia ea regio, &c.*] “Because that district was one of temporary

not perennial plenty—shrubs and vines, and a general plantation of delicacies, rather than of indispensable crops.”

⁵ *Per easdem angustias—reditum.*] Hannibal, as stated above, entered this plain through the territory of Alife, where he had first diverged from his intended route (*suo itinere*), and then through the plains of Cales. This pass (*Angustia*) lay between the end of Mons Callicula and Mons Tifata; and if all exit on the north, by the coast, were intercepted, he could only return the same way, or contrive a passage over Callicula, as he eventually succeeded in doing; *videlicet ad Casilinum ob sessam*, because the road through Casilinum, along the bank of the Vulturnus, was obstructed.

⁶ *Qui ex turbā, &c.*] “And he,” (nom. to *occidit*) “having been one of the multitude who habitually listened to the presumptuous harangues of the Master of Horse.”

citer concionantem magistrum equitum, progressus primo U. C. 537. exploratoris modo, ut ex tuto specularetur hostem, ubi A. C. 217. vagos passim per vicos Numidas vidit, per occasionem etiam paucos occidit. Extemplo occupatus certamine est animus⁷, excideruntque⁸ præcepta dictatoris; qui, quantum tuto posset, progressum prius recipere sese jusserat, quam in conspectum hostium veniret. Numidæ, alii atque alii⁹ occursantes refugientesque, ad castra prope ipsum cum fatigatione equorum atque hominum pertraxere. Inde Carthalo, penes quem summa equestri imperii erat, concitatis equis invictus, quum prius, quam ad conjectum¹ teli veniret, avertisset hostem, quinque millia ferme continentii cursu secutus est fugientes. Mancinus, postquam nec hostem desistere sequi, nec spem vidit effugiendi esse, cohortatus suos in proelium redit, omni parte virium impar. Itaque ipse, et delecti equitum, circumventi occiduntur: ceteri effuso rursus cursu Cales prium, inde prope inviis callibus² ad dictatorem perfugerunt.

Eo forte die Minucius se conjunxerat Fabio, missus ad firmandum præsidio saltum, qui super Tarracinam, in artas coactus fauces³, imminet mari, ne, immunito Appiæ limite, Pœnus pervenire in agrum Romanum posset. Conjunctionis exercitibus dictator ac magister equitum castra in viam deferunt, qua Hannibal ducturus erat. Duo inde millia hostes aberant. Postero die Pœni, quod viæ inter bina castra erat, agmine complevere. Quum Romani sub ipso constitissent vallo, haud dubie æquiore loco⁴ successit tamen Pœnus cum expeditis equitibus⁵, atque ad lacessendum hostem carptim⁶ et proculsando recipiendoque sese

16.

⁷ *Occupatus—animus.*] “Thoughts were engrossed,” &c.

⁸ *Excideruntque.*] “Were forgotten;” literally, “dropped from his mind.” A similar use of *ἀπολιθάνειν* supplies an analogy.

⁹ *Alii atque alii.*] “In different and successive parties.”

¹ *Quum prius, quam ad conjectum &c.*] “After turning the enemy, before he came within javelin range, followed their flight in an unbroken pursuit of nearly five miles.”

² *Prope inviis callibus.*] “Through almost impenetrable passes.”

³ *Super Tarracinam, in artas coactus fauces.*] This pass, (the Lautæ Angustæ, now *Portello*,) lay farther up, on the road to Rome, in Latium, and immediately inside the Promontory of Circeii, now *Circello*. It was probable, that, if Hannibal had any intention of approaching

Rome, he would attempt this route, which was facilitated by the Appian road, running along the coast down to Sinuessa, and passing between the end of Mons Massicus and the sea. Hence the necessity of guarding that road. “To prevent his making his way into the Roman territory, (which he might effect,) if the line of the Appian road were left unguarded.”

⁴ *Æquiore loco.*] “On more advantageous ground,” sc. for the Romans, who had kept possession of the heights, and were apparently encamped on the southern slope of the Massic hills.

⁵ *Pœnus cum expeditis equitibus.*] Observe the transition in syntax. *Pœnus* taken singly agrees with *successit*; with the ablative it forms a nom. plural to *pugnare*.

⁶ *Carptim.*] “At intervals, in

U. C. 537. pugnavere. Restitit suo loco Romana acies. Lenta pugna⁷
 A. U. 217. et ex dictatoris magis, quam Hannibalis, fuit voluntate.
 Ducenti ab Romanis, octingenti hostium cecidere.

Inclusus inde videri Hannibal⁸, via ad Casilinum obsessa: quum Capua et Samnium, et tantum ab tergo divitum sociorum Romanis commeatus subvehheret; Pœnus contra inter Formiana saxa ac Litterni arenas⁹ stagnaque perhorrida situ hibernaturus esset¹. Nec Hannibalem fefellit, suis se artibus peti. Itaque, quum per Casilinum evadere non posset, petendique montes et jugum Calliculæ superandum esset; necubi Romanus inclusum vallibus agmen aggredetur, ludibrium oculorum², specie terrible, ad frustrandum hostem commentus, principio noctis furtim succedere ad montes statuit. Fallacis consilii talis apparatus fuit. Faces undique ex agris collectæ, fascesque virgarum atque arida sarmenta³ præligantur cornibus boum, quos domitos indomitosque multos inter ceteram agrestem prædam agebat. Ad duo millia ferme boum effecta: Hasdrubalique negotium datum, ut primis tenebris noctis id armentum accensis cornibus ad montes ageret; maxime, si posset⁴, super saltus ab hoste insessos. Primis tenebris silentio mota castra; boves aliquanto ante signa acti. Ubi ad radices montium viasque angustas ventum est, signum extemplo datur, ut accensis cornibus armenta in adversos concitentur montes⁵. Et metus ipse relucens flammæ ex capite, calorque, jam ad vivum, ad imaque cornuum⁶ adveniens, velut stimulatos

detail;” literally, “by snatches, in fits and starts,” &c.

⁷ *Lenta pugna.*] “The engagement was slow,” (inanimate, cautious.)

⁸ *Inclusus inde videri Hannibal.*] “Now found himself hemmed in;” i. e. he could neither leave his position by the Appian road on the north, nor through the valley on the east; and some passage over the hills to his original position at Alife, must be effected either by force or address. In fact, the position into which Fabius had now brought Hannibal was precisely similar to that of the Romans on the plain of the Thrasymene, between the lake and the Gualadra hills. The pass of Tarracina secured the Appian road, Casilinum closed up the rear. The Vulturinus, from Casilinum to the sea, stopped the way to the south; and the colony of Cales on the east intercepted the outlet from the plain by the Latin road.

⁹ *Litterni arenas, &c.*] Litternum lay farther down on the coast, toward Cumæ and Baiæ. The marshes were those of Minturnæ at the mouth of the Liris (*Garigliano*); the same in which Marius afterward concealed himself.

¹ *Hibernaturus esset.*] Depends on *quum*.

² *Ludibrium oculorum.*] “An optical illusion.”

³ *Sarmenta.*] The prunings of trees, especially of vines.

⁴ *Maxime, si posset.*] “And particularly, if possible.” It is not mentioned by Livy, that before commencing this movement, Hannibal put 5000 prisoners to death, to prevent their turning upon their guards, and rejoining their countrymen against him.

⁵ *In adversos—montes.*] “Up the mountain.”

⁶ *Ad vivum, ad imaque cornuum &c.*] “Penetrating to the quick and the roots of the horns.”

furore agebat boves. Quo repente discursu, haud secus ^{U.C. 537.} quam silvis montibusque accensis, omnia circum virgulta ^{A.C. 217.} ardere: capitumque irrita quassatio⁷, excitans flammam, hominum passim discurrentium speciem præbebat. Qui ad transitum saltus insidendum locati erant, ubi in summis montibus ac super se quosdam ignes conspexerunt, circumventos se esse rati, præsidio excessere: quâ minime dense micabant flammæ, velut tutissimum iter, petentes summa montium juga, tamen in quosdam boves palatos ab suis gregibus inciderunt. Et primo, quum procul cernerent, veluti flamas spirantium miraculo attoniti constiterunt: deinde, ut humana apparuit fraus⁸, tum vero insidias rati esse, dum majore metu concitant se in fugam, levi quoque armaturæ hostium incurrere. Ceterum nox æquato timore⁹ neutros pugnam incipientes¹ ad lucem tenuit. Interea, toto agmine Hannibal transducto per saltum, et quibusdam in ipso saltu hostium oppressis, in agro Allifano² posuit castra.

Hunc tumultum sensit Fabius. Ceterum et insidias esse ratus, et ab nocturno utique³ abhorrens certamine, suos munimentis tenuit. Luce prima sub jugo montis⁴ prælium fuit; quo interclusam ab suis levem armaturam facile (etenim numero aliquantum præstabant) Romani superassent, nisi Hispanorum cohors, ad id ipsum remissa ab Hannibale, prævenisset. Ea assuetior montibus, et ad concursandum inter saxa rupesque aptior ac levior, quum velocitate corporum, tum armorum habitu, campestrem hostem, gravem armis statariumque, pugnæ genere⁵ facile elusit. Ita haudquaquam pari certamine digressi, Hispani fere omnes incolumes, Romani, aliquot suis amissis, in castra contenderunt.

Fabius quoque movit castra: transgressusque saltum super Allifas, loco alto ac munito consedit. Tum, per

18.

⁷ *Capitumque irrita quassatio.*] "And the ineffectual tossing of their heads, while it fanned the fire, presented the appearance of men running wildly to and fro."

⁸ *Ut humana apparuit fraus.*] "When the artifice of man became evident."

⁹ *Nox æquato timore.*] "The darkness, by assimilating their fears."

¹ *Neutros pugnam incipientes.*] Must be resolved, in translation, into *utrosque pugnam incipere noctentes*, or some such paraphrase.

² *In agro Allifano.*] He was now in Samnium again. This territory lay at the eastern side of

Mons Callicula. The country was open, and he was at liberty either to move to the north, or to return to his old quarters in Apulia.

³ *Nocturno utique.*] "By night especially."

⁴ *Sub jugo montis.*] This was at the western or Campanian side of the mountains, which Fabius had not yet left: and to which the Spanish cohort was "sent back."

⁵ *Pugnæ genere.*] "The peculiar nature of their assault." A guerilla is elsewhere forcibly described by Livy, as 'hostis levis et velox et repentinus, qui nullum usquam tempus, nullum locum quietum aut securum esse sineret.'

U. C. 537. Samnium Romam⁶ se petere simulans, Hannibal usque in
 A. C. 217. Pelignos populabundus rediit. Fabius medius inter hostium agmen urbemque Romam jugis ducebat: nec absistens, nec congregiens. Ex Pelignis Poenus flexit iter, retroque Apuliam repetens, Geronium pervenit, urbem metu, quia collapsa ruinis pars moenium erat, ab suis desertam. Dictator in Larinate agro⁷ castra communiit. Inde sacrorum causa Romam revocatus, non imperio modo, sed consilio⁸ etiam, ac prope precibus agens cum magistro equitum, 'ut plus consilio, quam fortunæ, confidat: et se potius 'ducem, quam Sempronium Flaminiumque, imitetur. Ne 'nihil actum censeret⁹, extracta prope æstate per ludificationem hostis. Medicos quoque plus interdum quiete, 'quam movendo¹ atque agendo, proficere. Haud parvam 'rem esse, ab toties victore hoste vinci desisse, et ab continuis cladibus respirasse.' Hæc nequicquam præmonito magistro equitum, Romam est profectus.

19. Principio æstatis, qua hæc gerebantur, in Hispania quoque terra marique cœptum bellum est. Hasdrubal ad eum navium numerum, quem a fratre instructum paratumque acceperat, decem adjecit: quadraginta navium classem Himilconi tradidit: atque ita Carthagine² profectus navibus prope terram, exercitum in litore ducebat, paratus confligere, quacunque parte copiarum hostis occurrisset. Cn. Scipioni, postquam movisse ex hibernis hostem audivit, primo idem consilii³ fuit: deinde, minus terra, propter ingentem famam novorum auxiliorum, concurrere ausus, delecto milite ad naves⁴ imposito, quinque et triginta navium classe ire obviam hosti pergit. Altero ab Tarracone die⁵

⁶ *Per Samnium Romam &c.]* His march to Rome should have been north west from Alifæ: the direction of the Peligni was more nearly due north. *Medius inter hostium agmen urbemque jugis.* These hills formed a part of the range of the Apennines. Crossing these, he descended into the Pelignian plain by Sulmo, and taking a large amount of plunder with him, passed across to his former position at Arpi.

⁷ *Dictator in Larinate agro &c.]* This was the position from which he had watched Hannibal during his former sojourn in the same neighbourhood.

⁸ *Non imperio modo, sed consilio &c.]* "In a tone not of authority merely, but of advice and almost of entreaty."

⁹ *Ne nihil actum censeret &c.]* "He must not suppose that no object had been effected, when nearly the whole summer had been spent in disappointing the enemy."

¹ *Quiete, quam movendo &c.]* "More by repose than by excitement and active remedies."

² *Carthagine.]* sc. Carthagena.

³ *Idem consilii.]* Of this elegant idiom, it must be remarked that it is not identical with *idem consilium*, which would signify "the same policy;" but signifies more correctly, "the same principle of policy."

⁴ *Milite ad naves.]* i. e. *milite classico.* What we would call "marines." Compare the analogous phrase *servos ad remum.* (l. xxxiv. 6.)

⁵ *Altero ab Tarracone die.]* "On the day following his departure from Tarraco," i. e. "on the second day

ad stationem, decem millia passuum distantem ab ostio Iberi U. C. 537. amnis, pervenit. Inde duæ Massiliensium speculatoriæ⁶ A. C. 217. præmissæ retulerunt, classem Punicam stare in ostio fluminis, castraque in ripa posita. Itaque, ut improvidos incautosque universo simul offuso terrore opprimeret, sublati ancoris ad hostem vadit. Multas et locis altis positas turres⁷ Hispania habet, quibus et speculis et propugnaculis adversus latrones utuntur. Inde⁸ primo, conspectis hostium navibus, datum signum Hasdrubali est; tumultusque prius in terra et castris, quam ad mare et ad naves, est ortus, nondum aut pulsu remorum⁹ strepituque alio nautico exaudito, aut aperientibus classem promontoriis: quum repente eques, alius super alium ab Hasdrubale missus, vagos in litore quietosque in tentoriis suis, nihil minus quam hostem aut prælium eo die exspectantes, concenderet naves propere atque arma capere jubet: classem Romanam jam haud procul portu esse. Hæc equites dimissi passim imperabant. Mox Hasdrubal ipse cum omni exercitu aderat: varioque omnia tumultu strepunt, ruentibus in naves simul remigibus militibusque, fugientium magis e terra, quam in pugnam euntium modo. Vixdum omnes concenderant, quum alii, resolutis oris¹, in ancoras evehuntur: alii, ne quid teneat, ancoralia incident: raptimque omnia præpere agendo, militum apparatu nautica ministeria impediuntur, trepidatione nautarum capere et aptare arma miles prohibetur. Et jam Romanus non appropinquabat modo, sed direxerat etiam in pugnam naves. Itaque non ab hoste et prælio magis Poeni, quam suomet ipsi tumultu turbati, tentata verius pugna, quam inita, in fugam averterunt classem. Et quum adversi amnis os² lato agmine ac tam multis

(day's journey) from T. δεύρεπαος
εἰς Ταρρακώνος. (Polyb. iii. 95.)

⁶ Dux—speculatoriæ.] (sc. naves.)

⁷ Multas et locis altis—turres &c.]

In many other ancient countries, castles of this description, from each of which two others were always visible, formed chains of communication, along which intelligence could be communicated, by day or night, almost with the speed of electricity. Their use is beautifully illustrated by the description, in the Agamemnon of Æschylus, of the news of the capture of Troy flashing its way round the shores of the Hellespont. The sites of those Spanish castles, now generally in ruins, were designated

among the Romans by the name “ad Turres.”

⁸ Inde.] “From (or, by means of) these (towers).”

⁹ Nondum aut pulsu remorum &c.] “Before the dip of an oar or any other sound from the fleet was heard, or the headlands disclosed the ships.”

¹ Resolutis oris.] “Shipping their halters.” *Ore* were the ropes attached to land. When these were detached, *evehuntur in ancoras*, “they swung on their anchors.” The cables by which these were held, were called *ancoralia*.

² Adversi amnis os.] “The channel of the descending river” i. e. flowing down against them.

U. C. 537. simul venientibus haud sane intrabile esset, in litus passim
A. C. 217. naves egerunt: atque alii vadis, alii sicco litore excepti,

20. partim armati, partim inermes, ad instructam per litus
aciem suorum perfugere. Duæ tamen primo concursu
captæ erant Punicæ naves, quattuor suppressæ. Romani,
quanquam terra hostium erat, armatamque aciem toto
prætentam in litore³ cernebant, haud cunctanter insecuri
trepidam hostium classem, naves omnes, quæ non aut per-
fregerant⁴ proras litore illisas, aut carinas fixerant vadis, re-
ligatas pupibus in altum extraxere: ad quinque et viginti
naves ex quadraginta cepere.

Neque id pulcherrimum ejus victoriæ⁵ fuit, sed quod una
levi pugna toto ejus oræ⁶ mari potiti erant. Itaque ad Ho-
noscam classe proiecti, exscensione ab navibus in terram
facta, quum urbem vi cepissent, captamque diripuerint,
Carthaginem inde petunt: atque, omnem agrum circa de-
populati, postremo tecta quoque conjuncta muro portisque
incenderunt. Inde jam præda gravis ad Longunticam
peruenit classis: ubi vis magna sparti ad rem nauticam con-
gesta ab Hasdrubale. Quod satis in usum fuit, sublato,
ceterum omne incensum est. Nec continentis modo pro-
jectas oras prætervecta, sed in Ebusum insulam⁷ trans-
missum. Ubi urbe, quæ caput insulæ est, biduum ne-
quicquam summo labore oppugnata, ubi in spem irritam
frustra teri tempus animadversum est, ad populationem
agri⁸ versi, direptis aliquot incensisque vicis, majore, quam
ex continenti, præda parta, quum in naves se recepissent,
ex Balaribus insulis legati pacem petentes ad Scipionem
venerunt. Inde flexa retro classis, redditumque in citeriora
provinciæ; quo omnium populorum, qui cis Iberum in-
colunt, multorum et ultimæ Hispaniæ legati concurrerunt.
Sed qui vere ditionis imperiique Romani facti sunt, obsi-
dibus datis, populi, amplius fuerunt centum viginti. Igitur
terrestribus quoque copiis satis fidens Romanus usque ad

³ *Toto prætentam in litore.*] “Lining the whole shore.”

⁴ *Quæ non aut perfregerant &c.*] Perizonius and Crevier would remove the negative, and thereby destroy the obvious meaning of the sentence. The only galleys that the Romans could possibly have “towed out to sea,” were, of course, those which the Carthaginians had *not* staved nor stranded.

⁵ *Pulcherrimum ejus victoriæ.*] “The most glorious feature (lit. ‘the beauty’) of that victory.”

⁶ *Toto ejus oræ &c.*] “Had

made themselves masters of the sea all along that coast;” and accordingly cruised back again toward Carthagena. The scene of these operations was the sea coast along those provinces now called Murcia, Valencia, and Catalonia.

⁷ *Ebusum insulam.*] sc. Iviza, one of the Pityuses.

⁸ *Ad populationem agri.*] The island is about a hundred miles in circumference. Its principal produce consisted of figs and flocks, (Pliny, iii. 5.)

saltum Castulonensem⁹ est progressus. Hasdrubal in Lusitaniam ac propius Oceanum¹ concessit. U. C. 537. A. C. 217.

Quietum inde fore videbatur reliquum æstatis tempus, 21. fuisseque per Pœnum hostem²; sed, præterquam quod ipsorum Hispanorum inquieta avidaque in novas res sunt ingenia, Mandonius Indibilisque³, qui antea Ilergetum regulus fuerat, postquam Romani ab saltu recessere ad maritimam oram, concitis popularibus, in agrum pacatum sociorum Romanorum⁴ ad populandum venerunt. Adversus eos tribunus militum cum expeditis auxiliis, a Scipione missi, levi certamine, ut tumultuariam manum, fudere omnes; occisis quibusdam captisque, magna pars armis exuta. Hic tamen tumultus cedentem ad Oceanum Hasdrubalem cis Iberum ad socios tutandos retraxit. Castra Punica in agro Ilercaonensium, castra Romana ad Novam Classem erant, quum fama repens alio avertit bellum. Celtiberi, qui principes regionis suæ legatos miserant, obsidesque dederant Romanis, nuntio missa a Scipione exciti, arma capiunt, provinciamque Carthaginensium⁵ valido

⁹ *Saltum Castulonensem.*] “The forest of Castulo,” situated between Corduba and Carthagena, now called *Cazlona* or *Cathlona*. It stood on the *Bætis*, now known as the *Guadaluquivir*, i. e. guadi-al-kiber, (“the great river,”) the Arabic name given by the Moors. It was the birthplace of Imilce, one of the wives of Hannibal, and called by the Greeks *Parnassia* or *Castalia*, under the impression that its founders were Phocians.

¹ *Propius Oceanum.*] The Bay of Biscay was at this time called *Oceanus Cantabricus*; and it may possibly be that part of the Atlantic to which the historian alludes.

² *Per Pœnum hostem.*] “As far as the Carthaginian enemy was concerned.”

³ *Mandonius* and *Indibilis* were brothers. *Antea*, i. e. before they were reduced to submission by Cn. Scipio. (l. xxi. 61.)

⁴ *Agrum pacatum sociorum Rom.*] The friendly territory (i. e. Ilergetes) of the allies of the Romans. The Latin idiom requires that *sociorum* shall govern and not agree with *Romanorum*.

⁵ *Provinciamque Carthaginensium.*] The Carthaginian possessions lay principally along the southern

coast, the central point being the mines in the neighbourhood of Carthagena, at the Mons Argentarius, now the *Sierra Segura*, from which their government extracted something near £900 a day. According to Mariana (l. i. c. 4.) it was a fire on the mountains, that by melting the veins of those mines, first discovered their existence. At a later period, (U. C. 252.) an earthquake again revealed the metallic riches of the country, and again invited the visits of foreigners. Strabo says (l. 3.) that, in the time of Hamilcar Barca, the Spaniards were so wealthy, that their mangers and water-troughs were made of silver. Mines of that metal are known at present in Guadalcanal on the *Sierra Morena*. The tenure of the Carthaginians, however, was as precarious and unquiet, as that of a more civilized in the territory of a more barbarous nation must ever be, until the natives are assimilated or exterminated. The relation of the more refined and powerful nations of antiquity to the natives of the countries which they colonized, may be illustrated in its most prominent features by that of the English of the present day to the Caffres and the aboriginal tribes of Northern Asiatic India.

U. C. 537. exercitu invadunt: tria oppida vi expugnant. Inde, cum
 A. C. 217. ipso Hasdrubale duobus præliis egregie pugnantes, quin-
 decim millia hostium occiderunt, quattuor millia cum
 multis militaribus signis⁶ capiunt.

22. Hoc statu rerum in Hispania, P. Scipio in provinciam
 venit, prorogato post consulatum imperio ab senatu missus,
 cum viginti longis navibus, et octo millibus militum, magni-
 que commeatu advecto. Ea classis ingens agmine onerari-
 arum procul visa⁷, cum magna lætitia civium sociorumque,
 portum Tarragonis ex alto tenuit. Ibi milite exposito, pro-
 fectus Scipio fratri se conjungit: ac deinde communī animo
 consilioque gerebant bellum. Occupatis igitur Carthagini-
 ensibus Celtiberico bello, haud cunctanter Iberum trans-
 grediuntur; nec ullo viso hoste, Saguntum pergunt ire,
 quod ibi obsides totius Hispaniæ custodiæ traditos ab
 Hannibale fama erat modice in arce custodiri præsidio.
 Id unum pignus⁸ inclinatos ad Romanam societatem omnium
 Hispaniæ populorum animos morabatur, ne sanguine liberum
 suorum culpa defectionis lueretur. Eo vinculo⁹ Hispaniam
 vir unus, sollerti magis quam fideli consilio, exsolvit. Abelux
 erat Sagunti nobilis Hispanus, fidus ante Poenis: tum
 (qualia plerumque sunt barbarorum ingenia) cum fortuna
 mutaverat fidem. Ceterum, transfugam, sine magnæ rei
 proditione venientem ad hostes, nihil aliud quam unum vile
 atque infame¹ corpus esse ratus, id agebat, ut quam maximum
 emolumentum novis sociis esset. Circumspectis igitur om-
 nibus, quæ fortuna potestatis ejus² poterat facere, obsidi-

⁶ *Militaribus signis.*] The na-
 tional emblems of Carthage, which
 were most probably represented on
 their standards, were the lion and
 the palm-tree. Those figures ap-
 pear on the silver shield found at
Passage in *Dauphiné* which is re-
 garded as one of the records of his
 journey through the Alps; and it
 was, possibly, with an allusion to
 such an emblem, that Hamilcar
 used to say of his sons, that they
 were the young lions whom he was
 rearing for the destruction of Rome.

⁷ *Ingens agmine onerariarum pro-
 cul visa.*] This may signify, either,
 "increased by a squadron of store-
 ships," &c.; or, "presenting in the
 distance the appearance of numbers
 (seeming large at a distance) from
 the squadron of," &c. The latter
 interpretation is more in accordance
 with the idiom of the original.

⁸ *Id unum pignus.*] "That con-

sideration alone."

⁹ *Eo vinculo &c.*] "From that
 restriction one individual released
 Spain by an expedient rather in-
 genious than honourable." The
 emphasis of the original (see Rule 18,
 Introduction) would be more ac-
 curately conveyed by a paraphrase;
 sc. "From that restriction Spain
 was released by the ingenious, rather
 than honourable, expedient of one
 man."

¹ *Vile atque infame.*] "Worth-
 less and degraded individual."

² *Quæ fortuna potestatis ejus, &c.*]
 "Which circumstances could place
 in his power," is the translation
 suggested by the obvious meaning
 of the phrase *potestatis facere*. An-
 other interpretation, more ingenious
 but not so true to the original, has
 been proposed; sc. "which the cir-
 cumstances of his means, or oppor-
 tunities, (*fortuna potestatis ejus*),

bus potissimum tradendis animum adjecit: eam unum rem ^{U. C. 537.} maxime ratus conciliaturam Romanis principum Hispaniæ ^{A. C. 217.} amicitiam. Sed quum, injussu Bostaris præferti, satis sciret, nihil obsidum custodes facturos esse, Bostarem ipsum arte aggreditur. Castra extra urbem in ipso litore habebat Bostar, ut aditum ea parte³ intercluderet Romanis. Ibi eum in secretum abductum, velut ignorantem, monet, quo statu sit res. ‘Metum continuisse⁴ ad eam diem Hispanorum ‘animos, quia procul Romani abessent: nunc cis Iberum ‘castra Romana esse, arcem tutam profugiumque novas ‘volentibus res. Itaque, quos metus non teneat, beneficio ‘et gratia devinciendo esse.’ Miranti Bostari percunctantique, quodnam id subitum tantæ rei donum⁵ possit esse? ‘Obsides,’ inquit, ‘in civitates remitte. Id et privatum ‘parentibus, quorum maximum nomen in civitatibus est ‘suis, et publice populis gratum erit. Vult sibi quisque ‘credi, et habita fides ipsam plerumque obligat fidem⁶. ‘Ministerium restituendorum domos obsidum mihimet de- ‘posco ipse, ut opera quoque impensa⁷ consilium adjuvem ‘meum, et rei suapte natura gratæ, quantam insuper gratiam ‘possim, adjiciam.’ Homini, non ad cetera Punica ingenia⁸ callido, ut persuasit, nocte clam progressus ad hostium stationes, conventis quibusdam auxiliaribus Hispanis, et ab iis ad Scipionem perductus, quid afferret, expromit. Fide accepta dataque, ac loco et tempore constituto ad obsides trahendos, Saguntum reddit; diem insequentem absumpsit cum Bostare, mandatis ad rem agendam accipiendis. Dimissus, quum se nocte iturum, ut custodias hostium fal- leret, constituisset, ad compositam cum iis horam excitatis custodibus puerorum profectus, veluti ignarus in præparatas sua fraude insidias ducit. In castra Romana perducti: cetera omnia de reddendis obsidibus, sicut cum Bostare constitutum erat, acta per eundem ordinem, quo si⁹ Cartha-

might be able to effect:” but the Latin, unfortunately, cannot bear this meaning.

³ *Ea parte.*] i. e. *e regione portus.*
“On the side of the harbour.”

⁴ *Metum continuisse.*] “It was fear that had restrained,” &c.

⁵ *Id subitum tantæ rei donum.*] “That so unexpected and important favour.” Bostar asks for an explanation of the words *beneficio et gratia*.

⁶ *Habita fides—obligat fidem.*] This maxim belongs to a far higher tone of sentiment than prevailed among either the Spaniards or Carthaginians of that day. Where the moral sense is imperfectly developed, confidence reposed generally pro-

duces contempt.

⁷ *Operd—impensd.*] “By my personal services,” lit. “by trouble or time bestowed.”

⁸ *Ad cetera Punica ingenia.*] “In comparison with other Carthaginian minds.”

⁹ *Acta per eundem ordinem, quo (acta forent) si &c.*] “In the same routine as if the act was done in the name of,” &c. A different reading *per eundem* (sc. Abelucem) *ordine* gives the sense, “every thing was done by the same agent, in the same manner as if,” &c. in either case, the meaning is, that the Roman general took no advantage of his power over the hostages, and restored them to their friends, as it

U. C. 537. giniensium nomine sic ageretur. Major aliquanto Roma-
 A. C. 217. norum gratia fuit in re pari, quam quanta futura Cartha-
 giniensium fuerat. Illos enim¹, graves superbosque in rebus
 secundis expertos, fortuna et timor mitigasse videri poterat.
 Romanus primo adventu, incognitus ante, ab re clementi
 liberalique initium fecerat: et Abelux, vir prudens, haud
 frustra videbatur socios mutasse. Itaque ingenti consensu
 defectionem omnes spectare: armaque extemplo mota
 forent, ni hiems, quæ Romanos quoque et Carthaginienses
 concedere in tecta coegit, intervenisset.

23. Hæc in Hispania quoque secunda æstate Punici belli
 gesta, quum² in Italia paullum intervalli cladibus Romanis
 sollers cunctatio Fabii fecisset: quæ ut³ Hannibalem non
 mediocri sollicitum cura habebat, tandem eum militiæ
 magistrum delegisse Romanos cernentem, qui bellum
 ratione, non fortuna⁴, gereret; ita contempta erat inter cives,
 armatos pariter togatosque; utique postquam, absente eo,
 temeritate magistri equitum, læto verius dixerim, quam
 prospero⁵ eventu, pugnatum fuerat. Accesserant duæ res
 ad augendam invidiam dictatoris: una fraude ac dolo
 Hannibal, quod, quum a perfugis ei monstratus ager dic-
 tatoris esset, omnibus circa solo æquatis, ab uno eo ferrum
 ignemque et vim omnem hostium abstineri jussit, ut occulti
 alicujus pacti ea merces videri posset: altera ipsius facto,
 primo forsitan dubio⁶, quia non exspectata in eo senatus
 auctoritas est; ad extremum haud ambigue in maximam
 laudem verso, in permutandis captivis: quod, sicut primo
 Punico bello factum erat, convenerat inter duces Romanum
 Poenumque, ut, quæ pars plus reciperet, quam daret,
 argenti pondo bina et selibras⁷ in militem præstaret. Du-
 centos quadraginta septem quum plures Romanus, quam
 Poenus, recepisset, argentumque pro iis debitum, sæpe jac-
 tata in senatu re, quoniam non consuluisset Patres, tardius
 erogaretur: in violatum ab hoste agrum, misso Romam Quinto
 filio, vendidit, fidemque publicam impendio privato exsolvit⁸.

appeared to them that the Cartha-
 ginians intended to do.

¹ *Illos enim, &c.]* “Because the
 latter (sc. the Carthaginians), though
 oppressive and tyrannical in their
 prosperity, adversity and fear might
 be supposed to have softened; while
 the Roman, on his first arrival and
 unknown in any previous transaction,
 had begun with a merciful and
 generous act: so that Abelux, who
 was a man of judgment, appeared
 to have changed his allies not
 without reason.”

² *In Hispanid quoque—quum.]*
 “In Spain also, at the time when,”

&c.: i. e. these successes in Spain
 were realized during the temporary
 respite gained in Italy by Fabius.

³ *Ut—ita.]* “Although—yet.”

⁴ *Ratione—fortunā.]* “On prin-
 ciple—on chance.”

⁵ *Læto verius—quam prospero.]*
 “Rather flattering than beneficial.”

⁶ *Altera ipsiusfacto, primò forsitan
 dubio.]* “The second by an act of
 his own, at first view perhaps de-
 batable: as, &c.”

⁷ *Pondo bina et selibras.]* “Two
 pounds and a half.”

⁸ *Fidemque publicam—exsolvit.]*
 Redeemed the national credit.”

Hannibal pro Geronii mœnibus, cuius urbis, captæ at- U. C. 537.
que incensæ ab se, in usum horreorum pauca reliquerat A. C. 217.
tecta, in stativis erat. Inde frumentatum duas exercitus
partes mittebat: cum tertia ipse expedita in statione erat,
simul castris præsidio, et circumspectans⁹, necunde impetus
in frumentatores fieret. Romanus tunc exercitus in agro
Larinati erat. Præerat Minucius magister equitum, pro-
fecto, sicut ante dictum est, ad urbem dictatore. Ceterum
castra, quæ in monte alto ac tuto loco¹ posita fuerant, jam
in planum deferuntur: agitabanturque pro ingenio ducis
consilia calidiora, ut impetus aut in frumentatores palatos,
aut in castra, relicta cum levi præsidio, fieret. Nec Han-
nibalem fefellit, cum duce mutatam esse belli rationem, et
ferocius, quam consultius², rem hostes gesturos. Ipse autem,
(quod minime quis crederet³) quum hostis propius esset,
tertiam partem militum frumentatum, duabus in castris re-
tentis, dimisit: dein castra ipsa propius hostem movit, duo
ferme a Geronio millia, in tumulum hosti conspectum; ut
intentum sciret esse ad frumentatores, si qua vis fieret,
tutandos. Propior inde ei, atque ipsis imminens Romani-
orum castris tumulus apparuit: ad quem capiendum si

24.

⁹ *Castris præsidio, et circumspectans.*] The transition in the syntax, so effective in the original, cannot be imitated in English: we must say, "both as a protection to the camp and as a precaution."

¹ *In monte alto ac tuto loco.*] This position must have been on some slope of Mount Garganus (*St. Angelo.*) In the immediate neighbourhood were the several places in which Hannibal encamped at different periods of the war. Teanum lay at the foot of the hill. Geronium (or Gerion) was still nearer; and Arpi (*Foggia*), to which he returned repeatedly, and which was subsequently occupied by Totila the Goth, after the capture of Rome, stood a little more to the south. All these were on the banks of the river Cerbalus (*Cervalo*). It may be interesting to observe here, that the course taken by Hannibal through Italy very nearly coincided with that followed by Totila in defiance of the Lieutenants of Justinian, (Belisarius and Narses). In other respects, however, the differences were remarkable. The second Punic war was unmarked by any such circumstances of degradation as dis-

tinguished the Gothic invasion; when the Roman commander of the garrison of Naples was brought to the ramparts with a halter round his neck, and advised the citizens to throw themselves on the mercy of the invaders. Another difference may be observed in the fact, that Totila was a man whose slightest promise no friend or enemy ever had cause to doubt.

² *Ferocius, quam consultius.*] "With more confidence than prudence." When the excess of one quality over another is indicated. The Latin classics write both the adjectives or adverbs in the comparative.

³ *Quod minimè quis crederet.*] These words may be taken either as a parenthesis, or, ex ordine. In the former case it would be stated that Hannibal had sent out one third of his army instead of the usual two thirds; as (*quum*) the enemy was near. In the latter, it would be represented as incredible that he should have sent away even so much; but to convey this meaning more emphatically, it would probably be better to extend the parenthesis from *quod* to *esset*.

U.C. 537. luce palam iretur, quia haud dubie hostis breviore via
 A.C. 217. præventurus erat, nocte clam missi Numidæ ceperunt⁴.
 Quos tenentes locum, contempta paucitate, Romani postero
 die quum dejecissent, ipso eo transferunt castra. Tum ita-
 que, ut exiguum spatiæ vallum a vallo aberat, et id ipsum⁵
 totum prope compleverat Romana acies, simul et per aversa
 castra a castris Hannibal⁶ equitatus, cum levi armatura
 emissus in frumentatores, late cædem fugamque hostium
 palatorum fecit. Nec acie certare Hannibal ausus; quia
 tanta paucitate vix castra, si oppugnarentur, tutari poterat.
 Jamque artibus Fabii, (pars exercitus aberat) jam⁷ ferme
 sedendo et cunctando bellum gerebat, receperatque suos in
 priora castra, quæ pro Geronii mœnibus erant. Justa
 quoque acie et collatis signis dimicatum, quidam auctores
 sunt⁸. Primo concursu Poenum usque ad castra fusum,
 inde eruptione facta repente versum terrorem in Romanos:
 Num Decimii Samnitis deinde interventu prælium resti-
 tutum. Hunc, principem genere ac divitiis non Boviani
 modo, unde erat, sed toto Samnio, jussu dictatoris octo
 millia peditum, et equites quingentos ducentem in castra,
 ab tergo quum apparuisset Hannibali, speciem parti utriusque
 præbuisse novi præsidii, cum Q. Fabio ab Roma venientis:
 Hannibalem insidiarum quoque aliquid timentem recepisse
 suos: Romanum insecutum, adjuvante Samnite, duo ca-
 stella eo die expugnasse: sex millia hostium cæsa, quinque

⁴ *Missi Numidæ ceperunt.*] Gronovius proposes to remove *ceperunt*. In that case the verb would be *missi*, and should be taken with *ad quem capiendum*; and a transposition of the other words would become necessary; *quia* should be placed before *si*: but the emendation cannot be accepted; for *ad quem cap.* evidently belongs to *iretur*.

⁵ *Et id ipsum &c.*] To understand this long sentence perfectly, it is necessary to observe, that the apodosis to *ut* begins with this *et*, which corresponds with the *simul* below, in the sense of *et simul—simul*: thus, "consequently, then, as the entrenchments were separated only by a short interval; the Roman troops filled almost the whole of that space, while, at the same time, the cavalry with the light infantry issuing from that side of the camp which was most remote from Hannibal's camp, upon the foraging parties, inflicted an extensive slaughter and discomfiture on the straggling

enemy."

⁶ The words *a castris Hannibal* appear to have been originally a marginal note, explaining *aversa*, which would, however, of itself sufficiently express the idea.

⁷ *Jamque—jam.*] This repetition is not unusual with Livy; compare l. ii. 46, and vii. 40. Observe the transition of tense from *gerebat* to *recepérat*. "He was beginning to adopt the tactics of Fabius, and had withdrawn," &c.

⁸ *Auctores sunt.*] These words govern the infinitives to the end of the chapter, sc. "there are some authorities for the statements; that a regular and close engagement took place; that the Carthaginians were driven to their camp by the first assault: that by a sudden sortie from that position the panic was thrown back on the Romans; and that the battle was subsequently revived by the interposition of Numerius Decimius the Samnite," &c. &c.

admodum Romanorum: tamen in tam pari prope clade U. C. 537. famam egregiæ victoriæ cum vanioribus literis⁹ magistri A. C. 217. equitum Romam perlatam.

De his rebus persæpe et in senatu et in concione actum est¹. Quum, læta civitate, dictator unus nihil nec famæ, nec literis crederet; ut vera omnia essent, secunda se magis, quam adversa, timere diceret²: tum M. Metilius tribunus plebis, 'id enim ferendum esse' negat. 'Non præsentem solum dictatorem obstitisse rei bene gerendæ, sed absentem etiam gestæ obstarere³: et in ducendo bello⁴ sedulo tempus terere, quo diutius in magistratu sit, solusque et Romæ et in exercitu imperium habeat. Quippe consulum alterum in acie cecidisse; alterum, specie classis Punicæ persequendæ, procul ab Italia ablegatum. Duos prætores Sicilia atque Sardinia occupatos, quarum neutra⁵ hoc tempore provincia prætore egeat. M. Minucium magistrum equitum, ne hostem videret, ne quid rei bellicæ gereret, prope in custodiam habitum⁶. Itaque, hercule, non Samnium modo, quo jam, tanquam trans Iberum agro, Pœnisi concessum sit⁷, et Campanum, Calenumque, et Falernum agros pervastatos esse, sedente Casilini dictatore, et legionibus populi Romani agrum suum tutante. Exercitum cupientem pugnare, et magistrum equitum, clausos prope intra vallum retentos; tanquam hostibus captivis arma adempta. Tandem, ut abscesserit⁸ inde dictator, ut obsidione liberatos⁹, extra vallum egressos fudisse ac fugasse

⁹ *Vanioribus literis.*] "With a rather ostentatious letter."

¹ *De his rebus—actum est.*] "These events were the subject of discussion."

² *Ut vera omnia essent—diceret.*] "And said that, even though it might be all true, he dreaded," &c.

³ *Obstitisse—obstarere.*] This is an instance of the apparently twofold application of the same word, which grammarians call *zeugma*. "The Dictator had not only when present refused to sanction an attempt at success, but was even, when absent, refusing to recognise it when achieved."

⁴ *Ducendo bello.*] The reading in some editions is *trahendo*, but the sense is the same.

⁵ *Quarum neutra, &c.*] Tr. "Neither of which was a province requiring a Prætor." Some commentators read *quorum*, i. e. "neither of whose provinces required," &c.

Crevier suggests the removal of *prætore*, which would change the sentence thus; "whom (whose presence) neither province now required."

⁶ *In custodiam habitum.*] "Kept under arrest." This idiom is not exceptional: we find many such instances, as *in potestatem* (l. ii. 14.) *in amicitiam*, &c. imitated most obviously from the Attic writers, who frequently use *ei* for *iv*, in similar cases.

⁷ *Quo—Pœnisi concessum sit.*] i. e. unde Pœnisi cesserint Romani. The apodosis to *non modo* begins at *exercitum*, before which we must understand *sed et*.

⁸ *Ut abscesserit.*] "As soon as," &c.

⁹ *Ut obsidione liberatos.*] "Like men freed." The disobedience of Minucius presents an exact parallel to that of Fabius, the Master of Horse to Papirius Cursor, in the third Samnite war.

U. C. 537. 'hostes. Quas ob res, si antiquus animus plebi Romanæ
 A. C. 217. 'esset, audaciter¹ se laturum fuisse de abrogando Q. Fabii
 'imperio: nunc modicam rogationem promulgaturum de
 'æquando magistri equitum et dictatoris jure; nec tamen
 'ne ita quidem prius mittendum ad exercitum Q. Fabium,
 'quam consulem in locum C. Flaminii suffecisset.' Dicta-
 tor concionibus se abstinuit, in actione minime populari.
 Ne in senatu quidem satis æquis auribus audiebatur, tunc
 quum hostem verbis extolleret, bienniique clades per tem-
 eritatem atque inscientiam ducum acceptas referret²; 'ma-
 'gistroque equitum, quod contra dictum suum pugnasset,
 'rationem' diceret 'reddendam esse. Si penes se summa
 'imperii consiliique sit, propediem effecturum, ut sciant
 'homines, bono imperatori haud magni fortunam momenti
 'esse: mentem rationemque dominari. Se in tempore³ et
 'sine ignominia servasse exercitum, quam multa millia hos-
 'tium occidisse, majorem gloriam esse.' Hujus generis
 orationibus frustra habitis, et consule creato M. Atilio
 Regulo, ne præsens de jure⁴ imperii dimicaret, pridie quam
 rogationis ferendæ dies adesset, nocte ad exercitum abiit.
 Luce orta, quum plebis concilium esset, magis tacita invidia
 dictatoris favorque magistri equitum animos versabat, quam
 satis audebant homines ad suadendum, quod vulgo place-
 bat, prodire: et, favore superante⁵, auctoritas tamen roga-
 tioni deerat. Unus inventus est suasor legis C. Terentius
 Varro, qui priore anno prætor fuerat, loco non humili
 solum, sed etiam sordido, ortus. Patrem lanium fuisse
 ferunt, ipsum institorem mercis, filioque⁶ hoc ipso in servilia
 ejus artis ministeria usum. Is juvenis, ubi ex eo genere

26.

¹ *Audaciter.*] Livy and the other classics generally write *audacter*; but, when Latin was a living language, the difference was imperceptible, as *c* was always pronounced hard.

² *Bienniique clades—referret.*] "And recalled (reminded them of) the defeats of the past two years," &c. Gronovius suggests datives *temeritati* and *insciæ*, instead of the accusative with *per*, in order to adapt the sentence to a familiar idiom. sc. "attributed the disasters to precipitation and ignorance."

³ *Se in tempore, &c.*] "His preservation of the army at a critical period and without degradation (without any humiliating compromise) was a prouder distinction than the destruction of many thousands of the enemy." The form of the sentence originally was *ducere majorem glo-*

riam esse; but the first of the verbs was superfluous, and judiciously removed by Drakenborch.

⁴ *Ne præsens de jure, &c.*] "That he might not endanger, by his presence (by remaining in Rome) the tenure of his commission;" or, rather, "to avoid a personal debate respecting the legal term of his commission;" as he had been accused of overholding it.

⁵ *Favore superante, &c.*] "Though the general feeling was strong, the proposal wanted the sanction of a name," (a proposer, *auctor*.)

⁶ *Ipsum institorem mercis, filioque, &c.*] "Himself the manager of his own business, and had employed this son," &c. The text recommended by Gronovius is *ipsum, institore mercis filio hoc ipso*, &c. which several commentators prefer.

quaestus pecunia a patre relicita animos ad spem liberalioris U. C. 537. fortunæ fecit⁷, togaque et forum⁸ placuere, proclaimando⁹ A. C. 217. pro sordidis hominibus causisque aduersus rem et famam bonorum, primum in notitiam populi, deinde ad honores pervenit. Quæstura quoque et duabus ædilitatibus, plebeia et curuli, postremo et prætura perfunctus, jam ad consulatus spem quum attolleret animos, haud parum callide auram favoris popularis ex dictoria invidia petiit, scitique plebis unus gratiam tulit. Omnes eam rogationem, qui que Romæ, qui que in exercitu erant, æqui atque iniqui, præter ipsum dictatorem, in contumeliam ejus latam acceperunt. Ipse, qua gravitate¹ animi criminantes se ad multitudinem inimicos tulerat, eadem et populi in se sævientis injuriam tulit: acceptisque in ipso itinere literis senatusque consulto² de æquato imperio, satis fidens, haudquaquam cum imperii jure artem imperandi æquatam, cum invicto³ a civibus hostibusque animo ad exercitum rediit.

Minucius vero, quum jam ante vix tolerabilis fuisse set 27. cundis rebus ac favore vulgi, tum utique immodice immodestequ⁴, non Hannibale magis victo ab se, quam Q. Fabio, gloriari: 'Illum in rebus asperis unicum ducem ac parem quæsitus Hannibali, majorem minori, dictatorem magistro equitum, quod nulla memoria habeat annalium, jussu populi æquatum in eadem civitate, in qua magistri equitum virgas ac secures dictatoris tremere atque horrere soliti sint. In tantum suam felicitatem virtutemque enituisse. Ergo secuturum se fortunam suam, si dictator in cunctatione ac segnitie, deorum hominumque judicio⁵ damnata,

⁷ *Animos—fecit.*] "Awakened his ambition."

⁸ *Togaque et forum.*] "The civil service and public life attracted him;" or, the two terms may signify what we call "the Bar."

⁹ *Proclamando.*] "Haranguing, brawling." The peculiar technical sense of this expression is best illustrated by Cicero: "Non enim caudicum nescio quem, neque proclamatorem, aut rabulam." (De Orat. i. 46.)

¹ *Ipse, quid gravitate, &c.*] "As for himself, with the same dignity (steadiness, stoicism) of mind with which he had endured the allegations of his enemies before the people, did he now treat the injustice of the people exasperated against him."

² *Acceptisque—literis senatusque consulto.*] This text is an emend-

ation of the old reading *senatusconsulti*, which could not be joined with *literis*. Other emendations proposed by different commentators are, *literis senatus*; or, *literis senatus consulisque*. Of these, the text adopted is the most likely to have been the original reading.

³ *Cum invicto, &c.*] "With a resolution (firmness of purpose) proof against citizens and enemies."

⁴ *Immodice immodestequ.*] "Arrogantly and intemperately." The difference is, that *modicus* signifies 'what does not exceed some definite limit,' and *modestus*, 'what results from the due control of the passions.' The analogous expressions in Greek would probably be, *οὐδὲ μεγίλας, οὐδὲ σωφρονῶς*.

⁵ *Deorum hominumque judicio.*] "The verdict of gods and men." The former attested by his own vic-

U.C. 537. 'perstaret.' Itaque, quo die primum congressus est cum
 A.C. 217. Q. Fabio, 'statuendum omnium primum,' ait, 'esse, quem-
 'admodum imperio æquato utantur. Se optimum ducere,
 'aut diebus alternis, aut, si majora intervalla placerent, par-
 'titis temporibus⁶, alterius summum jus imperiumque esse:
 'ut par hosti non solum consilio, sed viribus etiam esset, si
 'quam occasionem rei gerendæ habuisset.' Q. Fabio
 haudquaquam id placere: 'omnia enim fortunam habitu-
 'ram⁷, quæcunque temeritas collegæ habuisset. Sibi com-
 'municatum cum illo, non ademptum, imperium esse.
 'Itaque se nunquam⁸ volentem parte, qua posset, rerum
 'consilio gerendarum cessurum: nec se tempora aut dies
 'imperii cum eo, exercitus divisurum, suisque consiliis,
 'quoniam omnia non liceret, quæ posset, servaturum.' Ita
 obtinuit, uti legiones, sicut consulibus mos esset, inter se
 dividerent. Prima et quarta Minucio, secunda et tertia
 Fabio evenerunt. Item equites pari numero, sociumque
 et Latini nominis auxilia divisorunt: castris se quoque
 separari magister equitum voluit.

28. Duplex inde⁹ Hannibale gaudium fuit: neque enim quic-
 quam eorum, quæ apud hostes agerentur, eum fallebat, et
 perfugis multa indicantibus, et per suos explorantem. Nam
 et liberam Minucii temeritatem se suo modo¹ captaturum,
 et sollertiae Fabii dimidium virium decessisse. Tumulus
 erat inter castra Minucii Poenorumque. Eum qui occu-
 passet², haud dubie iniquiorem erat hosti locum facturus.
 Eum non tam capere sine certamine volebat Hannibal,
 (quanquam id operæ pretium erat) quam causam certaminis
 cum Minucio, quem semper occursum ad obsistendum
 satis sciebat, contrahere. Ager omnis medius erat prima
 specie inutilis insidiatori, quia non modo³ silvestre quic-
 quam, sed ne vepribus quidem vestitum habebat: re ipsa
 natus tegendis insidiis, eo magis quod in nuda valle nulla

tory over Hannibal; the latter, by the partition of the command.

⁶ *Partitus temporibus.*] "Measured periods."

⁷ *Omnia enim fortunam habituram, &c.*] "Chance would control all that the imprudence of his colleague could influence."

⁸ *Itaque se nunquam, &c.*] "And he would, therefore, never willingly resign any share that he could (avoid resigning) in," &c.

⁹ *Duplex inde, &c.*] "The consequence was a twofold gratification to Hannibal."

¹ *Suo modo.*] "By his peculiar

tactics;" or, according to Crevier, "in any way he might choose."

² *Eum qui occupasset.*] "And whichever should take possession of that, would render the position of his enemy the less advantageous," (would secure the advantage of ground.)

³ *Quia non modo, &c.*] The English idiom would lead one to expect *non modo non*, or *nil*; sc. "it had not only no timber, but not even any covering of bushes;" but, in sentences of this form, the Latin idiom receives but one negative in the first clause.

talis fraus timeri poterat: et erant in anfractibus⁴ cavæ U. C. 537.
rupes, ut quædam earum ducenos armatos possent capere. A. C. 217.
In has latebras, quot quemque locum apte insidere poterant, quinque millia conduntur peditum equitumque.
Necubi tamen aut motus alicujus temere egressi, aut fulgor armorum fraudem in valle tam aperta detegeret: missis paucis prima luce ad capiendum, quem ante diximus, tumulum, avertit oculos hostium. Primo statim conspectu contempta paucitas: ac sibi quisque deposcere pellendos inde hostes. Ad locum capiendum dux ipse⁵ inter stolidissimos ferocissimosque ad arma vocat; et vanis animis et minis increpat hostem. Principio levem armaturam dimittit, deinde conferto agmine mittit equites: postremo, quum hostibus quoque subsidia mitti videret, instructis legionibus procedit. Et Hannibal⁶, laborantibus suis alia atque alia, crescente certamine, mittens auxilia peditum equitumque, jam justam expleverat aciem, ac totis utrimque viribus certabatur. Prima levis armatura Romanorum⁷, præoccupatum inferiore loco succedens tumulum, pulsa detrusaque terrem in succedentem intulit equitem, et ad signa legionum refugit. Peditum acies inter percuslos impavida sola erat, videbaturque, si justa aut si recta pugna⁸ esset, haudquam impar futura. Tantum animorum fecerat prospere ante paucos dies res gesta. Sed exorti repente insidiatores eum tumultum terroremque, in latera utrimque ab tergoque incurantes, fecerunt, ut neque animus ad pugnam, neque ad fugam spes cuiquam superesset. Tunc Fabius, primo clamore paventium audit, dein conspecta procul turbata acie, 'Ita est,' inquit, 'non celerius, quam timui⁹, deprehendit fortuna temeritatem. Fabio æquatus imperio 'Hannibalem et virtute et fortuna superiorem videt. Sed

29.

⁴ *Et erant in anfractibus, &c.]* "There were also caverned rocks in its recesses," &c. Perhaps the most ingenious form of ambuscade recorded any where in history, is that attributed to the ancient Sclavorians, who used to lie concealed *under water*, and breathe through hollow canes, the ends of which barely rose above the surface. (See Gibbon, Decl. and Fall, ch. xlvi.)

⁵ *Ad locum capiendum dux ipse, &c.]* The reading suggested by Perizonius is, *ac locum capiendum*, (joined with the preceding sentence) *dux ipse, &c.*

⁶ *Et Hannibal.]* "Hannibal also, (Hannibal on the other side.)" One cannot sufficiently admire the art

with which the Carthaginian drew out the whole force of Minucius; provoking him in the first instance by sending an insignificant force to the hill, and continuing to reinforce it as often as the number of the enemy was increased. In devices of this sort, the general of modern times who most resembles Hannibal is Frederick the Great.

⁷ *Prima levis armatura Romanorum.]* "The light infantry forming the van of the Romans."

⁸ *Recta pugna.]* "An open fight," i. e. *frontibus adversis*, involving no ambuscade.

⁹ *Non celerius, quam timui.]* i. e. *celeriter quidem, sed non celerius, &c.*

U. C. 537. 'aliud jurgandi succensendique tempus erit: nunc signa
 A. C. 217. 'extra vallum proferte. Victoriam hosti extorqueamus,
 'confessionem erroris civibus.' Jam magna ex parte cæsis
 aliis, aliis circumspectantibus fugam, Fabiana se acies re-
 pente, velut cœlo demissa, ad auxilium ostendit. Itaque,
 priusquam ad conjectum teli veniret, aut manum consere-
 ret, et suos a fuga effusa, et ab nimis feroci pugna hostes
 continuit. Qui solutis ordinibus vase dissipati erant, un-
 dique confugerunt ad integrum aciem; qui plures simul
 terga dederant, conversi in hostem, volventesque orbem¹,
 nunc sensim referre pedem, nunc conglobati restare. Ac
 jam prope una acies facta erat victi atque integri exercitus,
 inferebantque signa in hostem; quum Pœnus receptui
 cecinit, palam ferente Hannibale, ab se Minucium, se a
 Fabio victum.

Ita per variam fortunam diei majore parte exacta, quum
 in castra redditum esset, Minucius, convocatis militibus,
 'Sæpe ego,' inquit, 'audivi, milites, eum primum esse
 'virum², qui ipse consulat, quid in rem sit; secundum eum,
 'qui bene monenti obediatur: qui nec ipse consulere, nec
 'alteri parere sciatur, eum extremi ingenii³ esse. Nobis quo-
 'niam prima animi ingeniique negata sors⁴ est, secundam ac
 'mediam teneamus: et, dum imperare discimus, parere
 'prudenti in animum inducamus. Castra cum Fabio jun-
 'gamus: ad prætorium ejus signa quum tulerimus, ubi
 'ego eum parentem appellavero, quod beneficio ejus erga
 'nos ac majestate ejus dignum est; vos, milites, eos, quo-
 'rum vos modo arma dextræque texerunt, patronos salu-
 'tabitis, et, si nihil aliud, gratorum certe nobis animorum
 'gloriam dies hæc dederit.' Signo dato, conclamatur inde,
 ut colligantur vasa. Profecti et agmine incidentes ad dic-
 tatoris castra in admirationem et ipsum, et omnes, qui
 circa erant, converterunt. Ut constituta sunt ante tribunal
 signa, progressus ante alios magister equitum, quum
 'patrem' Fabium appellasset, circumfusosque militum⁵ ejus
 totum agmen 'patronos' consalutasset, 'Parentibus,' inquit,
 'meis, dictator, (quibus te modo nomine, quo fando pos-
 'sum, æquavi) vitam tantum debeo: tibi quum meam sa-
 'lutem, tum omnium horum. Itaque plebeiscitum, quo

¹ *Volventes orbem.*] The usual manœuvre of the Roman infantry, when dispersed, or broken, or surrounded, especially when charged by cavalry, was the formation of a solid square. The hollow and solid square have been often used with advantage and effect in modern warfare, e. g. the solid square of the British infantry at Waterloo.

² *Primum esse virum.*] "The best (the first-rate) man."

³ *Extremi ingenii.*] "Of the lowest class of mind."

⁴ *Prima animi ingeniique negata sors.*] "The first rank in generosity and talent."

⁵ *Circumfusosque militum.*] A construction analogous to *delectos patrum, expeditos militum, &c.*

‘oneras magis, quam honoratus⁶ sum, primus antiquo U.C. 537.
 ‘abrogoque: et, quod tibi mihique, quod exercitibusque A.C. 217.
 ‘his tuis, servato ac conservatori, sit felix, sub imperium
 ‘auspiciumque tuum redeo, et signa hæc legionesque
 ‘restituo. Tu, quæso, placatus me magisterium equitum,
 ‘hos ordines suos quemque tenere jubeas.’ Tum dextræ
 interjunctæ, militesque, concione dimissa, a notis ignotis-
 que benigne atque hospitaliter invitati: lætusque dies⁷, ex
 admodum tristi paullo ante ac prope exsecribili, factus.
 Romæ, ut est perlata fama rei gestæ, dein literis non magis
 ipsorum imperatorum, quam vulgo militum ex utroque
 exercitu affirmata, pro se quisque Maximum laudibus ad
 cœlum ferre. Par gloria⁸ apud Hannibalem hostesque
 Poenus erat: ac tum demum sentire, cum Romanis atque
 in Italia bellum esse. Nam biennio ante adeo et duces
 Romanos et milites spreverant, ut vix cum eadem gente
 bellum esse crederent, cujus terribilem eam famam a patri-
 bus accepissent. Hannibalem quoque ex acie redeuntem
 dixisse ferunt, ‘tandem eam nubem⁹, quæ sedere in jugis
 ‘montium solita sit, cum procella imbreu dedit.’

Dum hæc geruntur in Italia, Cn. Servilius Geminus
 consul cum classe centum viginti navium, circumvectus
 Sardiniae et Corsicæ oram, et obsidibus utrimque acceptis,
 in Africam transmisit: et priusquam in continentem ex-
 scensiones ficeret, Menige insula vastata, et ab incolentibus
 Cercinam¹, ne et ipsorum ureretur diripereturque ager,
 decem talentis argenti acceptis, ad litora Africæ accessit,
 copiasque exposuit. Inde ad populandum agrum ducti
 milites, navalesque socii juxta effusi, ac si insulis cultorum
 egentibus prædarentur. Itaque in insidias temere illati,
 quum a frequentibus palantes, ab locorum gnaris ignari
 circumvenirentur, cum multa cæde ac foeda fuga retro ad

31.

⁶ *Oneratus magis quam honoratus.*] This is one of those allitera-
 tions which, as it may be supposed, are the most difficult of those
 beauties and peculiarities which a translator is expected to convey.
 There are, unfortunately, no English words at the same time sufficiently
 similar in sound and antithetic in meaning to serve on this occasion.

⁷ *Lætusque dies, &c.*] “And the day became one of rejoicing, from having been previously (instead of being as it was previously) melancholy and almost ominous;” i.e. a day which it would be thereafter unlucky to mention, like the days of

the battles of the Allia and the Caudine Pass.

⁸ *Pargloria, &c.*] “His reputation became equally high,” &c.

⁹ *Tandem eam nubem, &c.*] “The cloud, that had used to rest upon the mountain-tops, had at last come down in rain and storm.”

¹ *Menige insulæ — Cercinam.*] These islands lay on the coast of Africa, near the Syrtis Major; and are now respectively known by the names *Gadaica* and *Kerkeni*. The former was sometimes called *Nerita*, as a supposed colony from *Neritos*, and is said to be the country of Homer’s *Lotophagi*.

U.C. 537. **naves compulsi sunt.** Ad mille hominum, cum his Sempronio Blæso quæstore amissos², classis, a litoribus hostium plenis trepide soluta, in Siciliam cursum tenuit: traditaque Lilybæi T. Otacilio prætori, ut ab legato ejus P. Sura Romanam reduceretur. Ipse, per Siciliam pedibus profectus³, freto in Italiam trajecit, literis Q. Fabii accitus et ipse, et collega ejus M. Atilius, ut exercitus ab se, exacto jam prope semestri imperio, acciperent.

Omnium prope annales Fabium dictatorem adversus Hannibalem rem gessisse tradunt. Cœlius etiam eum primum a populo creatum⁴ dictatorem scribit. Sed et Cœlium et ceteros fugit, uni consuli Cn. Servilio, qui tum procul in Gallia provincia aberat, jus fuisse dicendi dictatoris: quam moram quia exspectare territa jam clade civitas non poterat, eo decursum esse, ut a populo crearetur, qui pro dictatore esset: res inde gestas gloriamque insignem ducis et augentes titulum imaginis⁵ posteros, ut, qui pro dictatore, dictator diceretur, facile obtinuisse.

32. Consules, Atilius Fabiano, Geminus Servilius Minuciano exercitu, accepto, hibernaculis mature communitis, (extremum autumni erat) Fabii artibus cum summa inter se concordia bellum gesserunt. Frumentatum exeunti Hannibali diversis locis opportuni⁶ aderant, carpentes agmen, palatosque excipientes. In casum universæ dimicationis, quam omnibus artibus petebat hostis, non veniebant: adeoque inopia est coactus Hannibal, ut, nisi tum fugæ speciem abeundo⁷ timuisset, Galliam repetiturus fuerit, nulla relicta spe alendi exercitus in iis locis, si in sequentes consules iisdem artibus bellum gererent.

Quum ad Geronium jam hieme impediente constitisset bellum, Neapolitani legati Romanam venere. Ab iis quadriginta pateræ aureæ magni ponderis in curiam illatæ, atque ita verba facta, ut dicerent⁸: ‘Scire sese, Romani populi

² *Ad mille hominum—amissos.*] Some editions have *amissum*; by adopting the text above, we make the whole sentence an ablative abs. containing as a parenthesis, another ablative abs. Regarding the whole sentence as one ablative, we would perhaps expect to find *amissis*; but the Latin idiom does not require that.

³ *Pedibus profectus.*] “Proceeding over land”—πέδος.

⁴ *Primum a populo creatum.*] The second Dictator elected by general suffrage was Sylla.

⁵ *Augentes titulum imaginis.*] “The exultation of the glory of his name by his descendants:” lit.

“their improvement of the inscription on his bust.”

⁶ *Diversis locis opportuni.*] “At different places and favourable moments.”

⁷ *Fugæ speciem abeundo &c.*] “So straitened by want, that had he not dreaded the appearance of a retreat in his departure, he would have returned to Gaul.” The sentence would be sufficiently full and complete without *abeundo*: as the text stands, however, *præbendam*, or some such word, must be understood before it.

⁸ *Ita verba facta, ut dicerent.*] If this full form be retained, we

‘ærarium bello exauriri: et, quum juxta pro urbibus U. C. 537.
 ‘agrisque sociorum, ac pro capite atque arce Italiæ, urbe A. C. 217.
 ‘Romana atque imperio geratur, æquum censuisse Nea-
 ‘politanos, quod auri sibi quum ad templorum ornatum,
 ‘tum ad subsidium fortunæ⁹ a majoribus relicturn foret, eo
 ‘juvare populum Romanum. Si quam opem¹ in sese cre-
 ‘derent, eodem studio fuisse oblaturos. Gratum sibi Patres
 ‘Romanos populumque facturum, si omnes res Neapolita-
 ‘norum suas duxissent; dignosque judicaverint, ab quibus
 ‘donum, animo ac voluntate eorum, qui libentes darent,
 ‘quam re, majus ampliusque, acciperent.’ Legatis gratiæ
 actæ pro munificentia curaque: patera, quæ ponderis
 minimi fuit, accepta.

Per eosdem dies speculator Carthaginiensis, qui per biennium fefellerat, Romæ deprehensus, præcisisque manibus dimissus: et servi quinque et viginti in crucem acti, quod in campo Martio conjurassent. Indici data libertas et æris gravis² viginti millia. Legati et ad Philippum Macedonum regem missi ad depositum Demetrium Pharium³, qui, bello victus, ad eum fugisset: et alii in Ligures ad expostulandum⁴, quod Poenum opibus auxiliisque suis juvissent: simul ad visendum ex propinquo⁵, quæ in Boiis atque Insubribus gererentur. Ad Pineum quoque regem in Illyrios legati missi ad stipendum, cuius dies exierat, poscendum; aut, si diem proferre vellet, obsides accipiendos. Adeo, etsi bellum ingens in cervicibus erat, nullius usquam terrarum rei cura Romanos, ne longinqua quidem, effugiebat. In religionem etiam venit⁶, ædem

33.

must translate, “Their address was so framed as to intimate.” *Ut dicerent*, however, appears superfluous, and was perhaps originally, one of those marginal notes, which were never very judicious, and which eventually insinuated themselves into the text, to the frequent mystification of commentators.

⁹ *Subsidium fortunæ.*] “The maintenance of their position.”

¹ *Si quam opem.*] Either understand, with Duker, *aliam opem*; or, *opem* in the special sense of military help. It may be remarked in general, that, of the Italian cities, those which adhered most faithfully to the fortunes of Rome during this period of trial, were the Greek colonies.

² *Æris gravis.*] Crevier remarks, that, at this time, this name does not signify the original *asses librales*,

or pounds of brass. The term had now become merely a name of which the application was obsolete, but which perpetuated the relation of brass to silver: ten of these *asses librales*, (or, of their subsequent representatives,) being equal to a *denarius*, thence so called.

³ *Demetrium Pharium.*] The Pharus or Pharia indicated here, was an Island in the Adriatic, now called *Lesina*. Demetrius was a leader of the Illyrians, who had been defeated about three years previously by *Æmilius Paullus*, and had taken refuge in the Court of Philip.

⁴ *Ad expostulandum.*] “To remonstrate;” lit. “to demand an explanation.”

⁵ *Ad visendum ex propinquo.*] “To observe on the spot.”

⁶ *In religionem etiam venit.*] “It was felt as a matter of conscience.”

U.C. 537. Concordiæ, quam per seditionem militarem biennio ante
A.C. 217. L. Manlius prætor in Gallia vovisset, locatam ad id tempus
 non esse. Itaque duumviri ad eam rem creati a M. Æmilio
 prætore urbis, Cn. Pupius et K. Quinctius Flamininus,
 ædem in arce faciendam locaverunt.

Ab eodem prætore ex senatusconsulto literæ ad consules
 missæ, ut, si iis videretur, alter eorum ad consules creandos
 Romam veniret: se in eam diem, quam jussissent, comitia
 edicturum. Ad hæc a consulibus rescriptum, ‘Sine detri-
 ‘mento reipublicæ abscedi non posse ab hoste’⁷. Itaque
 ‘per interregem comitia habenda esse potius, quam consu-
 ‘lum alter a bello avocaretur.’ Patribus rectius visum est,
 dictatorem a consule dici comitiorum habendorum causa.
 Dictus L. Veturius Philo M'. Pomponium Mathonem ma-
 gistrum equitum dixit. His vitio creatis⁸, jussisque die
 quarto decimo se magistratu abdicare, ad interregnum res

34. rediit. Consulibus prorogatum in annum imperium. In-
U.C. 538. terreges proditi a Patribus C. Claudius, Ap. filius, Centho;
A.C. 216. inde P. Cornelius Asina. In ejus interregno comitia habita

magno certamine Patrum ac plebis. C. Terentio Varroni⁹,
 quem, sui generis hominem, plebei insectatione principum
 popularibusque artibus conciliatum, ab Q. Fabii opibus et
 dictatario imperio concussis aliena invidia splendentem,
 vulgus et extrahere ad consulatum nitebatur, Patres summa
 ope obstabant, ne se insectando sibi æquari assuescerent
 homines. Q. Bæbius Herennius tribunus plebis, cognatus
 C. Terentii, criminando non senatum modo, sed etiam au-
 gures, quod dictatorem prohibuissent comitia perficere, per
 invidiam eorum favorem candidato suo conciliabat. ‘Ab
 ‘hominibus nobilibus, per multos annos bellum quærenti-
 ‘bus, Hannibalem in Italiam adductum: ab iisdem, quum
 ‘debellari possit, fraude id bellum trahi. Cum quattuor
 ‘militum legionibus universis¹⁰ pugnari posse apparuisse eo,
 ‘quod M. Minucius, absente Fabio, prospere pugnasset;
 ‘duas legiones hosti ad cædem objectas, deinde ex ipsa
 ‘cæde eruptas, ut pater patronusque appellaretur, qui

⁷ *Abscedi non posse ab hoste.*] “The enemy could not be quitted, (lost sight of.)”

⁸ *Vitio creatis.*] “Informally elected.”

⁹ C. Terentio Varroni, follows *obstabant*. The account given by Livy (ch. 25. above) of Varro is somewhat discredited by the absence of any mention of his having been a tribune. That would naturally have been the first object of his ambition,

if he had really been the factious demagogue that his aristocratic rivals would represent him. *Alienæ in-
 vidiæ splendentem*, “deriving celebrity from another’s obloquy.” *Ne
 se insectando*, &c. “That men may not get the habit of rising to an equality with them by libelling them.”

¹⁰ *Quattuor militum legionibus universis.*] “Four full legions.” The genitive is superfluous.

‘ prius vincere² prohibuisset Romanos, quam vinci. Con- U.C. 588.
 ‘ sules deinde Fabianis artibus, quum debellare possent, A.C. 216.
 ‘ bellum traxisse. Id foedus inter omnes nobiles ictum:
 ‘ nec finem ante belli habituros, quam consulem vere ple-
 ‘ beium, id est, hominem novum, fecissent. Nam plebeios
 ‘ nobiles³ jam iisdem initiatos esse sacris, et contemnere ple-
 ‘ bem, ex quo contemni desierint a Patribus, cœpisse. Cui
 ‘ non apparere, id actum et quæsitus esse, ut interregnum
 ‘ iniretur, ut in Patrum potestate comitia essent? Id con-
 ‘ sules ambos ad exercitum morando quæsisse: id postea,
 ‘ quia invitis iis dictator esset dictus comitiorum causa, ex-
 ‘ pugnatum esse, ut vitiosus dictator per augures fieret.
 ‘ Habere igitur interregnum eos. Consulatum unum certe
 ‘ plebis Romanæ esse: populum liberum habiturum⁴ ac
 ‘ daturum ei, qui magis vere vincere, quam diu imperare,
 ‘ malit.’

Quum his orationibus accensa plebs esset, tribus patriciis
 potentibus, P. Cornelio Merenda, L. Manlio Vulsone, M.
 Æmilio Lepido, duobus nobilibus jam familiarum plebei⁵,
 C. Atilio Serrano et Q. Ælio Pæto, quorum alter pontifex,
 alter augur erat, C. Terentius consul unus creatur⁶, ut in
 manu ejus essent comitia rogando collegæ. Tum experta
 nobilitas, parum fuisse virium in competitoribus, L. Æmi-
 lium Paullum, qui cum M. Livio consul fuerat, et damnatione
 collegæ⁷, et sua prope, ambustus evaseret, infestum
 plebei, diu ac multum recusantem, ad petitionem compellit.
 Is proximo comitiali die, concedentibus omnibus, qui cum
 Varrone certaverant, par magis in adversandum⁸, quam col-
 lega, datur consuli. Inde prætoria comitia habita. Creati

35.

² *Qui prius vincere &c.*] “Who had prevented (though he had prevented) the Romans from conquering before (he had prevented) their being conquered.”

³ *Plebeios nobiles.*] “Plebeians who had attained nobility; plebeian aristocrats.” *Iisdem sacris* “in the same mysteries,” (associated in the same cabal.)

⁴ *Populum liberum habiturum*] “The people must have it unconditionally.”

⁵ *Nobilibus jam familiarum plebei.*] “Of plebeian origin, but already ennobled.”

⁶ *Terentius consul unus creatur.*] As no other candidate obtained a sufficient number of votes to entitle him to the suffrage of a tribe.

⁷ *Consul fuerat, et damnatione collegæ, &c.*] On the conclusion of

the Illyrian war, about a year before the eruption of the second Punic, Livius had been condemned on the charge of impropriation, of which Æmilius was barely acquitted. *Am-
bus*, lit. “scorched” or “singed.” This metaphor of terms from fire to political faction occurs rather frequently in Livy: compare (c. 40. infra) *se populare incendium priore consulatu semiustum effugisse*: and (l. xxxix. 6.) *ne incendio alieno conflagraret.*

⁸ *Par magis in adversandum, &c.*] “Was assigned to the consul rather as a rival in opposition than as a colleague.” The rest of the elections appear to have been controlled by the aristocratic party. Two of the prætors, Marcellus and Albinus, were aristocrats, and the others not opposed to their party.

U. C. 598. M'. Pomponius Matho et P. Furius Philus. Romæ juri
 A. C. 216. dicundo urbana sors Pomponio, inter cives Romanos et
 peregrinos P. Furio Philo evenit. Additi duo prætores, M.
 Claudius Marcellus in Siciliam, L. Postumius Albinus in
 Galliam. Omnes absentes creati sunt; nec cuiquam eorum,
 præter Terentium consulem, mandatus honos, quem jam
 non antea gessisset, præteritis aliquot fortibus⁹ ac strenuis
 viris; quia in tali tempore nulli novus magistratus videbatur
 mandandus.

36. Exercitus quoque multiplicati sunt. Quantæ autem
 peditum equitumque additæ sint copiæ, adeo et numero
 et genere copiarum variant auctores, ut vix quicquam satis
 certum affirmare ausim. Decem millia novorum militum
 alii scripta in supplementum; alii novas quattuor legiones,
 ut octo legionibus rem gererent: numero quoque peditum
 equitumque legiones auctas, millibus peditum et centenis
 equitibus in singulas adjectis; ut quina millia peditum,
 treceni equites¹ essent; socii duplarem numerum equitum
 darent, pedites æquarent. Septem et octoginta millia ar-
 matorum et ducentos in castris Romanis, quum pugnatum
 ad Cannas est, quidam auctores sunt². Illud haudquaquam

⁹ *Præteritis aliquot fortibus &c.]*
 “Though several brave and energetic men were overlooked.”

Chap. 36. Historians, ancient and modern, have admired the address with which Hannibal, during this interval of repose, and therefore of danger, kept together, and under such perfect control, an army composed of so many heterogeneous elements: the restless and fickle Gauls, the indolent Spaniards, and the rapacious and discontented Numidians. At this time was written in the Carthaginian camp, before the walls of Geronium, a work which has been unfortunately lost, but which the opportunities of its author (the Greek historian Silanus who accompanied Hannibal) must have made interesting. From such memoirs we might have learned more of the minds of Hannibal and his “paladins,” Maharbal, Gisco, Mago, &c. than any other records can possibly supply. (C. Nepos, Hann. c. 13.

¹ *Quina millia peditum, treceni equites.]* i. e. “5000 infantry and 300 cavalry in each.” It would appear, that as 300 was the ordinary number of cavalry in a legion, and

as the addition here mentioned is 100, we should read *quadrigeni*. With respect to the relative proportion of the different arms in an army, Napoleon I. (as quoted by Count Montholon) used to say, that taking the number of infantry as the unit, the cavalry should be one-fourth, artillery one-eighth, engineers one-fortieth, and baggage one-thirtieth. He used also to speak of the constitution of the English army as imperfect, objecting to the proportion of baggage as being greater than that of any other troops; the sale of commissions; the anomaly of an officer holding a higher rank “in the army” than in his proper regiment, which he described as an absurdity incompatible with proper military feeling; the rarity of promotion from the ranks, and the number of officers multiplied beyond all proportion or necessity.

² *Quidam auctores sunt.]* Perzonius proposes to substitute *fuisse* for *quidam*; so as to make this and the preceding one continuous sentence beginning at *alii*: but this would create a contradiction, as the computation in the first sentence makes a sum of 89,600.

discrepat³, majore conatu atque impetu rem actam, quam U. C. 538. prioribus annis; quia spem, posse vinci hostem, dictator A. C. 216. præbuerat.

Ceterum, priusquam signa ab urbe novæ legiones move-
rent, decemviri libros adire atque inspicere jussi propter
territos vulgo homines novis prodigiis. Nam, et Romæ in
Aventino et Ariciæ nuntiatum erat, sub idem tempus lapi-
dibus pluisse: et multo cruento signa in Sabinis sudasse⁴,
aquaſe e fonte calidas manasse. Id quidem etiam, quod
ſæpius acciderat, magis terrebant. Et in via Fornicata,
quæ ad Campum erat⁵, aliquot homines de cœlo tacti ex-
animatique fuerant. Ea prodigia ex libris procurata. Le-
gati a Pæsto pateras aureas Romam attulerunt. Iis, sicut
Neapolitanis, gratiæ actæ; aurum non acceptum.

Per eosdem dies ab Hierone classis Ostiam cum magno
commeatu accessit. Legati Syracusani in senatum intro-
ducti nuntiarunt: 'Cædem C. Flaminii consulis exerci-
tusque allatam adeo ſegre tulisse regem Hieronem, ut
nulla ſua propria⁶ regnique ſui clade moveri magis potuerit.
' Itaque, quanquam probe ſciat, magnitudinem populi Ro-
mani admirabilorem prope adverſis rebus, quam ſecundis,
' eſſe; tamen ſe omnia, quibus a bonis fidelibusque ſociis
bella juvari ſoleant, miſiſſe: quæ ne accipere abnuant'⁷,
magno opere ſe Patres conſcriptos orare. Jam omnium
primum ominis cauſa Victoriam auream pondo trecentum
viginti afferre ſeſe. Acciperent eam⁸, tenerentque, et ha-
berent propriam et perpetuam. Advexisſe etiam trecenta
millia modium tritici, ducenta hordei, ne commeatus de-
ſent: et, quantum præterea opus eſſet, quo juiſiſſent,
subvecturos. Milite atque equite ſcire, niſi Romano La-
tinique nominis⁹, non uti populum Romanum: levium ar-

37.

³ *Illud haudquam discrepat.]* "On this point there is no difference of opinion."

⁴ *Et multo cruento signa in Sabinis sudasse, &c.]* "And in the Sabine country, ſtatues perspired in streams of blood, and water flowed hot from the fountains." This is the translation of the text as it stands (*aquaſe e fonte calidas*). For *cædīſ*, which some editions read instead of *sudſſe*, other authorities ſuggest *cœrītēſ* or *cœrērīſ*. The latter reading would improve the ſentene, which would then ſignify, "The ſtatues of Ceres in the Sabine country, &c." *Cœrītēſ*, if adopted, ſhould of course be joined with *aquaſe*; but in this case no portent would be implied, as the *Cœrītēſ*

ſprings were always hot. This ob-
jection might be removed by adopting
Crevier's further ſuggeſtione of *cru-
entas* for *calidas*, but the alteration
would perhaps be too arbitrary.

⁵ *Quæ ad Campum (via) erat.]* "Which led to the Campus Martius."

⁶ *Ut nullus suus proprius, &c.]* "That there was no personal or national calamity by which he could be more distressed; though he was well au-
ſured that the resources of the Ro-
man people were almost more, &c."

⁷ *Quæ ne accipere abnuant &c.]* "Which he earnestly entreated the
C. F. not to refuse to accept."

⁸ *Acciperent eam.]* sc. Orare ut.

⁹ *Nisi Romano Latinique nomi-*

U. C. 538. 'morum auxilia etiam externa vidiisse in castris Romanis.
 A. C. 216. 'Itaque misisse mille sagittariorum ac funditorum, aptam
 'manum adversus Baliares ac Mauros, pugnacesque alias
 'missili telo gentes.' Ad ea dona consilium quoque adde-
 bant, 'Ut prætor, cui provincia Sicilia evenisset, classem
 'in Africam trajiceret; ut et hostes in terra sua' bellum ha-
 'berent, minusque laxamenti² daretur iis ad auxilia Hanni-
 'bali summittenda.' Ab senatu ita responsum regi est:
 'Virum bonum³ egregiumque socium Hieronem esse, atque
 'uno tenore, ex quo in amicitiam populi Romani venerit,
 'fidem coluisse, ac rem Romanam omni tempore ac loco
 'munifice adjuvisse. Id, perinde ac deberet, gratum populo
 'Romano esse. Aurum et a civitatibus quibusdam allatum,
 'gratia rei accepta,⁴ non accepisse populum Romanum. Vi-
 'ctoriam omenque accipere; sedemque ei se divæ dare, di-
 'care Capitolium, templum Jovis optimi maximi. In ea
 'arce urbis Romanæ sacratam, volentem propitiamque,
 'firmam ac stabilem fore populo Romano.' Funditores,
 sagittariique, et frumentum traditum consulibus. Quin-
 queremes ad navium classem⁵, quæ cum T. Otacilio pro-
 prætore in Sicilia erat, quinque et viginti additæ, permis-
 sumque est, ut, si e republica censeret esse, in Africam
 trajiceret.

38. Delectu perfecto, consules paucos morati dies, dum socii
 ab nomine Latino venirent. Milites tunc, quod nunquam
 antea⁶ factum erat, jurejurando ab tribunis militum adacti,

nis, &c.] The change that came upon the spirit of the Romans in the mean time may be estimated by comparing the state of the legions under the Empire, in the East especially, where they consisted almost exclusively of foreigners, and the Prætorians were principally Germans. The first innovations, to any noticeable extent, were introduced by Julius Cæsar; sc. his Belgic heavy infantry, his light infantry from Aquitania, his Gallic and Spanish cavalry, and Spanish Prætorian guard.

¹ Ut et hostes in terrâ suâ, &c.] It will be remembered that this was the policy so successfully adopted by Agathocles in the war with Carthage; and subsequently imitated by Scipio. And still more recently by the Emperor Heraclius, when he marched into Persia, in order to withdraw Chosroes from Constantinople.

² Minusque Laxamenti.] "Less leisure, facility."

³ Virum bonum, &c.] "An honourable man and sincere ally, and had maintained his allegiance with uniform consistency ever since," &c.

⁴ Gratia rei accepta.] "Though the obligation of the offer had been felt."

⁵ Ad navium classem] It would appear that a word or letters specifying the numbers of ships have disappeared from before *navium*. This number may be inferred from other statements to have been about 120; that is, if the Lieutenant of Otacilius had not brought to Rome those which Servilius had transferred to him for that purpose.

⁶ Milites tunc, quod nunquam antea, &c.] There must be some error in the usual text of this sentence; because the following formula (*jussu coss. conv. neg. injussu abi-turos*) was the original and ordinary form of the *sacramentum*, on which the conjunction *nam* would here imply that it was an innovation. The difficulty would be removed by

jussu consulum conventuros, neque injussu abituros. Nam U. C. 538. ad eam diem nihil præter sacramentum fuerat; et, ubi ad A. C. 216. decuriatum aut centuriatum convenissent, sua voluntate ipsi inter se equites decuriati, centuriati pedites conjurabant, sese fugæ atque formidinis ergo non abituros, neque ex ordine recessuros, nisi teli sumendi, aut petendi, et aut hostis feriendi, aut civis servandi causa. Id ex voluntario inter ipsos födere a tribunis ad legitimam jurisjurandi adactionem translatum.

Conciones, priusquam ab urbe signa moverentur, consulis Varronis multæ ac feroceſ fuere, denuntiantes⁷, ‘bellum arcessitum in Italianam ab nobilibus, mansurumque in visceribus reipublicæ, si plures Fabios imperatores habueret; se, quo die hostem vidisset, perfecturum.’ Collegæ ejus Paulli una, pridie quam ex urbe proficiserentur, concio fuit verior, quam gratior populo, qua nihil inclementer in Varronem dictum, nisi id modo: ‘Mirari se, quomodo quis dux, priusquam aut suum, aut hostium exercitum, locorum situm, naturam regionis nosset, jam nunc togatus in urbe⁸ sciret, quæ sibi agenda armato forent; et diem quoque prædicere posset, qua cum hoste signis collatis esset dimicaturus. Se, quæ consilia magis res dent hominibus⁹, quam homines rebus, ea ante tempus immatura non præcepturum. Optare, ut, quæ caute atque consulte gesta essent, satis prospere evenirent. Temeritatem¹⁰, præterquam quod stulta sit, infelicem etiam ad id locorum fuisse.’ Id sua sponte¹¹ apparebat, tuta celeribus consiliis præpositurum: et, quo id constantius perseveraret¹², Q. Fabius Maximus sic eum proficiscente allocutus fertur:

transposing the clauses respectively beginning with *jussu* and *nam*, (sc. “for until then there had never been more than the military oath; that they would muster at the consul's order,” &c.) and thus placing the words *tribunis* and *consulum* in antithesis.

⁷ *Et, ubi ad decuriatum, &c.—conjurabant.*] i.e. They used theretofore to bind themselves to the consuls by the general obligation of the *sacramentum*. And “when they had assembled, to the number or complement of a decuria, or century,” to the subordinate officers and each other by a more special and private oath, which was in this instance (first) administered by the tribunes.

⁸ *Denuntiantes.*] sc. conciones. The genitive *denuntiantis*, independently of its being more idiomatic

Latin, would be an improvement, so far as it would imply more emphatically, that, with his own promises, there was mingled a tone of censure.

⁹ *Togatus in urbe.*] This reading is that which Muretus proposes to substitute for *locatus*: it evidently conveys more meaning *per se*, and forms an effective antithesis to *armato*.

¹⁰ *Quæ consilia magis res dent hominibus, &c.]* “The measures which circumstances impose on men, rather than,” &c. i.e. which are more frequently controlled (or shaped by) than they control circumstances.

¹¹ *Temeritatem, &c.]* “Precipitation (hardihood), in addition to its being irrational, had been up to that time unsuccessful.”

¹² *Id sua sponte, &c.]* “It was self-evident.”

Id—perseveraret.] Ellipsis of *facere*.

U. C. 538. 'Si aut collegam, id quod mallem, tui similem, L. Æmili,
 A. C. 216. 'haberes, aut tu collegæ tui similis essem, supèrvacanea
 39. 'esset oratio mea. Nam et duo boni consules, etiam me
 'indicente⁵, omnia e republica fide vestra⁶ faceretis: et mali
 'nec mea verba auribus vestris, nec consilia animis acci-
 'peretis. Nunc et collegam tuum et te talem virum in-
 'tuenti mihi tecum omnis oratio est: quem video nequic-
 'quam et virum bonum et civem fore. Si altera parte
 'claudicet⁷ respublika, malis consiliis idem ac bonis juris et
 'potestatis erit. Erras enim, L. Paulle, si tibi minus cer-
 'taminis cum C. Terentio, quam cum Hannibale, futurum
 'censes. Nescio, an infestior hic adversarius, quam ille
 'hostis, maneat. Cum illo in acie tantum, cum hoc om-
 'nibus locis ac temporibus certaturus es: et adversus Han-
 'nibalem legionesque ejus tuis equitibus ac peditibus
 'pugnandum tibi est: Varro dux tuis militibus te est op-
 'pugnaturus. Ominis etiam tibi causa absit C. Flaminii
 'memoria. Tamen ille consul demum⁸, et in provincia, et
 'ad exercitum, cœpit furere: hic, priusquam peteret consu-
 'latum, deinde in petendo consulatu; nunc quoque consul,
 'priusquam castra videat aut hostem, insanit. Et, qui
 'tantas jam nunc procellas, prælia atque acies jactando,
 'inter togatos ciet, quid inter armatam juventutem censes
 'facturum, et ubi extemplo verba res sequitur? Atqui si
 'hic, quod facturum se denuntiat, extemplo pugnaverit;
 'aut ego rem militarem, belli hoc genus, hostem hunc
 'ignoro, aut nobilior alias Trasimeno locus nostris cladibus
 'erit. Nec gloriandi tempus adversus unum⁹ est, et ego,
 'contemnendo potius, quam appetendo gloriam, modum
 'excesserim; sed ita res habet: una ratio belli gerendi ad-
 'versus Hannibalem est, qua ego gessi. Nec eventus modo
 'hoc docet, (stultorum iste magister est) sed eadem ratio,
 'quæ fuit, futuraque, donec res eædem manebunt, immu-
 'tabilis est¹. In Italia bellum gerimus, in sede ac solo

⁵ *Me indicente.*] "Even though I were silent." This is an unusual form of negative: but not altogether exceptional. Compare, (Terence, Ad. 3, 4, 62.) *non me indicente hæc fieri*: (and l. v. 15. above) *ut indicta sint, revocare*.

⁶ *E republica fide vestra.*] "You would do all for the republic through your own loyalty." If *que* be added to *fide*, as some editions have it, we must translate, "every thing consistent with the public good and your own sense of honour."

⁷ *Si altera parte claudicet.*] "If the state be disabled on one side

⁸ *Consul demum.*] "Only when (not until) he became consul."

⁹ *Adversus unum.*] "To (in presence of) an individual;" "to a single hearer;" *ut ego*, (according to some editions,) "how I, &c." The text above, *et ego*, is better, as supplying a second abnegation of personal vanity.

¹ *Immutabilis est.*] These words should apparently be removed from the text, as having been originally a marginal note explaining (as usual, superfluously,) *fuit futuraque est*.

'nostro. Omnia circa plena civium ac sociorum sunt. **U.C. 538.**
 'Armis, viris, equis, commeatibus juvant, juvabuntque. **A.C. 216.**
 'Id jam fidei documentum in adversis rebus nostris dede-
 'runt. Meliores, prudentiores, constantiores nos tempus
 'diesque facit. Hannibal contra in aliena, in hostili est
 'terra², inter omnia inimica infestaque, procul ab domo,
 'procul ab patria. Neque illi terra, neque mari est pax:
 'nullæ eum urbes accipiunt, nulla mœnia: nihil usquam
 'sui videt: in diem rapto vivit³. Partem vix tertiam exer-
 'citus ejus habet, quem Iberum amnem trajecit: plures
 'fames, quam ferrum, absumpsit: nec his paucis jam victus
 'suppeditat. Dubitas ergo, quin sedendo superaturi simus
 'eum, qui senescat in dies? non commeatus, non supple-
 'mentum, non pecuniam habeat? Quam diu pro Geronii,
 'castelli Apuliæ inopis, tanquam pro Carthaginis mœni-
 'bus⁴? Sed ne adversus te quidem ego gloriabor. Cn.
 'Servilius atque Atilius, proximi consules, vide quemad-
 'modum eum ludificati sint. Hæc una salutis est via, L.
 'Paulle, quam difficilem infestamque⁵ cives tibi magis, quam
 'hostes, facient. Idem enim tui, quod hostium milites,
 'volent: idem Varro, consul Romanus, quod Hannibal,
 'Pœnus imperator, cupiet. Duobus ducibus unus resistas,
 'oportet: resistes autem, adversus famam rumoresque ho-
 'minum si satis firmus steteris: si te neque collegæ vana
 'gloria, neque tua falsa infamia⁶ moverit. Veritatem la-
 'borare⁷ nimis sæpe, aiunt, extingui nunquam. Gloriam

* *In alienâ, in hostili est terra.*] The principle here illustrated by Fabius is that which probably suggested to some writer the comparison of the progress of an invading army to that of a fire on a prairie, consuming, as it advances, the material of its own life. An invader must either exterminate or assimilate. The former was the system adopted by Tamerlane (Timur Lenk) and others of his time and creed; the latter by the most successful invaders recorded in all history, Cyrus the first, and Alexander of Macedonia. The Carthaginians had never done either: even in Africa, the native tribes, so long their subjects, were regarded by them as treacherous slaves rather than fellow-citizens; and even the fidelity of the half-caste population (the Libyphœnices) was so questionable, that they were considered dangerous at home and useful only abroad. The

subjects of Carthage, in short, stood in the same relation to the metropolis, as the native and half-caste Indians now do to the British government in the East.

* *In diem rapto vivit.*] "He subsists on the plunder of the hour."

* *Pro Carthaginis mœnibus.*] sc. senescit. The *sed* beginning the next sentence has suggested the probability that *sedet* may have originally followed *mœnibus*: and that the similarity of sound in the two words may have caused the omission of the former.

* *Difficilem infestamque.*] "Difficult and dangerous." For *sibi* one text substitutes *tibi* with advantage.

* *Vana gloria—falsa infamia.*] "The empty pride," "unmerited obloquy."

* *Veritatem laborare.*] Crevier regards this as a metaphor from the eclipses of celestial bodies: and this theory is supported by the antithesis

U. C. 538. 'qui spreverit, veram habebit. Sine, timidum pro cauto⁸,
 A. C. 216. 'tardum pro considerato, imbellem pro perito bellii vocent.

'Malo te sapiens hostis metuat, quam stulti cives laudent.
 'Omnia audentem contemnet Hannibal; nil temere
 'agentem metuet. Nec ego, ut nihil agatur, moneo; sed
 'ut agentem te ratio ducat, non fortuna: tuæ potestatis
 'semper, tuaque omnia sint⁹. Armatus intentusque sis,
 'neque occasiōni tuæ desis, neque suam¹ occasionem hosti
 'des. Omnia non properanti clara certaque erunt: fes-
 40. 'tinatio improvida est et cæca.' Adversus ea oratio consulis haud sane lœta² fuit, magis fatentis, ea, quæ diceret, vera, quam facilia factu, esse. 'Dictatori magistrum equitum intolerabilem fuisse; quid consuli adversus collegam seditiosum ac temerarium virium atque auctoritatis fore? Se populare incendium priore consulatu semiustum effugisse. Optare, ut omnia prospere evenirent. At, si quid adversi caderet, hostium se telis potius, quam suffragiis iratorum civium, caput objecturum.'

Ab hoc sermone profectum Paullum tradunt, prosequentibus primoribus Patrum. Plebeium consulem sua plebes prosecuta, turba, quam dignitate, conspectior. Ut in castra venerunt³, permixto novo exercitu ac vetere, castris bifariam factis, ut nova minora essent propius Hannibalem, in vete-

of *extingui*. Such an interpretation would throw light on the phrase *lunæ labores*: (Virgil, Geor. ii. 478.)

⁸ *Sine, timidum pro cauto, &c.* "Let them call you pusillanimous instead of circumspect, slow instead of deliberate, a bungler instead of a soldier."

⁹ *Tuæ potestatis semper, tuaque omnia sint.*] "So that every movement be under your own control, and originating with yourself."

¹ *Occasioni tuæ—suam.*] "Favourable to you—favourable to him."

² *Haud sane lœta.*] "Not very sanguine."

³ *Ut in castra venerunt.*] It would appear from the statements of Polybius (iii. 110. &c.), that a short time before the arrival of the consuls, the proconsuls had sent to Rome for instruction. The harvest in their neighbourhood (the highlands of Apulia) was still far from ripe: their supplies could be had only from the magazine at Cannæ: and Hannibal had placed himself between them and it; and it

was nearly certain that the patience of their allies in the provincial towns would not be proof against the devastation of their plains during another season. Under these circumstances, it was resolved by the senate to give battle, at the same time that they recommended a delay until the new consuls should join them with the new levies. These together with the veterans amounted to about 90,000 men (eight legions): and it was expected that, with so overwhelming a force, a decisive victory was almost inevitable. It seems, then, that Varro was not altogether to be blamed for precipitating the action at Cannæ, except so far as he might have prevented the deliberate choice of a favourable time and place. It is also evident, from the subsequently ascertained fact that Hannibal had not more than ten days' provisions in his camp, that if Fabius or Æmilius had the sole conduct of the campaign, Hannibal must have retreated into Gaul.

ribus major pars et omne robur virium esset; tum consulum U. C. 538.
anni prioris M. Atilium, ætatem excusante, Romam mi- A. C. 216.
serunt; Geminum Servilium in minoribus castris legioni
Romanæ et socium peditum equitumque duobus millibus
præficiunt. Hannibal, quanquam parte dimidia auctas⁴
hostium copias cernebat, tamen adventu consulum mire
gaudere. Non solum enim nihil ex raptis in diem com-
meatibus superabat, sed ne, unde raperet, quidem quicquam
reliqui erat, omni undique frumento, postquam ager parum
tutus erat, in urbes munitas convecto: ut vix decem dierum
(quod compertum postea est) frumentum superesset, His-
panorumque ob inopiam transitio parata fuerit, si maturitas
temporum⁵ exspectata foret.

Ceterum temeritati consulis⁶ ac præpropero ingenio ma-
teriam etiam fortuna dedit: quod in prohibendis prædato-
ribus tumultuario proelio, ac proculsu magis militum, quam
ex præparato aut jussu imperatorum, orto, haudquaquam
par Poenis dimicatio fuit. Ad mille et septingenti cæsi,
non plus centum Romanorum sociorumque occisis. Cete-
rum victoribus effuse sequentibus metu insidiarum obstitit
Paullus consul; cujus eo die (nam alternis imperitabant)
imperium erat, Varrone indignante ac vociferante, emissum
hostem e manibus; debellarique, ni cessatum foret, potuisse.
Hannibal id damnum haud ægerrime⁷ pati: quin potius
credere, velut inescatam⁸ temeritatem ferocioris consulis ac
novorum maxime militum esse. Et omnia ei hostium,
haud secus quam sua, nota erant: dissimiles discordesque
imperitare; duas prope partes tironum⁹ militum in exercitu
esse. Itaque, locum et tempus insidiis aptum se habere
ratus, nocte proxima nihil præter arina ferentes secum
milites ducens, castra plena omnis fortunæ¹⁰ publicæ priva-
tæque relinquit; transque proximos montes læva pedites
instructos condit, dextra equites; impedimenta¹ per con-

⁴ *Parte dimidid auctas.*] “Increased by one half,” i. e. made once and a half more numerous than before, fifty per cent. more.

⁵ *Si maturitas temporum, &c.*] “If the harvest-time were to be waited for.” From this it may be inferred, that about ten months had passed since Fabius had retired from the command; because at that time we are informed that “extremum autumni erat.”

⁶ *Ceterum temeritati consulis, &c.*] “To the consul's impetuosity, however, and impatient temper, an accident supplied the further provocation, that, in an irregular skirmish

for repulsing foraging parties, and originating rather in a sortie of the soldiers than in any previous arrangement or order of the commanders, the success of the Carthaginians was far below equality.”

⁷ *Haud ægerrime.*] “Without very much regret.”

⁸ *Inescatam.*] “Lured, ensnared.”

⁹ *Duas propè partes tironum.*] “Nearly two-thirds of the soldiers in the army were recruits.”

¹⁰ *Omnis fortunæ, &c.*] “All sorts of property, public and personal.”

¹ *Impedimenta—medium agmen.*] “The baggage, as a maius (or central) body.”

U. C. 538. vallem, medium agmen, traducit: ut diripiendis velut de-

A. C. 216. sertis² fuga dominorum castris occupatum impeditumque hostem oppimeret. Crebri relictii in castris ignes, ut fides fieret³, dum ipse longius spatium fuga præciperet, falsa imagine castrorum, sicut Fabium priore anno frustratus

42. esset, tenere in locis consules voluisse. Ubi illuxit, subductæ primo stationes⁴, deinde propius adeuntibus insolitum silentium admirationem fecit. Jam satis comperta solitudine, in castris⁵ concursus fit ad præatoria consulum, nuntiantium fugam hostium adeo trepidam, ut, tabernaculis stantibus, castra reliquerint: quoque fuga obscurior esset, crebros etiam relictos ignes. Clamor inde ortus, ut signa proferri juberent, ducerentque ad persequendos hostes, ac protinus castra diripienda. Et consul alter velut unus turbæ militaris erat. Paullus etiam atque etiam dicere, providendum præcavendumque⁶ esse. Postremo, quum aliter neque seditionem neque ducem seditionis sustinere posset, Marium Statilium præfectum cum turma Lucana exploratum mittit. Qui, ubi adequitavit portis, subsistere extra munimenta ceteris jussis, ipse cum duobus equitibus vallum intravit: speculatusque omnia cum cura renuntiat, insidias profecto esse: ignes in parte castrorum, quæ vergat in hostem, relictos: tabernacula aperta, et omnia cara in promptu⁷ reicta: argentum quibusdam locis temere per vias, velut objectum ad prædam, vidisse. Quæ ad deterrendos a cupiditate animos nuntiata erant, ea accenderunt; et, clamore orto a militibus, 'ni signum detur, sine ducibus ituros,' haudquaquam dux defuit: nam exemplo Varro signum dedit proficisciendi. Paullus, quum ei sua sponte cunctanti pulli quoque⁸ auspicio non addixissent, obnuntiari jam efferenti porta signa collegæ jussit⁹. Quod quanquam Varro ægre est passus, Flaminii tamen recens casus, Claudiique¹ consulis primo Punico bello memorata navalis clades,

² *Diripiendis velut desertis, &c.]*
"In plundering the camp, under the impression that it was forsaken, &c."

³ *Ut fides fieret, &c.]* "To encourage the belief that, while he was securing a greater distance in his flight, he had intended to keep the consuls on the spot by the deceptive appearance of the camp."

⁴ *Subductæ primo stationes.]* "The absence (or removal) of the outposts, in the first instance."

⁵ *Satis comperta solitudine, in castris.]* It would make better sense to join these words; thus, "When the desertion of the camp was fully ascertained."

⁶ *Providendum præcavendumque.]* "It was an occasion for foresight and precaution."

⁷ *Omnia cara in promptu.]* "All valuables exposed to view, (left in the way.)"

⁸ *Sed sponte—quoque.]* "In addition to his own previous hesitation."

⁹ *Obnuntiari—collegæ jussit.]* "Ordered his colleague to be interrupted by the announcement."

¹ *Flaminii—Claudiique, &c.]* It is of course unnecessary to repeat the particulars of these two acts of defiance of unpromising omens. The real danger, in such cases, is the

religionem animo incussit. Dii prope ipsi² eo die magis U. C. 538.
A. C. 216. distulere, quam prohibuere, imminentem pestem Romanis. Nam forte ita evenit, ut, quum referri signa in castra jacenti consuli milites non parerent, servi duo, Formiani unus, alter Sidicini equitis, qui, Servilio atque Atilio consulibus, inter pabulatores excepti a Numidis fuerant, profugerent eo die ad dominos: qui deducti ad consules nuntiant, omnem exercitum Hannibal trans proximos montes sedere in insidiis. Horum opportunus adventus consules imperii potentes³ fecit, quum ambitio alterius suam primum apud eos prava indulgentia majestatem solvisset.

Hannibal, postquam motos⁴ magis inconsulte Romanos, quam ad ultimum temere enectos, vedit; nequicquam, detecta fraude, in castra rediit. Ibi plures dies propter inopiam frumenti manere nequibat; novaque consilia in dies non apud milites solum, mixtos ex colluvione⁵ omnium gentium, sed etiam apud ipsum ducem, oriebantur. Nam quum initio fremitus, deinde aperta vociferatio fuisset ex poscentium stipendum debitum, querentiumque annonam⁶ primo, postremo famem; et mercenarios milites, maxime Hispani generis, de transitione cepisse consilium fama esset: ipse etiam interdum Hannibal de fuga in Galliam dicitur agitasse, ita ut, relicto peditatu omni, cum equitibus se proriperet. Quum haec consilia⁷ atque hic habitus animorum esset in castris, movere inde statuit in calidiora atque eo maturiora messibus Apuliae loca: simul ut, quo longius ab hoste recessisset, transfugia impeditiora⁸ levibus ingenii essent. Profectus est nocte, ignibus similiter factis, tabernaculisque paucis in speciem relictis, ut insidiarum priori metus contineret Romanos. Sed, per eundem Lucanum Statilium, omnibus ultra castra transque montes ex-

imprudence of shaking the popular faith in superstitions, that have been inculcated for political purposes.

² *Dii prope ipsi.*] “It may be almost said, that the gods themselves, &c.”

³ *Consules imperii potentes, &c.*] “Restored the consuls to the possession of their authority; after the conciliating policy of one of them had, already, weakened his own influence, &c.”

⁴ *Hannibal, postquam motos, &c.*] “When Hannibal found that the Romans had been moved by a passing excitement, rather than precipitately impelled to a definite result, he returned in disappointment to his camp, on the discovery of his

deception;” or, (if we take *nequicquam* immediately with *detecta*,) “as the deception was discovered without having effected its object.”

⁵ *Mixtos ex colluvione.*] “Composed of a medley, &c.”

⁶ *Querentiumque annonam.*] “Complaining of the scarcity, (the state of the market.)”

⁷ *Quum haec consilia, &c.*] “As such were the speculations, and such the tone of feeling in the camp, he resolved to move from that position into that district of Apulia which was warmer, and therefore more advanced toward harvest.”

⁸ *Transfugia impeditiora, &c.*] “Desertions might be more difficult to the inconstant spirits.”

U. C. 538. ploratis, quum relatum esset, visum procul hostium agmen;
 A. C. 216. tum de inseundo eo consilia agitari cœpta. Quum utriusque consulis eadem, quæ semper ante, fuisse sententia⁹; ceterum Varroni fere omnes, Paullo nemo, præter Servilium prioris anni consulem, assentiretur; majoris partis sententia ad nobilitandas clade Rómana Cannas, urgente fato¹, profecti sunt. Prope eum vicum Hannibal castra posuerat aversa a Vulturno vento, qui campus torridis siccitate nubes pulveris vehit. Id quum ipsis castris percommodum fuit, tum salutare præcipue futurum erat, quum aciem dirigerent, ipsi aversi, terga tantum afflante vento, in occæcatum pulvere offuso hostem pugnaturi.

44. Consules, satis exploratis itineribus, sequentes Pœnum, ut ventum ad Cannas est, ubi in conspectu Pœnum habebant, bina castra communiant, eodem ferme intervallo, quo ad Geronium, sicut ante, copiis divisis. Aufidus amnis², utrisque castris affluens, aditum aquatoribus ex sua cujusque opportunitate haud sine certamine dabat. Ex minoribus tamen castris, quæ posita trans Aufidum erant, liberius aquabantur Romani, quia ripa ulterior nullum habebat hostium præsidium. Hannibal spem nactus, locis natis ad equestrem pugnam³ qua parte virium invictus erat, facturos

⁹ Quæ semper ante, fuisse sententia.] The text would be much improved by reading, *quæ semper ante fuisse, sententia esset*. Still more, by omitting *fuisse* altogether.

¹ *Urgente fato, &c.]* "Under the impulse (the instigation) of fate, they took the road to Cannæ, destined to become memorable for, &c." This battle field, originally called the plain of Diomed, and intersected by a small stream, the Vergellus, which Hannibal bridged over with dead bodies, is still named the *Pezzo di sangue*, ("field of blood.") Some difficulty has been occasionally felt in explaining the positions of the two armies on the bank of the Aufidus. It appears that, after finally crossing the river, the two fronts were drawn up at right angles with the bank; and, as the direction of the current was due east, the position of the Carthaginians, with their backs to the south, can be explained only by observing, that the Ofanto, after running eastward for some distance, takes a turn, just at this point, to the south, and describes a large

segment of a circle.

² *Aufidus amnis, &c.]* "The river, flowing by both camps, (i. e. both the Roman camps,) did not afford an unimpeded access to the water, as might be expected from their respective convenient positions." The Romans appear to have arrived in the first instance at the left bank, and to have thrown a detachment across the river, in order to command the supplies from the plains south of the Aufidus, and to check the enemy's foraging parties in that direction. Hannibal had also arrived on the left bank, which was the nearest to both parties as they moved southward, and encamped opposite to the main body of the Romans. He then, on the second day, sent his Numidian cavalry across the river, which is always shallow in summer, in order to intercept the watering parties of the enemy; and kept the Romans on the right or southern bank (*rima ulterior*) all night without water, which was a serious inconvenience in an atmosphere heated by an Apulian sun.

³ *Loci natis ad equestrem pug-*

copiam pugnandi consules, dirigit aciem, lacescitque Numi- U. C. 538.
darum procura^satione hostes. Inde rursus sollicitari sedi- A. C. 216.
tione militari ac discordia consulum Romana castra: quum
Paullus Semproniique et Flaminii temeritatem Varroni,
Varro speciosum timidis⁴ ac segnibus ducibus exemplum
Fabium objiceret: testareturque deos hominesque hic,
'nullam penes se culpam esse, quod Hannibal jam velut
'usucipisset Italianam⁵; se constrictum a collega teneri; fer-
rum atque arma iratis et pugnare cupientibus adimi mili-
tibus; ille, 'si quid projectis ac proditis ad inconsultam
'atque improvidam pugnam legionibus accideret, se, omnis
'culpæ exsortem, omnis eventus participem fore' diceret.
'Videret⁶, ut, quibus lingua tam prompta ac temeraria, æque
'in pugna vigerent manus.'

Dum alterationibus magis, quam consiliis, tempus teri-
tur, Hannibal ex acie, quam ad multum diei tenuerat in-
structam, quum in castra ceteras reciperet copias, Numidas
ad invadendos ex minoribus castris Romanorum aquatores
trans flumen mittit. Quam inconditam turbam⁷ quum vix-
dum in ripam egressi clamore ac tumultu fugassent, in sta-
tionem quoque pro vallo locatam atque ipsas prope portas
ejecti sunt. Id vero indignum visum, ab tumultuario auxilio⁸

45.

nam.] "On ground adapted by nature to a cavalry engagement." The field was all open and level, with the exception of the eminence standing at a short distance, and clothed with underwood, behind which some cavalry and light infantry were placed in ambush by Hannibal. It was an engagement on ground so favourable to the enemy, whose strongest arm was his formidable cavalry, that Æmilius was especially anxious to avoid it: and this motive too was one of those that induced Fabius, during the whole period of his command, to encamp on the hills. Hannibal is said to have been so gratified by the fatal mistakes of his enemies, that, on the morning of battle, he could not refrain from bantering one of his officers. The particulars have been recorded by Plutarch. "What an astonishing number of troops the Romans have to-day!" observed Gisco. "There is another still more wonderful fact," said Hannibal, "which you do not notice." "What is that?" said Gisco. "That not one among them all is called Gisco!" This reply provoked the laughter of

the whole staff; and the soldiers, seeing their leaders so merry, knew that they were sure of a victory.

Varro speciosum timidis, &c.] "While Paullus taunted Varro with the precipitation of Sempronius and Flaminius; and Varro alluded to (instanced) Fabius as a plausible precedent for timid and indolent commanders."

Usucipisset Italianam.] i. e. as we would say, "had taken a lease of Italy;" "had taken undisputed or prescriptive possession of Italy." *Usucapio*, a technical phrase in civil law, signifies the right acquired by enjoying possession for a certain time, as specified in a law of limitations. A similar right was called the *prescriptio longi temporis*, which was amalgamated with the former by Justinian. See the Editor's Manual of Civil Law, book ii. title 6.

Videret.] "Let him (Varro) take care that," &c.

Quam inconditam turbam, &c.] "And when, almost before they reached the bank, they dispersed that disorderly multitude."

Tumultuario auxilio.] "Un-
disciplined auxiliaries."

U.C. 538. jam etiam castra Romana terreri: ut ea modo una causa,
 A.C. 216. ne extemplo transirent flumen, dirigerentque aciem, tenuerit Romanos, quod summa imperii eo die penes Paullum fuerit. Itaque Varro postero die⁹, cui sors ejus diei imperii erat, nihil consulto collega, signum pugnæ¹ proposuit, instructasque copias flumen traduxit, sequente Paullo; quia magis non probare², quam non adjuvare, consilium poterat. Transgressi flumen eas quoque, quas in castris minoribus habuerant, copias suis adjungunt: atque ita instructa acie, in dextro cornu³ (id erat flumini proprius) Romanos equites locant, deinde pedites: lævum cornu extremi equites sociorum, intra pedites, ad medium juncti legionibus Romanis tenuerunt: jaculatores cum ceteris levium armorum auxiliis prima acies facti. Consules cornua tenuerunt; Terentius lævum, Æmilius dextrum. Gemino Servilio media pugna tuenda data.

46. Hannibal luce prima, Bariaribus levique alia armatura præmissa, transgressus flumen, ut quosque traduxerat, ita

⁹ *Itaque Varro postero die, &c.*] When Varro, on his day of command, crossed the Aufidus, (apparently for the purpose of protecting the watering parties on the right or southern side,) and placed himself between the enemy and the sea. Paullus could not, on his day, retreat from that position, and thus an action became inevitable.

¹ *Signum pugnæ.*] This was a red flag flying from the Praetorium.

² *Quia magis non probare, &c.*] "As he had power to withhold rather his consent than his cooperation." When Varro crossed the river, Hannibal also forded it at two points, and drew up face to face with the enemy.

³ *In dextro cornu, &c.*] "On the right wing (which rested on the river) he stationed the Roman cavalry; inside them, the Roman infantry: the cavalry of the allies formed the extremity of the left wing; inside them, (i.e. to their right, between them and the main body,) the infantry (of the allies); next to the Roman legions, and with them, formed the centre." As the text is punctuated in some editions, (*jaculatores* joined to *tenuerunt*,) it would appear, that the Roman infantry formed but half

the centre, the rest being made up of the skirmishers of the allies. By carrying *onjaculatores* to the following clause, the Roman and allied infantry together would be described as forming the centre; and the *jaculatores* as being thrown forward, as they usually were at the commencement of a battle. Polybius states (iii. 113.) the unaccountable fact, that the Romans on this occasion, though on an open plain, were drawn up in columns. By this arrangement they forfeited the opportunity of outflanking the enemy; which, with their superior numbers, they might have easily done by forming in lines. It is possible that this close and deep form of battle array may have been found useful on some former occasion, in preventing the main body from being broken through by elephants or cavalry; and that it was inconsiderately adopted now, when it would have been wiser to secure as much space as possible. If Polybius is right in his statement, (and it is borne out indirectly by that of Livy,) it is nearly certain that the want of the space, which was thus lost, prevented a successful resistance to the charges of Asdrubal's cavalry on the flanks and rear.

in acie locabat. Gallos Hispanosque equites⁴ prope ripam U.C. 533. lævo in cornu adversus Romanum equitatum: dextrum A.C. 216. cornu Numidis equitibus datum, media acie peditibus firmata: ita, ut Afrorum utraque cornua essent, interponerentur his medii Galli atque Hispani. Afros Romanam⁵ magna ex parte crederes aciem: ita armati erant, armis et ad Trebiam, ceterum magna ex parte ad Trasimenum captis. Gallis Hispanisque scuta ejusdem formæ fere erant: dispares ac dissimiles⁶ gladii: Gallis prælongi ac sine mucronibus: Hispano, punctum magis, quam cæsim, assueto petere hostem, brevitate habiles et cum mucronibus⁷. Sane et alius⁸ habitus gentium harum tum magnitudine corporum, tum specie terribilis erat. Galli super umbilicum⁹ erant nudi: Hispani linteis prætextis purpura tunicis, candore miro fulgentibus, constiterant. Numerus omnium peditum, qui tum steterunt in acie, millium fuit quadraginta, decem equitum. Duces cornibus præerant: sinistro Hasdrubal, dextra Mahabal¹⁰: mediam aciem Hannibal ipse cum fratre Magone tenuit. Sol, seu de industria ita locatis, seu quod forte ita starent, peropportune utriusque parti obliquus erat¹¹, Romanis in meridiem, Pœnis in septentrionem versis. Ventus, (Vulturnum incolæ regionis vocant) adversus Romanis coortus, multo pulvere in ipsa ora volvendo prospectum ademit.

Clamore sublato, procursum ab auxiliis, et pugna levibus primum armis commissa: deinde equitum Gallorum Hispanorumque lœvum cornu cum dextro Romano concurrit, minime equestris more pugnæ: frontibus enim adversis

47.

⁴ *Gallos Hispanosque equites, &c.*] This description of the Carthaginian army is so clear and concise, that it scarcely admits of any illustration. It coincides also, exactly, with the account of Polybius, (l. iii. 113, 114.) The left wing, resting on the river, were the cavalry of the Gauls and Spaniards: the centre consisted of three bodies, viz. the Gallic and Spanish infantry in the middle, and standing somewhat in advance of a body of African infantry on either side; and the right wing presented the fierce Numidian cavalry, against the horse of the Roman allies.

⁵ *Afros Romanam, &c.*] “One would imagine that the Africans were to a considerable extent a Roman army; they were similarly equipped,” &c.

⁶ *Dispares ac dissimiles.*] “Dif-

ferent in size and shape.”

⁷ *Brevitate habiles et cum mucronibus.*] “Conveniently short and pointed;” i. e. what we call small swords. Those of the Gauls were claymores.

⁸ *Sane et alius, &c.*] “The appearance of these nations was in other respects (the rest of the appearance) formidable, both from their stature and features.”

⁹ *Super umbilicum, &c.*] “From the waist upward.”

¹⁰ *Dextra Mahabal.*] According to Polybius, Hanno.

¹¹ *Utrique parti obliquus erat.*] “Shone sideways on both parties; i. e. in the morning: as the day advanced it would fall upon the faces of the Romans, to the great advantage of the Carthaginians. See note on chap. 43.

U. C. 538. concurrendum erat, quia, nullo circa ad evagandum³ relicto
 A. C. 216. spatio, hinc amnis, hinc peditum acies claudebant in directum utrimque nitentes⁴. Stantibus ac confertis postremo turba equis, vir virum amplexus detrahebat equo. Pedestre magna jam ex parte⁵ certamen factum erat: acrius tamen, quam diutius, pugnatum est; pulsique Romani equites terga vertunt. Sub equestris finem certaminis coorta est peditum pugna. Primo et viribus et animis pares constabant ordines Gallis Hispanisque⁶: tandem Romani, diu ac sæpe connisi⁷, æqua fronte acieque densa⁸ impulere hostium cuneum nimis tenuem, eoque parum validum, a cetera prominentem acie. Impulsis deinde ac trepide referentibus pedem insistere: ac tenore uno per præceps pavore fugientium agmen in

³ *Nullo circa ad evagandum, &c.]* “No room to expand,” &c. The river enclosed them on this side: but for that, the pressure of the infantry on the other would have caused no inconvenience.

⁴ *In directum utrimque nitentes.]* “So that they pressed straight forward on both sides.”

⁵ *Pedestre magni jam ex parte, &c.]* “It now became to a great extent an infantry engagement.”

⁶ *Constabant ordines Gallis Hispanisque.]* By some commentators *ordines* is understood to mean the Roman ranks; but the Latin idiom evidently requires that it shall be referred to the datives following (in the sense of genitives); especially as the words *tandem Romani*, immediately after, seem to introduce a transition.

⁷ *Diu ac sæpe connisi.]* “By sustained and repeated efforts.”

⁸ *Æquâ fronte acieque densa, &c.]* “In a straight (an unbroken) line, and close order, drove back a wedge of the enemy too slender, and consequently deficient in strength, which projected from (stood in advance of) the rest of their line. They then followed them when broken and retreating in disorder, and, penetrating still in the same direction through the mass of fugitives urged on by terror, they forced their way, first to the centre, and eventually, without a check, to the reserves of the Africans who had been standing on the wings which receded on both extremities; as the centre, where the Gauls and

Spaniards were posted, projected considerably; and, when the repulse of that wedge, in the first instance, reduced the front to a straight line; and, after further efforts, presented a hollow (a recess) in the centre; the Africans formed wings all round, and outflanked the Romans as they pressed ineffectually on the main body, and at last, by extending their extremities, enclosed the enemy (i. e. the Romans) on the rear also.” Such is Livy’s account of the fate of the Roman column. We find, as we read on, that the battle was won almost exclusively by Hasdrubal’s cavalry, which the Romans had not left themselves room to oppose effectually. He first broke and dispersed the Roman knights; and then rode across to the right to support the Numidian cavalry, who were confronted with that of the Italian allies. When these gave way, he fell on the rear of the Roman infantry. These latter had, as we have seen above, been compressed into one dense column, which had made its way, by its own weight, through the enemy’s centre, as the English did at Fontenoy, and was outflanked before his arrival. The slaughter was appalling; resembling nothing in previous history but the slaughter of the Persians after the battle of Platæa. Of that immense Roman army, not more than 3000 escaped from the field; while of the Carthaginians it is said, that not more than 6000 fell.

medium primum aciem illati, postremo, nullo resistente, ad ^{U. C. 538.} subsidia Afrorum pervenerunt; qui utrimque reductis alis ^{A. C. 216.} constiterant, media, qua Galli Hispanique steterant, aliquantum prominente acie. Qui cuneus ut pulsus æquavit frontem primum, deinde nitendo etiam sinum in medio dedit, Afri circa jam cornua fecerant; irruentibusque incaute in medium Romanis, circumdedere alas: mox, cornua extendendo, clausere et ab tergo hostes. Hinc⁹ Romani, defuncti nequicquam prælio uno, omissis Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga ceciderant, et adversus Afros integrum pugnam ineunt, non tantum eo iniquam, quod inclusi adversus circumfusos, sed etiam quod fessi cum recentibus ac vegetis pugnabant.

Jam¹ et in sinistro cornu Romano, ubi sociorum equites aduersus Numidas steterant, consertum prælium erat, segne primo², et a Punica cœptum fraude. Quingenti ferme Numidæ, præter solita arma telaque, gladios occultos sub loricis habentes, specie transfugarum quum ab suis, parmas post terga habentes, adequitassent, repente ex equis desiliunt; parmisque et jaculis ante pedes hostium projectis, in medium aciem accepti, ductique ad ultimos, considerare ab tergo jubentur. Ac, dum prælium ab omni parte conseritur, quieti manserunt: postquam omnium animos oculosque occupaverat certamen, tum, arreptis scutis, quæ passim inter acervos cæsorum corporum strata erant, aversam adoriuntur Romanam aciem; tergaque ferientes, ac poplites cædentes, stragem ingentem, ac majorem aliquanto pavorem ac tumultum, fecerunt. Quum alibi terror ac fuga, alibi³ pertinax in mala jam spe prælium esset, Hasdrubal, qui ea parte præerat⁴, subductos ex media acie Numidas,

48.

⁹ *Hinc.*] "Consequently," or, "from that moment."

¹ *Jam.*] "By this time;" i. e. just when the Roman infantry were assaulted on the rear.

² *Segne primo, &c.*] "Slow at first, and opened with an act of Punic treachery."

³ *Quum alibi—alibi, &c.*] "While on one side (i. e. on the left Roman wing) dismay and confusion prevailed; and, on the other, (the centre and right wing,) an obstinate resistance under discouraging circumstances."

⁴ *Hasdrubal, qui ed parte præerat, &c.*] The text of this sentence is regarded by almost all the old commentators as hopelessly corrupt. Hasdrubal's original position was on

his own left wing; and he could not therefore have been opposed to the Roman left. To reconcile this contradiction, Perizonius proposes to read, *Hasdrubal, qui ad eam partem vicer penetraverat, subductos ex acie Numidas, &c.* Again; as the Numidians formed the right Carthaginian wing, it is hard to understand how they could have been brought over to it from the centre. To remove this difficulty, Mr. Walker suggests the substitution of *Numidis missis* for *Numidas mittit*. The translation would then be; "having sent the Numidians to follow the retreat, he reinforced the Africans, who were fatigued rather by the slaughter than the resistance, with the Gallic and Spanish infantry;" that is, he

U. C. 538. quia segnis eorum cum adversis pugna erat, ad persequendos
 A. C. 216. passim fugientes mittit: Hispanos et Gallos pedites, jam
 Afris prope fessis cæde magis quam pugna, adjungit.

49. *Parte altera pugnæ*⁴ Paulus, quanquam primo statim prælio funda graviter ictus fuerat, tamen et occurrit sæpe cum confertis Hannibali, et aliquot locis prælium restituit, protegentibus eum equitibus Romanis; omissis postremo equis⁵, quia consulem et ad regendum equum vires defiebant. Tum denuntianti⁶ cuidam, jussisse consulem ad pedes descendere equites, dixisse Hannibalem ferunt: 'Quam 'mallem⁷, vincos mihi traderet!' Equitum pedestre⁸ prælium, quale jam haud dubia hostium victoria, fuit; quum victi mori in vestigio mallent, quam fugere; victores, morantibus victoriam irati, trucidarent, quos pellere non poterant. Pepulerunt tamen jam paucos superantes, et labore ac vulneribus fessos. Inde dissipati omnes sunt, equosque ad fugam, qui poterant, repetebant. Cn. Lentulus tribunus militum, quum, prætervehens equo, sedentem in saxo cruento oppletum consulem vidisset; 'L. Æmili,' inquit, 'quem unum insontem culpæ cladis hodiernæ dī 'respicere debent, cape hunc equum: dum et tibi virium 'aliquid superest, comes ego te tollere possum ac protegere. 'Ne funestam hanc pugnam morte consulis feceris. Etiam 'sine hoc lacrimarum satis luctusque est.' Ad ea consul: 'Tu quidem, Cn. Corneli, macte virtute esto! Sed cave, 'frustra miserando exiguum tempus e manibus hostium 'evadendi absumas. Abi, nuntia publice Patribus, urbem 'Romanam muniunt, ac prius, quam hostis victor adveniat, 'præsidiis firment: privatimque Q. Fabio, L. Æmilium 'præceptorum ejus memorem et vixisse, et adhuc mori. 'Me in hac strage militum meorum patere exspirare, ne aut 'reus iterum e consulatu⁹ sim, aut accusator collegæ ex-

substituted those Gauls and Spaniards for the Numidians whom he had sent away.

⁵ *Parte altera pugnæ, &c.*] Æmilius was commanding on his own right wing, opposed to Hasdrubal; and, after the repulse of the Roman cavalry and the departure of Hasdrubal to the other wing, still maintained a resistance, in which he frequently encountered Hannibal.

⁶ *Omissis—equis.*] "Parting with their horses."

⁷ *Denuntianti.*] For this phrase, Gronovius and Drakenborch would substitute *renuncianti*, and Crevier *nuncianti*. The word in the text,

however, is frequently used in the sense of the others; especially if the announcement involve any serious or dangerous consideration.

⁸ *Quam mallem, &c.*] This is of course ironical. Hannibal meant that it was the next best thing to surrendering the knights in chains.

⁹ *Equitum pedestre, &c.*] This is elliptical. The sentence in full (i.e. as it would be viewed with reference to our idiom) would be, *pedestre prælium equitum fuit (tale) quale (fuisse poterat), victoriā hostium jam haud dubiā (visā).*

¹ *E consulatu.*] "After (or, as the result of) my consulship."

‘sistam, ut alieno crimine innocentiam meam protegam.’ U. C. 538.
 Hæc exigentes² prius turba fugientium civium, deinde A. C. 216.
 hostes, oppressere: consulem, ignorantes quis esset, obruere
 telis: Lentulum inter tumultum abripuit equus. Tum inde
 effuse fugiunt. Septem millia hominum in minora castra,
 decem in majora, duo ferme in vicum ipsum Cannas per-
 fugerunt: qui extemplo a Carthalone atque equitibus, nullo
 munimento tegente vicum, circumventi sunt. Consul alter,
 seu forte, seu consilio, nulli fugientium infestus agmini³,
 cum septuaginta fere equitibus Venusiam⁴ perfugit. Qua-
 draginta quinque millia peditum, duo millia septingenti
 equites, et tanta prope civum sociorumque pars⁵, cæsi
 dicuntur; in his ambo consulum quæstores L. Atilius et
 L. Furius Bibaculus: unus et viginti tribuni militum; con-
 sulares quidam prætoriique et ædilicij: inter eos Cn. Ser-
 vilium Geminum et M. Minucium numerant, qui magister
 equitum priore anno, aliquot ante consul fuerat: octoginta
 præterea aut senatores, aut qui eos magistratus gessissent⁶,
 unde in senatum legi deberent, quum sua voluntate milites
 in legionibus facti essent. Capta eo prælio tria millia
 peditum et equites trecenti dicuntur.

Hæc est pugna Cannensis⁷, Alliensi cladi nobilitate par: 50.
 ceterum ut illis, quæ post pugnam⁸ accidere, levior, quia ab
 hoste cessatum est; sic strage exercitus gravior foediorque.
 Fuga namque ad Alliam sicut urbem prodidit⁹, ita exercitum
 servavit: ad Cannas fugientem consulem vix septuaginta
 secuti sunt: alterius morientis¹⁰ prope totus exercitus fuit.

² *Hæc exigentes.*] “While they conversed (debated) thus.” The phrase implies earnestness and strong emotion.

³ *Nulli fugientium infestus agmini.*] Gronovius would substitute *immisitus* for *infestus*, which appears to him and other commentators to convey no satisfactory meaning. It is not impossible, however, that it may, without much violence, signify, “impeded, or, obstructed by.”

⁴ *Venusiam.*] This was about thirty miles inland.

⁵ *Tanta prope civium, &c. pars.*] “Very nearly an equal number of,” &c. Gronovius reads *tanta prope civium quanta sociorum*; or, *æqua prope, &c.*

⁶ *Qui eos magistratus gessissent, &c.*] The privilege of the holders of curule offices was the right to be drafted into the Senate of the next following censors: even before that

ceremony, however, they were entitled to sit and vote in the Senate. Hence the formula, *Senatores, qui-busque in senatu sententiam dicere licet*: but with what difference—for there must have been some distinction—cannot be now precisely ascertained.

⁷ *Pugna Cannensis.*] Kal. Sex-tillis, A. U. C. 538. = true time, May 21st, B.C. 216.

⁸ *Ceterum ut illis, quæ post pugnam, &c.*] “Although less important in the consequences of the battle, because the opportunity was forfeited by the enemy; still, more crushing and calamitous through the loss of the army.” (See note, chap. 54. infra.)

⁹ *Sicut urbem prodidit, &c.*] “Though it sacrificed the city, it saved the army.”

¹⁰ *Alterius morientis, &c.*] “Shared the fate of the other who fell.”

U.C. 538. Binis in castris quum multitudo semiermis sine ducibus
 A.C. 216. esset, nuntium, qui in majoribus erant, mittunt; 'dum
 'prælio, deinde ex lætitia epulis fatigatos quies nocturna
 'hostes premeret, ut ad se transirent: uno agmine Canu-
 'sium' abituros esse.' Eam sententiam alii totam aspernari:
 'Cur enim illos, qui se arcessant, ipsos non venire, quum
 'æque conjungi possent? quia videlicet plena hostium
 'omnia in medio essent: et aliorum, quam sua, corpora
 'tanto periculo malling objicere.' Aliis non tam sententia²
 displicere, quam animus deesse. P. Sempronius Tuditanus
 tribunus militum, 'Capi ergo mavultis,' inquit, 'ab avaris-
 'simo et crudelissimo hoste, æstimarique capita vestra, et
 'exquiri pretia ab interrogantibus, Romanus civis sis, an
 'Latinus socius, ut ex tua contumelia³ et miseria alteri honos
 'quæratur? Non tu: si quidem L. Æmilii consulis, qui
 'se bene mori, quam turpiter vivere maluit, et tot fortissi-
 'morum virorum, qui circa eum cumulati jacent, cives
 'estis. Sed ante, quam opprimit lux, majoraque hostium
 'agmina obsæpiunt iter, per hos, qui inordinati atque in-
 'compositi obstrepunt portis, erumpamus. Ferro atque
 'audacia via fit, quamvis per confertos hostes. Cuneo
 'quidem hoc laxum atque solutum agmen, ut si nihil obstet⁴,
 'transibimus. Itaque ite mecum, qui et vosmet ipsos et
 'republicam salvam vultis.' Hæc ubi dicta dedit⁵, stringit
 gladium, cuneoque facto per medios vadit hostes. Et,
 quum in latus dextrum, quod patebat, Numidæ jacularen-
 tur, translatis in dextrum scutis, in majora castra ad sex-
 centi evaserunt: atque inde protinus, alio magno agmine
 adjuncto, Canusium incolumes perveniunt. Hæc apud
 victos magis⁶ impetu animorum, quem ingenium suum cui-

² *Ad se transirent—Canusium, &c.]* This was the obvious and natural course; because Canusium lay on the southern or right side of the river, about three miles off; and if the party who sent this message had themselves crossed the river to their friends, they must have all crossed it again before they could arrive at the town.

³ *Aliis non tam sententia, &c.]* "Others did not so much object to the proposal, as they wanted courage."

⁴ *Ut ex tua contumelid, &c.]* "That, from your degradation (as a Roman), others (as Latins) may derive respect."

⁵ *Ut si nihil obstet.]* "As though no obstacle were in the way."

⁶ *Hæc ubi dicta dedit, &c.]* These and the following words, by a curious accident, make a dactylic hexameter. We find another instance in the New Testament, James i. 17. *πᾶσα δόσις ἀγαθὴ καὶ τὸν δόρημα τέλειον.* In modern languages, we frequently find successions of metrical verses occurring in prose, when the style is impassioned. In English prose, the expression of any strong passion or emotion vents itself in iambics; except anger, which generally finds utterance in trochaics.

⁷ *Hæc apud victos magis, &c.]* "These movements were made among the conquered, rather through the impulse of feeling which their several dispositions or circumstances awakened, than by any premedi-

que aut fors dabat, quam ex consilio ipsorum, aut imperio U. C. 538.
cujusquam, agebantur. A. C. 216.

Hannibali victori quum ceteri circumfusi gratularentur, 51.
suaderentque, ut, tanto perfunctus bello, diei quod reliquum
esset, noctisque insequentis, quietem et ipse sibi sumeret, et
fessis daret militibus; Mahabal, præfector equitum, minime
cessandum ratus⁸, 'Imo, ut, quid hac pugna sit actum, scias,
'die quinto,' inquit, 'victor in Capitolo epulaberis. Se-
'quere: cum equite, ut prius venisse, quam venturum',
'sciant, præcedam.' Hannibali nimis læta res⁹ est visa,
majorque, quam ut eam statim capere animo posset. Ita-
que, 'voluntatem se laudare Maharbali', ait: 'ad consilium
'pensandum temporis opus esse.' Tum Mahabal, 'Non
'omnia, nimirum, eidem' dii dedere. Vincere scis, Hanni-
'bal; victoria uti nescis.' Mora ejus diei satis creditur
sulci fuisse urbi atque imperio.

Postero die ubi primum illuxit, ad spolia legenda fœdaine-
que etiam hostibus spectandam stragem insistunt¹⁰. Jacebant
tot Romanorum millia, pedites passim equitesque, ut quem
cuique fors aut pugna junxerat aut fuga. Assurgentes
quidam ex strage¹¹ media cruenti, quos stricta matutino fri-
gore excitaverant vulnera, ab hoste oppressi sunt. Quos-
dam et jacentes vivos succisis feminibus poplitibusque inve-
nerunt, nudantes cervicem jugulumque, et reliquum san-
guinem jubentes haurire. Inventi sunt quidam mersis in
effossam terram capitibus, quos sibi ipsos fecisse foveas,
obruentesque ora superjecta humo interclusisse spiritum

tation on their own part, or the command of any leader."

⁸ *Minimè cessandum ratus.*] "Feeling that it was no occasion for delay."

⁹ *Ut prius venisse, quam venturum, &c.*] "That they may find that I am come, before they know I am coming."

¹⁰ *Nimis læta res, &c.*] "The prospect seemed too flattering," (as we say, too good to be true,) "and too large for his mind to embrace (to realize) it at the moment."

¹¹ *Non omnia, nimirum, eidem, &c.*] Taken apparently from Homer, Il. v. 670. οὐδὲ ἄρα πως ἦν ἐν πάντεσσι τρυγοῖσι δακρυμα φῶτα γενέσθαι.

¹² *Insistunt.*] "They were on the ground."

¹³ *Assurgentes quidam ex strage, &c.*] "Lying there were all those thousands of Romans, infantry and cavalry promiscuously; as chance, or

conflict, or flight had brought them together. Some, as they rose up all bleeding from the surrounding carnage, when their wounds, galled by the chill of the morning, aroused them, were overtaken by the enemy. Some also they found lying there still alive, haughed and ham-strung, baring their necks and throats, and calling on them to shed the rest of their blood. Others were found with their heads buried in the earth, having evidently excavated the holes for themselves, and closed their mouths and stopped their breath with the clay that covered them." A battle field, after the excitement of the strife has died away, must be without doubt one of the most miserable and humiliating spectacles that man can look upon.

"The feast of vultures, when the day is done;
"And the strange tale of many slain for one!"

U.C. 538. apparebat. **Præcipue** convertit omnes⁵ substratus Numidæ
 A.C. 216. mortuo superincubanti Romanus vivus, naso auribusque
 laceratis: quum, manibus ad capiendum telum inutilibus,
 in rabiem ira versus, laniando dentibus hostem exspiri-
 rasset.

52. Spoliis ad multum diei lectis, Hannibal ad minora ducit
 castra oppugnanda, et omnium primum, brachio objecto⁶,
 flumine eos excludit. Ceterum ab omnibus⁷, labore, vigiliis,
 vulneribus etiam fessis, maturior ipsius spe deditio est facta.
 Pacti, ut arma atque equos traderent, in capita Romana
 trecentis nummis quadrigatis⁸, in socios ducenis, in servos
 centenis, et ut, eo pretio persoluto, cum singulis abirent
 vestimentis, in castra hostes acceperunt; traditique in cus-
 todiam omnes sunt, seorsum cives sociique. Dum ibi
 tempus teritur, interea quum ex majoribus castris, quibus
 satis virium aut animi fuit, ad quattuor millia hominum et
 ducenti equites, alii agmine, alii palati passim per agros,
 quod haud minus tutum erat, Canusium perfugissent, castra
 ipsa ab sauciis timidisque eadem conditione, qua altera,
 tradita hosti. Præda ingens parta est: et, præter equos
 virosque, et si quid argenti, (quod plurimum in phaleris
 equorum erat; nam ad vescendum facto perexiguo⁹, utique
 militantes, utebantur) omnis cetera præda diripienda data
 est. Tum sepeliendi causa conferri in unum corpora suo-
 rum jussit. Ad octo millia fuisse dicuntur fortissimorum
 virorum. Consulem quoque Romanum¹ conquisitum se-
 pulatumque, quidam auctores sunt.

Eos, qui Canusium perfugerant, mulier Apula, nomine

⁵ *Præcipue convertit omnes.*] “The principal object of general attraction was,” &c.

⁶ *Brachio objecto.*] “By throwing up a mound.”

⁷ *Ceterum ab omnibus, &c.*] Some commentators take *omnibus* in apposition with the ablatives following, sc. “but, exhausted as they were by every thing, fatigue, want of sleep, and wounds, a surrender was made sooner than” &c. It would be more in accordance, however, with the Latin idiom to join *omnibus* to *fessis*; and Crevier, adopting this view of the sentence, would read *hominibus* for *omnibus*.

⁸ *Nummis quadrigatis.*] These were *denarii*; so called from the figure of a chariot which they bore. For a similar reason they are elsewhere called *bigati*. (l. xxiii. 15.)

⁹ *Ad vescendum facto (sc. ar-
 gento) perexiguo.*] “Very little
 wrought silver for the table,”
 (plate).

¹ *Consulem quoque Romanum
 &c.*] The habitual cruelty with
 which Hannibal is charged, appears
 in all cases to have been softened
 by the death of a rival. He per-
 formed, in the course of this cam-
 paign, the funeral rites of Flaminus,
 Gracchus, and Marcellus. The sight
 of the latter especially, who was
 killed by an ambuscade, seems to
 have moved him to gentleness.
 According to Plutarch, he looked
 steadily and mournfully on the dead
 body for some time: and then taking
 a ring from one of the fingers,
 ordered it to be burned, and the
 ashes sent home.

Busa, genere clara ac divitiis, mœnibus tantum tectisque a U. C. 538.
Canusinis acceptos, frumento, veste, viatico etiam juvit; A. C. 216.
pro qua ei munificentia postea, bello perfecto, ab senatu
honores habiti sunt. Ceterum, quum ibi tribuni militum
quattuor essent, Fabius Maximus de legione prima, cuius
pater priore anno dictator fuerat, et de legione secunda L.
Publicius Bibulus et P. Cornelius Scipio, et de legione
tertia³ Ap. Claudius Pulcher, qui proxime ædilis fuerat;
omnium consensu ad P. Scipionem, admodum adolescentem,
et ad Ap. Claudium summa imperii delata est. Quibus
consultantibus inter paucos de summa rerum nuntiat P.
Furius Philus, consularis viri filius, 'Ne quicquam eos per-
'ditam spem fovere: desperatam comploratamque rem esse
'publicam. Nobiles juvenes quosdam, quorum principem
'L. Cæcilium Metellum, mare ac naves spectare, ut, deserta
'Italia, ad regum aliquem transfugiant.' Quod malum,
præterquam atrox⁴, super tot clades etiam novum, quum
stupore ac miraculo torpidos defixisset, et, qui aderant,
consilium advocabundum de eo censerent; negat consilii rem
esse Scipio juvenis, fatalis dux hujusce belli. 'Audendum
'atque agendum, non consultandum,' ait, 'in tanto malo
'esse. Irent secum extempsu armati, qui rem publicam
'salvam vellent. Nullo verius⁵, quam ubi ea cogitentur,
'hostium castra esse.' Pergit ire, sequentibus paucis, in
hospitium Metelli: et, quum concilium ibi juvenum, de
quibus allatum erat, invenisset, stricto super capita consultan-
tium gladio, 'Ex mei animi sententia⁶,' inquit, 'ut ego
'reinpublicam populi Romani non deseram neque alium
'civem Romanum deserere patiar. Si sciens fallo, tum me,
'Jupiter optime maxime, domum, familiam, remque meam
'pessimo leto afficias! In hæc verba, L. Cæcili, jures,
'postulo, ceterique, qui adestis: qui non juraverit, in se
'hunc gladium strictum esse sciatur.' Haud secus pavidi,

³ *De legione tertia.*] It is objected by Drakenborch, that the third legion could scarcely have been at Cannæ, as we find it stated by Livy, (c. lvii. *infra*) that it was serving with the fleet under Marcellus.

⁴ *Quod malum, præterquam (quod) atrox (erat).*] "And when this misfortune, coming as an addition to all their other calamities, independently of its criminality, struck them with bewilderment and surprise." The danger was, that such an example, set by such men, would have created a general panic.

It is strange that so remarkable an incident is not any where mentioned by Polybius, though recorded by Val. Maximus, Dion, and Silius Italicus.

⁵ *Nullo (loco) verius.*] "No where more virtually than," &c.

⁶ *Ex mei animi sententia.*] This formula implies literally a solemn denial of mental reservation, lit. "according to the feeling or purpose of my mind, to my fixed determination," &c. "in solemn truth, or, sincerity." The ellipsis before *ut* is, *ia me Di Juvent*, or, some equivalent phrase.

U. C. 538. quam si victorem Hannibalem cernerent, jurant omnes:
 A. C. 216. custodiendosque semet ipsos Scipioni tradunt.

54. Eo tempore, quo hæc Canusii agebantur, Venusiam ad consulem ad quattuor millia et quingenti pedites equitesque, qui sparsi fuga per agros fuerant, pervenere. Eos omnes Venusini per familias benigne accipiendos curandosque quum divisissent, in singulos equites togas et tunicas et quadrigatos nummos quinos vicenos, et peditibus denos, et arma, quibus deerant, dederunt: ceteraque publice ac privatim hospitaliter facta, certatumque, ne a muliere Canusina populus Venusinus officiis vinceretur. Sed gravius onus Busæ⁶ multitudo faciebat, et jam ad decem millia hominum erant. Appiusque et Scipio, postquam incolumem esse alterum consulem acceperunt, nuntium extemplo mittunt, quantæ secum peditum equitumque copiæ essent: sciscitatumque simul, utrum Venusiam adduci exercitum, an manere juberet Canusii? Varro ipse Canusium copias traduxit. Et jam aliqua species consularis exercitus erat; mœnibusque se certe, si non armis⁷, ab hoste videbantur defensuri.

Romam, ne has quidem reliquias superesse civium sociorumque, sed occidione occisos cum duobus exercitibus consules, deletasque omnes copias, allatum fuerat. Nunquam, salva urbe, tantum pavoris tumultusque intra mœnia Romana fuit. Itaque succumbam oneri⁸, neque aggrediar narrare, quæ edissertando minora vero fecero. Consule exercituque ad Trasimenum priore anno amisso, non vulnus super vulnus⁹, sed multiplex clades, cum duobus consulibus duo consulares exercitus amissi nuntiabantur: nec ulla jam castra Romana, nec ducem, nec militem esse: Hannibal is Apuliam, Samnum, ac jam prope totam Italiam factam. Nulla profecto alias gens¹ tanta mole cladis non obruta esset.

⁶ *Sed gravius onus Busæ.*] "The number, however—and there were by this time ten thousand men—was making Busa's task too heavy."

⁷ *Mœnibus se certè, si non armis.*] "By walls at least, if not" &c. These clauses are generally found in the reverse and more natural order; *si non, or, si minus*, preceding *certè*.

⁸ *Succumbam oneri, &c.*] "I shall decline the task, and not attempt to describe what I should by detailing it, only bring short of the reality."

⁹ *Non vulnus super vulnus.*] "It was not wound after wound (blow upon blow) merely that was

announced, but a manifold (complicated) calamity—the loss of two consular armies, with their two consuls."

¹ *Nulla profecto alia gens, &c.*] The causes to which we are to attribute the recovery of Rome from so severe a blow, are believed by Dr. Arnold to have been, the power of the aristocratic interest in the several towns of Italy, an interest every where and always more or less conservative of existing institutions; the existence of the numerous Latin and Roman colonies, which may be regarded as so many garrisons; and, Hannibal's want of

Compares² cladem ad *Ægates* insulas Carthaginiensium, U.C. 538. prælio navalí acceptam, qua fracti Sicilia ac Sardinia cesseré, hinc vectigales ac stipendiarios fieri se passi sunt; aut pugnam adversam in Africa, cui postea hic ipse Hannibal succubuit: nulla ex parte comparandæ sunt, nisi quod minore animo latæ sunt.

P. Furius Philus et M'. Pomponius prætores senatum in curiam Hostiliam vocaverunt, ut de urbis custodia consularent. Neque enim dubitabant³, deletis exercitibus, hostem ad oppugnandam Romam, quod unum opus belli restaret, venturum. Quum in malis, sicut ingentibus, ita ignotis⁴, ne consilium quidem satis expedirent, obstreperetque clamor lamentantium mulierum, et, nondum palam facto⁵, vivi mortuique per omnes pæne domos promiscue complorarentur; tum Q. Fabius Maximus censuit, 'equites expeditos et Appia et Latina via mittendos, qui obvios percunctando⁶ (aliquos profecto ex fuga passim dissipatos fore) re-

an efficient artillery, which checked his progress from the moment when the war became a series of sieges. All these circumstances, together with his hesitation on this and on a subsequent occasion, when he might be said to have Rome in his power for the moment, gave the Romans time to recall the obstinate spirit of the old republic.

² *Compares &c.*] "Can one compare it (or, can I compare it—if we read *comparem*) with the defeat sustained by the Carthaginians in the sea fight at the *Ægates*, &c.; or the fatal battle in Africa (Zama) under which this same Hannibal subsequently sank? In no particular (in no feature) do they admit of comparison, except in their having been borne with less firmness."

The great difference was, that these were *decisive* battles, followed by important political results; while that of Cannæ, in consequence of the blow not having been immediately followed up, involved no more than the loss of so many troops. The battles, of which a different result would have changed the subsequent course of history, are, according to Dr. Hallam, Marathon, Arbela, the Metaurus, Tours, Châlons, Leipzig. Many others might be added, e. g. Hastings, Vienna, Pultowa, Waterloo, &c.

³ *Neque enim dubitabant &c.*]

This and some other similar instances invalidate the rule; that *dubitare* is followed by the infinitive, only when it signifies "to want courage or resolution—to hesitate;" and that when it implies uncertainty, it is followed by *quin*, *an*, *utrum*, or, *si*. Independently of the fact that the two significations are merely modifications of the same idea; the present construction is found very frequently in Corn. Nepos. We find it also in Cicero; for instance, *Pomperius non dubitat—ea—mihi valde probari.* (Ep. Att. vii. 1.)

⁴ *Sicut ingentibus, ita ignotis.*] "As undefined as they were great;" or, "Though great, yet undefined."

⁵ *Nondum palam facto.*] (Græcism.) "In the absence of certain information."

⁶ *Qui, obvios percunctando, &c.*] Many old editions read *forte* joined to *referunt*, sc. "In order that, by questioning such of the fugitives from the defeat as they may meet—for they were dispersed every where—they may probably obtain intelligence" &c. With Gronovius we read *fore* to be joined with *dissipatos*, which imparts a more consecutive and logical form to the sentence; sc. "that by questioning all whom they may meet—inasmuch as several fugitives must be scattered abroad—they may bring intelligence," &c.

U. C. 538. 'ferant, quæ fortuna consulum atque exercituum sit; et si
 A. C. 216. 'quid dii immortales, miseriti imperii, reliquum Romano
 'nomini fecerint: ubi eæ copiæ sint: quo se Hannibal
 'post prælium contulerit: quid paret, quid agat'⁷, acturus
 'que sit. Hæc exploranda noscendaque per impigros
 'juvenes esse. Illud per Patres ipsos agendum, quoniam
 'magistratum parum sit, ut tumultum ac trepidationem in
 'urbe tollant, matronas publico arceant, continerique intra
 'suum⁸ quamque limen cogant: comploratus familiarum
 'coerceant: silentium per urbem faciant: nuntios rerum
 'omnium ad prætores deducendos current: suæ quisque
 'fortunæ domi auctorem exspectent, custodesque præterea
 'ad portas ponant, qui prohibeant, quemquam egredi
 'urbem: cogantque homines, nullam, nisi urbe ac mœni-
 'bus salvis, salutem sperare. Ubi conticuerit tumultus,
 'recte⁹ tum in curiam Patres revocandos, consulendumque
 'de urbis custodia esse.'

56. Quum in hanc sententiam pedibus¹ omnes issent, summo-
 taque foro per magistratus turba, Patres diversi ad sedandos
 tumultus discessissent; tum demum literæ a Terentio con-
 sule allatæ sunt; 'L. Æmilium consulem exercitumque
 'cæsum; sese Canusii esse, reliquias tantæ cladis velut
 'ex naufragio colligentem. Ad decem millia militum
 'ferme esse incompositorum inordinatorumque. Pœnum
 'sedere ad Cannas², in captivorum pretiis prædaque alia,
 'nec victoris animo, nec magni ducis more, nundinantem.
 Tum privatæ quoque per domos clades vulgatæ sunt:
 adeoque totam urbem opplevit luctus, ut sacrum anniver-
 sarium Cereris intermissum sit; quia nec lugentibus³ id
 facere est fas, nec ulla in illa tempestate matrona expers
 luctus fuerat. Itaque, ne ob eandem causam alia quoque
 sacra publica aut privata desererentur, senatusconsulto
 diebus triginta luctus est finitus. Ceterum quum, sedato
 urbis tumultu, revocati in curiam Patres essent, aliæ insu-
 per ex Sicilia literæ allatæ sunt ab T. Otacilio prætore,

⁷ *Quid paret, quid agat, &c.]* "What arrangements he was making, what he was doing or likely to do."

⁸ *Continerique* (mid. voice) *intra suum* &c.] "To confine themselves to their several houses."

⁹ *Recte.]* "Regularly—in due form."

¹ *In hanc sententiam pedibus* &c.] "Divided in favour of this motion."

² *Pœnum sedere ad Cannas.]* "The Carthaginian was in camp at Cannæ, trafficking (huxtering)

for the value of his prisoners and other booty, neither in the spirit of a conqueror, nor like a great general." Avarice is one of the principal failings attributed by historians to Hannibal.

³ *Quia nec lugentibus, &c.]* At this festival it was necessary to appear in white dresses; and almost every family in the city was now in mourning.

Alba decent Cererem: Vesteræ Cerealibus
 albas
 Sumite: nunc pulli velleria usus abest.
 (Ovid. Fast. iv. 619.)

‘ Regnum Hieronis⁴ classe Punica vastari : cui quum opem U. C. 538.
 ‘ imploranti ferre vellet, nuntiatum sibi esse, aliam classem A. C. 216.
 ‘ ad Ægates insulas stare, paratam instructamque ; ut, ubi
 ‘ se versum ad tuendam Syracusanam oram Poeni sensissent,
 ‘ Lilybæum extempsu provinciamque aliam Romanam ag-
 ‘ gredierentur. Itaque classe opus esse, si regem socium
 ‘ Siciliamque tueri vellent.’

Literis consulis proprætorisque lectis⁵, censuerunt, M. Claudium, qui classi ad Ostiam stanti præsisset, Canusium ad exercitum mittendum, scribendumque consuli, ut, quum prætori exercitum tradidisset, primo quoque tempore, quantum per commodum reipublicæ fieri posset, Romanam veniret. Territi etiam super tantas clades, quum ceteris prodigiis, tum quod duæ Vestales eo anno, Opimia atque Floronia, stupri compertæ, et altera sub terra, ut mos est, ad portam Collinam necata fuerat, altera sibimet ipsa mortem conciverat. L. Cantilius, scriba pontificis, quos nunc⁶ minores pontifices appellant, qui cum Floronia stuprum fecerat, a pontifice maximo eo usque virgis in comitio cæsus erat, ut inter verbæ exspiraret. Hoc nefas quum inter tot, ut fit⁷, clades in prodigium versum esset, decemviri libros adire jussi sunt. Et Q. Fabius Pictor Delphos ad oraculum missus est sciscitatum, quibus precibus suppliciisque⁸ deos possent placare, et quænam futura finis tantis cladiibus foret. Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta ; inter quæ Gallus et Galla, Græcus et Græca, in foro boario sub terra vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo conceptum, jam ante hostiis humanis⁹ minime Romano sacro, imbutum.

Placatis satis, ut rebantur, deis, M. Claudius Marcellus ab Ostia mille et quingentos milites, quos in classem scriptos habebat, Romam, ut urbi præsidio essent, mittit : ipse,

* *Regnum Hieronis.*] Forty-seven years had now passed since Hiero had entered into alliance with the Romans. He was now ninety years old ; and though it might have been naturally apprehended that, when the news of the battle of Cannæ should reach Syracuse, aggravating, as it would, the unpromising aspect which domestic affairs had assumed, Hiero would be tempted to conciliate the conquerors ; such was his reliance on the fortune of Rome, that he even made exertions to send supplies to the Roman army.

⁵ *Literis, &c. lectis.*] After this

abl. abs. we are to understand *Patres decrevere*, or, *Patribus visum est*, or some such phrase.

⁶ *Pontificis (ex iis) quos nunc &c.*] “One of those pontifices whom they now call.”

⁷ *Quum inter tot, ut fit, &c.*] “As this profanation was naturally regarded as portentous, occurring amid so many” &c.

⁸ *Precibus suppliciisque.*] “Prayers and ceremonies.”

⁹ *Jam ante hostiis humanis, &c.*] sc. Eleven years before, at the commencement of the last preceding Gallic war. (See Grotius, ii. 11.)

U. C. 538. legione classis¹ (ea tertia legio erat) cum tribunis militum
 A. C. 216. Teanum Sidicinum² præmissa, classe tradita P. Furio
 Philo collegæ, paucos post dies Canusium magnis itine-
 ribus contendit. Dictator ex auctoritate Patrum dictus
 M. Junius, et Ti. Sempronius magister equitum, delectu
 edicto, juniores ab annis septemdecim, et quosdam prætex-
 tatos, scribunt. Quattuor ex his legiones et mille equites
 effecti. Item ad socios Latinumque nomen, ad milites ex
 formula³ accipiendos, mittunt. Arma, tela, alia parari
 jubent: et vetera hostium spolia detrahunt templis portici-
 busque. Et aliam formam novi delectus inopia liberorum
 capitum ac necessitas dedit: octo millia juvenum validorum
 ex servitiis, prius sciscitantes singulos, vellentne militare,
 empta publice⁴ armaverunt. Hic miles magis placuit, quum
 pretio minore redimendi captivos copia fieret.

58. Namque Hannibal, secundum tam prosperam ad Cannas
 pugnam, victoris magis, quam bellum gerentis, intentus
 curis, quum, captivis productis segregatisque, socios, sicut
 ante ad Trebiam Trasimenumque lacum, benigne allocutus,
 sine pretio dimisisset⁵, Romanos quoque vocatos (quod
 nunquam alias antea) satis miti sermone alloquitur: 'Non
 'internecinum sibi esse cum Romanis bellum⁶: de dignitate
 'atque imperio⁷ certare. Et patres virtuti Romanæ ces-
 'sisse: et se id anniti, ut suæ in vicem simul felicitati et
 'virtuti cedatur⁸. Itaque redimendi se captivis copiam
 'facere: pretium fore in capita, equiti quingenos quadriga-
 'tos nummos, trecentos pediti, servo centenos.' Quanquam
 aliquantum adjiciebatur equitibus ad id pretium, quod pe-
 pigerant dedentes se; læti tamen quamcunque conditionem
 pacisendi acceperunt. Placuit suffragio ipsorum decem
 deligi, qui Romam ad senatum irent: nec pignus aliud
 fidei, quam ut jurarent se reddituros, acceptum. Missus
 cum his Carthalo nobilis Carthaginiensis: qui, si forte ad
 pacem⁹ inclinarent animos, conditiones ferret. Quum egressi

¹ Legione classis.] More generally called *leg. ad classem*; as *milites ad naves, &c.*

² Teanum Sidicinum.] (*Tiano*) on the Appian road in Campania; thus specified to distinguish it from *Teanum Apu'um* (now *Civitate*), situated on the Frento (*Fortore*).

³ Ex formula.] "According to the registry, (or, assessment,) which specified the number of troops to be supplied by the several districts.

⁴ Empta publice.] "Purchased by government."—*Hic miles &c.* "These troops were preferred;

though there was an opportunity (notwithstanding the opportunity) of ransoming prisoners at less expense."

⁵ Quum—dimisisset.] "After liberating," &c.

⁶ Internecinum—bellum.] "War of extermination."

⁷ Dignitate atque imperio.] "Rank and power."

⁸ Ut—cedatur.] "That some concession (submission) should be made to" &c.

⁹ Qui, si forte ad pacem &c.] "To propose terms, in case they

castris essent, unus ex iis, minime Romani ingenii homo, U. C. 538.
 velut aliquid oblitus¹, jurisjurandi solvendi causa quum in A. C. 216.
 castra redisset, ante noctem comites assequitur. Ubi eos
 Romam venire² nuntiatum est, Carthaloni obviam lictor
 missus, qui dictatoris verbis nuntiaret, ut ante noctem ex-
 cederet finibus Romanis. Legatis captivorum senatus ab
 dictatore datus est. Quorum princeps M. Junius, 'Paters
 'conscripti,' inquit, 'nemo nostrum ignorat, nulli unquam
 'civitati viliores fuisse captivos, quam nostræ. Ceterum,
 'nisi nobis plus justo³ nostra placet causa, non alii unquam
 'minus negligendi vobis, quam nos, in hostium potestatem
 'venerunt. Non enim in acie per timorem arma tradidi-
 'mus; sed, quum prope ad noctem superstantes cumulis
 'cæsorum corporum prælium extraxissemus, in castra re-
 'cepimus nos. Diei reliquum ac noctem insequentem, fessi
 'labore ac vulneribus, vallum sumus tutati. Postero die,
 'quum circumcessi ab exercitu victore aqua arceremur, nec
 'ulla jam per confertos hostes erumpendi spes esset, nec
 'esse nefas duceremus, quinquaginta millibus hominum ex
 'acie nostra trucidatis, aliquem ex Cannensi pugna Roma-
 'num militem restare; tum demum pacti sumus pretium,
 'quo redempti dimitteremur: arma, in quibus nihil jam
 'auxilii erat, hosti tradidimus. Majores quoque acce-
 'peramus se a Gallis auro redemisse: et patres vestros,
 'asperrimos illos⁴ ad conditionem pacis, legatos tamen cap-
 'tivorum redimendorum gratia Tarentum misisse. Atqui,
 'et ad Alliam cum Gallis, et ad Heracleam cum Pyrrho,
 'utraque non tam clade infamis, quam pavore ac fuga,
 'pugna fuit. Cannenses campos acervi Romanorum cor-
 'porum tegunt: nec supersumus pugnæ⁵, nisi in quibus
 'trucidandis et ferrum et vires hostem defecerunt. Sunt
 'etiam de nostris quidam, qui ne in acie quidem refuge-
 'runt: sed, præsidio castris relictæ, quum castra traderentur,
 'in potestatem hostium venerunt. Haud equidem ullius
 'civis et commilitonis fortunæ aut conditioni invideo, nec
 'premendo alium⁶ me extulisse velim: ne illi quidem, (nisi

should evince any inclination for
 peace."

¹ *Velut aliquid oblitus &c.]*
 "After returning into the camp,
 under pretence of having forgotten
 something, in order to satisfy his
 oath, overtook" &c.

² *Romam venire.]* "Were on
 their way to Rome."—*Dicit. verbis.*
 "In the name of the Dictator."

³ *Nisi nobis plus justo &c.]* "Un-
 less our claims (or, pretensions) are
 too favourably regarded by our-

selves; no others have ever fallen
 into an enemy's hands less meriting
 neglect than we."

⁴ *Asperrimos illos.]* "Who were
 notoriously most scrupulous respecting
 conditions of peace."

⁵ *Nec supersumus pugnæ.]* "For
 none of us have survived the battle,
 but such as the enemy wanted
 weapons and the strength to slay."

⁶ *Nec premendo alium &c.]* "For
 it is not by disparaging others that
 I would recommend myself."

U. C. 538. 'pernicitatis pedum' et cursus aliquod præmium est) qui
 A. C. 216. 'plerique inermes ex acie fugientes non prius, quam Ve-
 'nusiae aut Canusii, constiterunt, se nobis merito prætule-
 'rint, gloriatiq[ue] sint, in se plus, quam in nobis, præsidii
 'reipublicæ esse. Sed illis et bonis et fortibus militibus
 'utemini: et nobis etiam promptioribus pro patria, quod
 'beneficio vestro redempti atque in patriam restituti fueri-
 'mus. Delectum ex omni ætate et fortuna habetis: octo
 'millia servorum audio armari. Non minor numerus noster
 'est, nec majore pretio redimi⁹ possumus, quam hi emuntur.
 'Nam si conferam nos cum illis, injuriam nomini Romano
 'faciam. Illud etiam in tali consilio⁹ animadvertendum
 'vobis censeam, Patres conscripti, (si tamen duriores esse
 'velitis, quod nullo nostro merito faciatis) cui nos hosti re-
 'licturi sitis. Pyrrho videlicet, qui nos hospitum numero
 'habuit captivos, an barbaro ac Pœno; qui utrum avarior,
 'an crudelior, sit, vix existimari potest. Si videatis catenas,
 'squalorem, deformitatem civium vestrorum, non minus
 'profecto vos ea species moveat, quam si ex altera parte
 'cernatis stratas Cannensibus campis legiones vestrar. In-
 'tueri potestis sollicitudinem et lacrimas⁷ in vestibulo curiæ
 'stantium cognatorum nostrorum, exspectantiumque re-
 'sponsum vestrum. Quum ii pro nobis proque iis, qui ab
 'sunt, ita suspensi ac solliciti sint; quem censemus animum
 'ipsorum esse, quorum in discriminine vita libertasque est? Si,
 'me dius fidius, ipse in nos mitis Hannibal contra naturam
 'suam esse velit, nihil tamen nobis vita opus esse censemus, quum indigni, ut a vobis redimeremur, visi simus.
 'Rediere Romam quondam remissi a Pyrrho sine pretio
 'capti; sed rediere cum legatis, primoribus civitatis, ad
 'redimendos sese missis: redeam ego in patriam, trecentis
 'nummis non æstimatus civis? Suum quisque habet ani-
 'mum, Patres conscripti. Scio in discriminine esse vitam
 'corpusque meum. Magis me famæ periculum movet, ne
 'a vobis damnati ac repulsi abeamus: neque enim vos pre-
 'tio pepercisse homines credent.'

60. Ubi is finem fecit, extemplo ab ea turba, quæ in comitio

⁷ *Nisi pernicitatis pedum &c.]*
 " Unless there be some merit in
 swiftness of foot," &c.

⁸ *Nec majore pretio redimi.]*
 " Nor is the expense greater of our
 ransom, than of their purchase."

⁹ *Illud etiam in tali consilio.]*
 " This also I think should be a
 question for your consideration, C.
 F., in such a discussion (if you will,
 after all, be unkind, which would

be an act of injustice to us,) to what
 sort of enemy you are going to
 abandon us: whether, as it may be
 supposed, to a Pyrrhus who treated
 our prisoners as guests; or, to a
 savage and a Carthaginian, of whom
 it is hard to decide whether he is
 more cruel or avaricious."

¹ *Sollicitudinem et lacrimas.]*
 " The suspense and the sorrow."

erat, clamor flebilis est sublatus, manusque ad curiam U.C. 538. tendebant orantes, ut sibi liberos, fratres, cognatos redderent. A.C. 216. Feminas quoque metus ac necessitas² in foro turbæ huic virorum immiscuerat. Senatus, summotis arbitris, consuli coepitus. Ibi quum sententiis varietur, et alii redimendos de publico, alii nullam publice impensam faciendam, nec prohibendos ex privato redimi³, si quibus argentum in præsentia deesset, dandan ex ærario pecuniam mutuam, prædibusque ac prædiis⁴ cavendum populo, censerent; tum T. Manlius Torquatus, priscæ ac nimis duræ⁵, ut plerisque videbatur, severitatis, interrogatus sententiam, ita locutus fertur: 'Si tantummodo postulassent legati pro iis, qui in hostium potestate sunt, ut redimerentur, sine ullius insectatione eorum⁶, brevi sententiam peregrissem. Quid enim aliud quam admonendi⁷ essetis, ut morem traditum a patribus, necessario ad rem militarem exemplo, servaretis? Nunc autem quum prope gloriati sint, quod se hostibus dediderint, præferrique non captis modo in acie ad hostibus, sed etiam iis, qui Venusiam Canusiumque pervenerunt, atque ipsi C. Terentio consuli, æquum censuerint; nihil vos eorum, Patres conscripti, quæ illic acta sunt, ignorare patiar. Atque utinam hæc, quæ apud vos acturus sum, Canusii apud ipsum exercitum agerem, optimum testem ignaviæ cujusque et virtutis: aut unus hic saltem adesset P. Sempronius, quem si isti ducem secuti essent, milites hodie in castris Romanis, non captivi in hostium potestate essent. Sed quum, fassis pugnando hostibus, tum victoria lætis et ipsis plerisque⁸ regressis in castra sua, noctem ad erumpendum liberam habuissent, et septem armatorum hominum millia perrumpere etiam confertos hostes potuissent; neque per se ipsi id facere conati sunt, neque alium sequi voluerunt. Nocte prope tota P. Sempronius Tuditanus non destitit monere, adhortari eos, dum paucitas hostium circa castra, dum quies ac silentium esset, dum nox incepturn tegeret, se ducem sequerentur: ante

² *Metus ac necessitas.*] "Their fears, and the urgency of the case."

³ *Nec prohibendos ex privato redimi.*] "But, that they should not be prevented from ransoming themselves (mid. voice) at their own expense."

⁴ *Prædibusque ac prædiis &c.*] "That the state should be indemnified by personal and real securities."

⁵ *Priscæ ac nimis dure &c.*] "A man of old-fashioned and (as many thought) an over-strict austerity."

⁶ *Sine ullius insectatione eorum.*] "Without disparagement on their part of any others."

⁷ *Quid enim aliud quam admonendi &c.*] "For, what more need you than to be reminded to maintain the usage transmitted from antiquity as a precedent indispensable in war?"

⁸ *Tum victoriâ lætis et ipsis plerisque &c.*] "Elated also by victory, and even for the most part gone back to" &c.

U. C. 538. 'lucem pervenire in tuta loca, in sociorum urbes posse. Sicut
 A. C. 216. 'avorum memoria P. Decius tribunus militum in Samnio⁹;
 'sicut, nobis adolescentibus, priore Punico bello Calpurnius
 'Flamma¹ trecentis voluntariis, quum ad tumulum eos capi-
 'endum, situm inter medios hostes, duceret, dixit: ' Mori-
 'amur, milites, et morte nostra eripiamus ex obsidione cir-
 'cumventas legiones: ' si hoc P. Sempronius diceret; nec
 'viros quidem, nec Romanos vos duceret, si nemo tantæ
 'virtutis exstisset comes. Viam non ad gloriam magis,
 'quam ad salutem, ferentem demonstrat; reduces in patriam
 'ad parentes, ad conjuges ac liberos facit. Ut servemini,
 'deest vobis animus? quid, si moriendum pro patria esset,
 'faceretis? Quinquaginta millia civium sociorumque circa
 'vos eo ipso die cæsa jacent. Si tot exempla virtutis non
 'movent, nihil unquam movebit: si tanta clades vilem vitam
 'non fecit, nulla faciet. Liberi atque incolumes² desiderate
 'patriam: imo desiderate, dum patria est, dum cives ejus
 'estis. Sero nunc desideratis, deminuti capite, abalienati
 'jure civium, servi Carthaginiensium facti. Pretio reddituri
 'estis³ eo, unde ignavia ac nequitia abistis? P. Sempronium,
 'civem vestrum, non audistis, arma capere ac sequi se
 'jubentem: Hannibalem post paullo⁴ audistis, castra prodi-
 'et arma tradi jubentem. Quam ego ignaviam⁵ istorum ac-
 'cuso, quum scelus possim accusare? Non enim modo sequi
 'recusarunt bene monentem, sed obsistere ac retinere
 'conati sunt, ni strictis gladiis viri fortissimi inertes sum-
 'movissent. Prius, inquam, P. Sempronio per civium ag-
 'men, quam per hostium, fuit erumpendum⁶. Hos cives

⁹ *P. Decius—in Samnio.*] In the first campaign of the first Samnite war, one of the two consular armies led by Corn. Cossus, while proceeding to invade Samnium, became entangled in a defile, (believed to be the pass of Maddaloni, among the mountains over the plain of Capua,) from which they were extricated by the courage and prudence of P. Decius; the same who, in the third Samnite war, devoted himself at the battle of Sentinum.

¹ *Calpurnius Flamma.*] On this occasion, a tribune in the army, in a similar way, saved the troops when brought into a disadvantageous position by the consul At. Calatinus.

² *Liberi atque incolumes &c.*] "Long for your country, when you are free and respectable! Yes,

long for it when you have a country, when you can call yourselves its citizens. It is now too late; degraded as you are," &c.

³ *Pretio reddituri estis, &c.*] "Is it by ransom that you would return to that position which you forfeited by," &c.

⁴ *Post paullo.*] "A short while since." The transposition is not unusual in the best Latin style; for instance, *post aliquanto*; *ante annis octo*, &c.

⁵ *Quam ego ignaviam &c.*] "Why am I accusing them of cowardice, when I have it in my power to charge them with a crime (treason)?"

⁶ *P. Sempronio—fuit erumpendum.*] "P. S. had to force his way," &c.

‘patria desideret? quorum si ceteri similes fuissent, U. C. 538.
 ‘neminem hodie ex iis, qui ad Cannas pugnaverunt, civem A. C. 216.
 ‘haberet. Ex millibus septem armatorum sexcenti exstite-
 ‘runt, qui erumpere auderent, qui in patriam liberi atque
 ‘armati redirent: neque iis quadraginta millia hostium
 ‘obstitere. Quam tutum iter duarum prope legionum agmini
 ‘futurum censem fuisse? Haberetis hodie viginti millia
 ‘armatorum Canusii, fortia, fidelia, Patres conscripti.
 ‘Nunc autem quemadmodum hi boni fidelesque (nam fortes
 ‘ne ipsi quidem dixerint) cives esse possunt? nisi quis cre-
 ‘dere potest⁷ fuisse, ut erumpentibus, quin erumperent, ob-
 ‘sistere conati sunt: aut non invidere eos, quum incolumi-
 ‘tati, tum gloriae illorum per virtutem partæ, quum sibi
 ‘timorem ignaviamque servitutis ignominiosæ causam esse
 ‘sciant. Maluerunt in tentoriis latentes simul lucem atque
 ‘hostem exspectare, quum silentio noctis erumpendi occasio
 ‘esset. At enim ad erumpendum⁸ e castris defuit animus;
 ‘ad tutanda fortiter castra animum habuerunt. Dies noc-
 ‘tesque aliquot obsessi, vallum armis, se ipsi tutati vallo
 ‘sunt: tandem ultima ausi passique, quum omnia subsidia
 ‘vitæ abessent, affectisque fame viribus, arma jam sustinere
 ‘nequirent, necessitatibus magis humanis, quam armis, victi
 ‘sunt. Orto sole⁹ hostis ad vallum accessit: ante secundam
 ‘horam, nullam fortunam certaminis experti, tradiderunt
 ‘arma ac se ipsos. Hæc vobis ipsorum per biduum militia
 ‘fuit¹⁰. Quum in acie stare ac pugnare decuerat, tum in
 ‘castra refugerunt: quum pro vallo pugnandum erat, castra
 ‘tradiderunt, neque in acie neque in castris utiles. Vos
 ‘redimam? quum erumpere castris oportet, cunctamini ac

⁷ *Nisi quis credere potest &c.]* Unless one can believe (equivalent to saying, “for nobody can believe”) that they were so, when they attempted to prevent those who were forcing their way out from doing so; or, (can believe) that they feel no jealousy toward the bravely won safety and glory of the others, when they know that their own cowardice and apathy are the cause of their own degradation.” The emendation suggested by Lipsius is, *nisi quis credere potest fuisse, ut erumpentibus, quin erumperent, obsistere conati sint, at non invidere &c.* i.e. ‘it cannot be supposed possible that they tried to prevent their attempt to escape; and will not, at the same time, feel envious of the position of those who succeeded in doing so.’ In either case, however, Manlius means to

insinuate that they could not have acted bravely in the first instance; and that the others who did so, must ever be regarded by them with the jealousy naturally provoked by the contrast.

⁸ *At enim ad erumpendum &c.]* “But (it may be said in their defence) that, although they wanted the resolution to &c.; they still had courage to defend the camp.”

⁹ *Orto sole &c.]* Here Manlius begins to reply to the objection started by himself. He suppresses, however, the obvious objection, that these prisoners were the innocent victims of the criminal errors of the man whom the Senate had complimented.

¹⁰ *Hæc vobis—fuit.]* “This, you observe, was,” &c. As we would say, “Here you have.”

U. C. 538. 'manetis: quum manere, castra tutari armis necesse est, et
 A. C. 216. 'castra et arma et vos ipsos traditis hosti. Ego non magis
 'istos redimendos, Patres conscripti, censeo, quam illos de-
 'dendos Hannibali, qui per medios hostes e castris erupe-
 'runt, ac per summam virtutem se patriæ restituerunt.'

61. Postquam Manlius dixit, quanquam Patrum quoque² ple-
 rosque captivi cognatione attingebant, præter exemplum
 civitatis minime in captivos jam inde antiquitus indulgentis,
 pecuniæ quoque summa homines movit: quia nec ærarium
 exhaurire, magna jam summa erogata in servos ad militiam
 emendos armadosque, nec Hannibalem maxime hujusce
 rei, ut fama erat, egentem locupletari volebant. Quum
 triste responsum, 'non redimi captivos³, redditum esset, no-
 vusque super veterem luctus tot jactura civium adjectus
 esset, cum magnis fletibus questibusque legatos ad portam
 prosecuti sunt. Unus ex iis domum abiit, quod fallaci
 reditu in castra jurejurando se exsolvisset. Quod ubi
 innotuit, relatumque ad senatum est, omnes censuerunt,
 comprehendendum et custodibus publice datis deducendum
 ad Hannibalem esse.

Est et alia de captiis fama⁴ decem primos venisse: de
 iis quum dubitatum in senatu esset, admitterentur in urbem,
 nec ne; ita admissos esse⁵, ne tamen iis senatus daretur.
 Morantibus deinde longius omnium spe, alias tres insuper
 legatos venisse, L. Scribonium, et C. Calpurnium, et L.
 Manlium. Tum demum ab cognato Scribonii tribuno ple-
 bis de redimendis captiis relatum esse, nec censuisse redi-
 mendos senatum: et novos legatos tres ad Hannibalem re-

² *Quanquam Patrum quoque.*] "Though most of the fathers had relatives among the prisoners, still, in addition to the traditional policy of a state never indulgent to prisoners of war, the amount of the ransom formed a further consideration."

³ *Non redimi captivos.*] This decision may be regarded rather as a stroke of policy than as a mere obstinate adherence to a national prejudice. In the first place, it was a denunciation to Hannibal, that the only terms on which the senate would deal with him were those of war to the death, wounded as their pride was by his presuming to invade Italy. They were also unwilling, as Livy observes, to place so large a sum of money at his command; and this refusal and disappointment,

coupled with the contemptuous dismissal of his envoy, and with the insecurity of his present position, (notwithstanding the result of the late battle,) so exasperated him, that he is said to have vented his vexation in acts of the most savage and malicious cruelty to the prisoners. He compelled them to fight in pairs, and put the survivors to death; and in one instance took the life of a Roman who had killed an elephant in single combat, lest his enemies might lose their dread of those animals. (Val. Maximus, ix. 2. and Pliny, viii. 7.)

⁴ *Est et alia de captiis fama.*] See Cicero, de Off. iii. 32.

⁵ *Ita admissos esse &c.*] "They were admitted, but only in such a manner that no audience was granted."

vertisse, decem veteres remansisse; quod, per causam re- U. C. 538.
cognoscendi nomina captivorum ad Hannibalem ex itinere A. C. 216.
regressi, religione sese exsolvissent: de iis dedendis magna
contentione actum in senatu esse; victosque paucis sententiis⁶, qui dedendos censuerint. Ceterum proximis cen-
soribus adeo omnibus notis ignominiisque confectos esse, ut
quidam eorum mortem sibi ipsi extempsu consciverint:
ceteri non foro solum omni deinde vita, sed prope luce ac
publico, caruerint⁷. Mirari magis, adeo discrepare inter
auctores, quam quid veri sit, discernere queas.

Quanto autem major ea clades superioribus cladibus
fuerit, vel ea res indicio est, quod, qui sociorum ad eam
diem firmi steterant, tum labare cœperunt, nulla profecto
alia de re, quam quod desperaverant de imperio. Defecere
autem ad Poenos hi populi⁸: Atellani, Calatini, Hirpini,
Apulorum pars, Samnites præter Pentros, Brutii omnes,
Lucani: præter hos Surrentini, et Græcorum omnis ferme
ora, Tarentini, Metapontini, Crotonienses, Locriæ, et
Cisalpini omnes Galli. Nec tamen hæ clades defectiones-
que sociorum moverunt, ut pacis unquam mentio apud Ro-
manos fieret: neque ante consulis Romam adventum, nec
postquam is rediit, renovavitque memoriam acceptæ cladis.
Quo in tempore ipso adeo magno animo civitas fuit, ut
consuli, ex tanta clade, cuius ipse causa maxima fuisse, fuisse
redeunti, et obviam itum frequenter ab omnibus ordinibus
sit, et gratiae actæ, quod de republica non desperasset:
cui, si Carthaginiensium duxor fuisse⁹, nihil recusandum
supplicii foret.

⁶ *Victosque paucis sententiis.]*
“Beaten by a small majority.”

⁷ *Caruerint.]* “Absented them-
selves.”

⁸ *Hi populi.]* Not all at once,
but at intervals during four years.

⁹ *Cui, si Carthaginiensium duxor
fuisse.]* The Carthaginians, like
the Athenians on some occasions,
resented the failures of their gene-
rals with such severity, as to render
it surprising that any man was
found to take the command of their
armies. Some were crucified on

their return, and others put to death
on the spot by their own soldiers.
The indulgence extended to Varro
stands out in strong contrast to the
decision respecting the prisoners.
It is said that he was even offered
the dictatorship, which he refused.
All this may probably be accounted
for on the supposition, that his con-
demnation (if brought to trial like
Appius Pulcher in the first Punic
war) would have alienated the ple-
beian party.

LIBER XXIII.

EPITOME.

Campani ad Hannibalem defecerunt. Nuntius Cannensis victoria Mago Carthaginem missus, annulos aureos, a digitis occisorum Romanorum detractos, in vestibulo curie effudit: quos excessisse modii mensuram traditur. Post quem nuntium Hanno, vir ex Pœnis nobilissimus, suadebat senatui Carthaginiensium, ut pacem a populo Romano peterent: nec tenuit, obstrepente Barcina factione. Claudio Marcellus prætor ad Nolam, eruptione adversus Hannibalem ex oppido facta, prospere pugnavit. Exercitus Hannibalis per hiberna Capua ita luxuriatus est, ut corporum viribus atque animorum enervaretur. Casilinum, a Pœnis obsessum, ita famè vexatum est, ut lora et pelles scutis detractas, item mures, essent; et nucibus, per Vulturum ammen a Romanis missis, vicerint. Senatus ex equestri ordine hominibus centum nonaginta septem suppletus est. L. Postumius prætor a Gallis cum exercitu casus est. Cn. et P. Scipiones in Hispania Hasdrubalem vicerunt, et Hispaniam suam fecerunt. Reliquæ Cannensis exercitus in Siciliam relegate sunt; ne recederent inde, nisi finito bello. Inter Philippum Macedonum regem et Hannibalem societas juncta est. Sempronius Gracchus consul Campanos cecidit. Præterea in Sardinia feliciter a T. Manlio prætore adversus Pœnos Sardosque res gestas continet: a quo Hasdrubal dux, et Mago, et Hanno capti. Claudio Marcellus prætor Hannibalis exercitum ad Nolam prælio fudit et vicit: primusque tot cladibus fessis Romanis meliorem spem belli dedit.

U. C. 538. *ÆCIS* Hannibal post Cannensem pugnam captis ac direptis¹, confestim ex Apulia in Samnum moverat: accitus in Hirpinos a Statio, pollicente se Compsam traditurum. Compsanus erat Trebius² nobilis inter suos: sed premebat eum Mopsiorum factio, familiæ per gratiam Romanorum potentis. Post famam Cannensis pugnæ, vulgariter Trebii sermonibus adventum Hannibalis, quum Mopsiani urbem excessissent; sine certamine tradita urbs Pœno, præsidiumque acceptum est. Ibi præda omni atque impedimentis relictis, exercitu partito, Magoneim regionis

¹ *Captis ac direptis.*] This is the afterwards, (l. xxiv. 20.) as having text substituted by Gronovius for been retaken by Fabius.
Hannibal post Cannensem p. castra capta ac direpta. *Æcœ* was a town in Apulia near Cannæ, mentioned

² *Compsanus erat Trebius.*] sc. Statius.

ejus urbes, aut deficientes ab Romanis accipere, aut detrec- U. C. 538.
tantes cogere ad defectionem jubet: ipse per agrum Cam- A. C. 216.
panum mare inferum petit, oppugnaturus Neapolim³, ut
urbem maritimam haberet. Ubi fines Neapolitanorum in-
travit, Numidas partim in insidiis, (et pleræque cavæ sunt
viæ⁴ sinusque occulti) quacunque apte poterat, dispositus:
alius, præ se actam prædam ex agris ostentantes, obequi-
tare portis jussit. In quos, quia nec multi, et incompositi
videbantur, quum turma equitum erupisset, ab cedentibus
consulto tracta in insidiis, circumventa est: nec evasisset
quisquam, ni mare propinquum, et haud procul litore naves,
piscatoriæ pleræque⁵, conspectæ peritis nandi dedissent
effugium. Aliquot tamen eo prælio nobiles juvenes capti
cæsique sunt: inter quos et Hegeas præfектus equitum,
intemperantius cedentes secutus, cecidit. Ab urbe op-
pugnanda Poenum absterruere conspecta mœnia⁶, haudqua-
quam prompta oppugnanti.

Inde Capuam flectit iter, luxuriantem⁷ longa felicitate
atque indulgentia fortunæ, maxime tamen, inter corrupta
omnia, licentia plebis sine modo libertatem exercentis.
Senatum et sibi et plebi obnoxium Pacuvius Calavius fece-
rat; nobilis idem ac popularis⁸ homo, ceterum malis artibus
nactus opes. Is quum eo⁹ forte anno, quo res male gesta
ad Trasimenum est, in summo magistratu esset, jam diu in-
festam senatui plebem, ratus, per occasionem novandi res,

2.

³ *Neapolim.*] This town is not precisely identical with the more ancient Parthenope. "The new town," as its name implies, was an addition made to the former (thenceforth called Palæopolis) by a new body of colonists, who are generally believed to have been Athenians, (l. viii. c. 22.)

⁴ *Pleræque cavæ sunt viæ, &c.*] "The roads are generally sunk," &c.

⁵ *Naves, piscatoriæ pleræque.*] i.e. *Naves quarum pleræque piscatoriæ erant.*

⁶ *Conspecta mœnia, &c.*] "An examination of the walls, not easily accessible to," &c.

⁷ *Luxuriantem, &c.*] "Stagnating in long prosperity and indulgence of fortune: but, most of all, amid a scene of universal licentiousness, in the freedom of a plebeian class who used their liberty without restraint."

⁸ *Nobilis idem ac popularis.*] "At the same time a noble and a radi-

cal." This is always the meaning of *popularis* in Livy, when set in antithesis to any word signifying aristocratic.

⁹ *Is quum eo, &c.*] The pronoun is nom. to *init*, at the end of this unusually long sentence. "This man, as he happened to hold the highest civil office in the year of the unfortunate action at the Thrasymenus, expecting that the Commons, long jealous of the Senate, would take advantage of the opportunity for a revolution, and attempt some decisive movement, such as murdering the Senate, and transferring Capua to the Carthaginians, if Hannibal should come into that country—an unprincipled man, but not utterly desperate, as he would rather be the master of an existing than a ruined commonwealth, and believed that it could never continue in existence if bereft of a national council—adopted a plan," &c.

U.C. 538. **magnum ausuram facinus**, ut, si in ea loca Hannibal
 A.C. 216. **cum victore exercitu venisset**, trucidato senatu traderet
 Capuam Poenis; improbus homo, sed non ad extremum
 perditus, quum mallet incolumi, quam eversa, republica
 dominari; nullam autem incolumem esse orbatam publico
 consilio crederet, rationem init, qua et senatum servaret, et
 obnoxium sibi ac plebi faceret. Vocato senatu, quum, sibi
 defectionis ab Romanis¹ consilium placitum nullo modo,
 nisi necessarium fuisset, præfatus esset²; 'quippe qui
 'liberos ex Ap. Claudii filia haberet, filiamque Romam
 'nuptum Livio dedisset; ceterum majorem multo rem
 'magisque timendam instare; non enim per defectionem ad
 'tollendum ex civitate senatum plebem spectare, sed per
 'cædem senatus vacuam rempublicam tradere Hannibali
 'ac Poenis velle; eo se periculo posse liberare eos, si se
 'permittant sibi, et, certaminum in republica oblii, credant;
 quum omnes victi metu permitterent; 'Claudam in curia
 'vos,' inquit, 'et, tanquam et ipse cogitati facinoris particeps,
 'approbando consilia, quibus nequicquam adversarer, viam
 'saluti vestræ inveniam. In hoc fidem, quam vultis³ ipsi,
 'accipite.' Fide data egressus, claudi curiam jubet, præ-
 sidiumque in vestibulo reliquit; ne quis adire curiam injussu
 3. suo, neve inde egredi possit. Tunc vocato ad concionem
 populo, 'Quod sæpe,' inquit, 'optastis, Campani, ut supplicii
 'sumendi vobis ex improbo ac detestibili senatu potestas
 'esset; eam nunc, non per tumultum expugnantes domos
 'singulorum, quas præsidii clientium servorumque tuentur,
 'cum summo vestro periculo, sed tutam habetis ac liberam.
 'Clausos omnes in curiam accipite, solos, inermes: nec
 'quicquam raptim, aut forte temere egeritis⁴. De singulo-
 'rum capite vobis jus sententiae dicendæ faciam, ut, quas
 'quisque meritus est, poenas pendat. Sed ante omnia ita
 'vos iræ indulgere⁵ oportet, ut potiorem ira salutem atque
 'utilitatem vestram habeatis. Etenim hos, ut opinor,
 'odistis senatores; non senatum omnino habere non vultis:
 'quippe aut rex, (quod abominandum⁶) aut, quod unum

¹ *Defectionis ab Romanis.*] Capua had similarly revolted on a former occasion, after the battle of Lautulæ, in the second Samnite war. During the interval (of nearly a century), it had continued faithful to Rome through all vicissitudes.

² *Quum—præfatus esset.*] The apodosis to the conjunction begins below at *inquit*: sc. "After promising, &c.—and when, overcome by their fears, they all gave him authority. 'I shall lock you up,'

said he," &c.

³ *Fidem, quam vultis, &c.*] "Exact whatever pledge (or security) you please."

⁴ *Nec quicquam, &c.—egeritis.*] "But you are not to do any thing impetuously or precipitately."

⁵ *Ita vos iræ indulgere, &c.*] "You must gratify your resentment, only so far as to regard (as may be consistent with a regard for)," &c.

⁶ *Abominandum.*] "An abomination (anathema)."

‘liberæ civitatis consilium est, senatus habendus est. Itaque U. C. 538.
 ‘duæ res simul agendæ sunt vobis, ut et veterem senatum A. C. 216.
 ‘tollatis, et novum cooptetis. Citari singulos senatores
 ‘jubebo, de quorum capite vos consulam. Quod de quoque
 ‘censueritis, fiet. Sed prius in ejus locum virum fortem ac
 ‘strenuum novum senatorem cooptabitis, quam de noxio
 ‘supplicium sumatur.’ Inde consedit, et, nominibus in
 urnam conjectis, citari, quod primum sorte nomen excidit,
 ipsumque e curia produci jussit. Ubi auditum est nomen,
 malum et improbum pro se quisque clamare, et suppicio
 dignum. Tum Pacuvius, ‘Video, quæ de hoc sententia sit
 ‘data. Eligite pro malo atque improbo bonum senatorem
 ‘et justum.’ Primo silentium erat inopia potioris subjici-
 undi⁷: deinde, quum aliquis, omissa verecundia⁸, quempiam
 nominasset, multo major extemplo clamor oriebatur, quum
 alii negarent nosse; alii nunc probra, nunc humilitatem
 sordidamque inopiam, et pudendæ artis⁹ aut quæstus genus,
 objicerent. Hoc multo magis in secundo ac tertio citato
 senatore est factum¹: ut ipsius pœnitere homines² appareret;
 quem autem in ejus substituerent locum, deesse: quia nec
 eosdem nominari attinebat, nihil aliud quam ad audienda
 probra nominatos, et multo humiliores obscurioresque ceteri
 erant iis, qui primi memoriæ occurrebant. Ita dilabi
 homines, notissimum quodque malum³ maxime tolerabile
 dicentes esse, jubentesque senatum ex custodia dimitti.

Hoc modo Pacuvius quum obnoxium vitæ beneficio⁴
 senatum multo sibi magis, quam plebi, fecisset, sine armis,
 jam omnibus concedentibus, dominabatur. Hinc senatores,
 omissa dignitatis libertatisque memoria, plebem adulari,
 salutare, benigne invitare, apparatis accipere epulis, eas
 causas suspicere, ei semper parti adesse, secundum eam
 item judices dare, quæ⁵ magis popularis aptiorque in vulgus

4.

⁷ *Inopid potioris subjiciundi.*] “Through want of a better man to take his place.”

⁸ *Omissa verecundia.*] “Waiving delicacy (overcoming his diffidence).”

⁹ *Pudendæ artis, &c.*] “Some disreputable sort of trade or profession.”

¹ *Hoc multo magis—est factum.*] “This became still more the case.”

² *Ut ipsius pœnitere homines, &c.*] “It was evident, that, although the people were dissatisfied with the first, they were at a loss for one to substitute.”

³ *Notissimum quodque malum, &c.*] “The evils with which they were

most familiar, were the most endurable.” The parallel from Hamlet is too obvious to need quotation.

⁴ *Obnoxium vitæ beneficio.*] “Laid the Senate under obligation for the favour of their lives.”

⁵ *Secundum eam item.*] “They packed their juries (*judices dare*) in favour of that side of every cause which,” &c. If we separate *eam* and *item*, referring the pronoun to *partem*, we must translate, “When acting as jurors, they decided (*item dare*) in favour of that cause,” &c. *Judicem dare* is a technical phrase, signifying, “to send an issue to a jury,” as our Courts of Equity do.

U. C. 538. favori conciliando esset. Jam vero nihil in senatu actum
 A. C. 316. aliter, quam si plebis ibi esset concilium. Prona semper
 civitas in luxuriam⁶, non ingeniorum modo vitio, sed
 affluent copia voluptatium, et illecebris omnis amoenitatis
 maritimæ terrestrisque; tum vero ita obsequio principum
 et licentia plebei lascivire⁷, ut nec libidini nec sumptibus
 modus esset. Ad contemptum legum, magistratum,
 senatus, accessit tum, post Cannensem cladem, ut, cuius
 aliqua erat verecundia, Romanum quoque imperium sperne-
 rent. Id modo erat in mora, ne extemplo deficerent, quod
 connubium vetustum multas familias claras ac potentes Ro-
 manis miscuerat: et quod, quum militarent aliquot apud
 Romanos, maximum vinculum erant trecenti equites, nobi-
 lissimus quisque Campanorum, in præsidia Sicularum ur-
 bium delecti ab Romanis ac missi.

5. Horum parentes cognatiæ ægre pervicerunt, ut legati
 ad consulem Romanum mitterentur. Ii, nondum Canusium
 profectum, sed Venusiae cum paucis ac semieribus con-
 sulem invenerunt, quam poterat maxime miserabilem⁸ bonis
 sociis; superbis atque infidelibus, ut erant Campani, sper-
 nendum. Et auxit rerum suarum suique contemptum con-
 sul nimis detegendo cladem nudandoque. Nam quum
 legati, ægre ferre senatum populumque Campanum, adversi
 quicquam evenisse Romanis, nuntiassent, pollicerenturque
 omnia, quæ ad bellum opus essent; 'Morem magis,' inquit⁹,
 'loquendi cum sociis servasti, Campani, jubentes, quæ
 'opus essent ad bellum, imperare, quam convenienter ad
 'præsentem fortunæ nostræ statum locuti estis. Quid
 'enim nobis ad Cannas relictum est, ut, quasi aliquid habe-
 'amus, id, quod deest, expleri ab sociis velimus? Pedites
 'vobis imperemus, tanquam equites habeamus? Pecuniam
 'deesse dicamus, tanquam ea tantum desit? Nihil, ne quod
 'suppleremus quidem', nobis reliquit fortuna. Legiones,

⁶ *Prona semper civitas in luxuriam, &c.]* "A community always inclined to sensuality; not merely by defect of temperament, but by a full supply of enjoyments, and the temptations of the beauties (the seductive or softening beauties) of land and sea."

⁷ *Ita—lascivire.]* "Grew so extravagant," &c.

⁸ *Quam poterat maximè miserabilem &c.]* "As pitiable an object as he could possibly be to faithful allies; but to supercilious and treacherous men, like the Campanians, simply contemptible."

⁹ *Morem magis, inquit, &c.]*

"Campanians, he replied, you have rather observed the conventional form of addressing allies, in desiring us to demand what may be necessary for the war, than spoken in a tone suited to the present state of our circumstances." The tone of this reply was not less injudicious than Varro's conduct before the battle, and equally different from the appeal which old Fabius would have made in such a case.

¹ *Nihil, ne quod suppleremus quidem.]* "Fortune has left us nothing, not even any thing of which we might make good the deficiencies."

'equitatus, arma, signa, equi virique, pecunia, commeatus, U. C. 538.
 'aut in acie, aut binis postero die amissis castris perierunt. A. C. 216.
 'Itaque non juvetis nos in bello oportet, Campani, sed
 'pæne bellum pro nobis suscipiatis. Veniat in mentem³, ut
 'trepidos quondam majores vestros intra mœnia compulsos,
 'nec Samnitem modo hostem, sed etiam Sidicinum paventes,
 'receptos in fidem apud Saticulam defendemus, coepimus-
 'que propter vos cum Samnitibus bellum per centum prope
 'annos⁴, variante fortuna eventum, tulerimus. Adjicite ad
 'hæc quod fœdus æquum deditis⁵, quod leges vestras, quod
 'ad extreum (id quod ante Cannensem⁶ certe cladem
 'maximum fuit) civitatem nostram magnæ parti vestrūm
 'dedimus, communicavimusque vobiscum. Itaque com-
 'munem vos hanc cladem, quæ accepta est, credere, Cam-
 'pani, oportet, communem patriam tuendam arbitrari esse.
 'Non cum Samnite aut Etrusco res est, ut, quod a nobis
 'ablatum sit, in Italia tamen imperium maneat. Poenus
 'hostis, ne Africæ quidem indigenam, ab ultimis terrarum
 'oris, freto Oceani Herculisque columnis, expertem omnis
 'juris⁷ et conditionis et linguae prope humanæ, militem
 'trahit. Hunc, natura et moribus immitem ferumque, in-
 'super dux ipse efferavit, pontibus ac molibus ex huma-
 'norum corporum strue faciendis⁸, et, (quod proloqui etiam
 'piget) vesci humanis corporibus⁹ docendo. Hos, infandis
 'pastos epulis, quos contingere etiam nefas sit, videre atque
 'habere dominos, et ex Africa et a Carthagine jura petere,
 'et Italiam Numidarum ac Maurorum pati provinciam esse,
 'cui non, genito modo in Italia, detestabile sit? Pulchrum
 'erit, Campani, prolapsum clade Romana imperium vestra

³ *Veniat in mentem &c.]* "Let it be remembered how we took under our protection and defended your ancestors at Saticula, when," &c. The facts were, that the Samnite war was provoked in the first instance by the acquiescence of the Romans in the request of the Campanians for help in their own defence of the Sidicini against the Samnites. Dr. Arnold illustrates a parallel between this event and the application of Corecyra to Athens in the Peloponnesian war. (Rom. Hist. ch. xxviii.)

⁴ *Per centum propæ annos.]* The consul speaks in round numbers: the war had really continued from U. C. 412 to 480.

⁵ *Deditis.]* (dat. plur.) "After your surrender, when you surrendered yourselves."

⁶ *Id quod ante Cannensem &c.]* "Which was the highest privilege, at least before the disaster of Cannæ."

⁷ *Expertem omnis juris &c.]* "Ignorant of every law and compact, and almost of the language of human beings."

⁸ *Pontibus—faciendis.]* sc. Over the Vergellus, on the plain of Cannæ.

⁹ *Vesci humanis corporibus.]* This assertion is founded on a suggestion said to be made to Hannibal by one of his superior officers, Hannibal Monomachus, that in the absence of supplies and the difficulty of procuring them, he should train the soldiers to subsist on human flesh. Most of the acts of cruelty attributed to the Carthaginian commander, are said to have been prompted by this Hannibal.

U. C. 538. 'fide, vestris viribus retentum ac recuperatum esse. Tri-
A. C. 216. 'ginta millia peditum, quattuor equitum arbitror ex Cam-
'pania scribi posse. Jam pecuniæ affatim⁹ est frumentique.
'Si parem fortunæ vestræ fidem habetis, nec Hannibal se
'vicies sentiet, nec Romani victos esse.'

6. Hac oratione consulis dimisis redeuntibusque domum
legatis, unus ex iis, Vibius Virrius, 'Tempus venisse,' ait,
'quo Campani non agrum solum, ab Romanis quondam
'per injuriam ademptum, recuperare, sed imperio etiam
'Italiæ potiri possint. Foedus enim cum Hannibale, qui-
'bus velint legibus, facturos. Neque controversiam fore,
'quin, quum ipse confecto bello Hannibal victor in Africam
'decedat, exercitumque deportet', Italiæ imperium Cam-
'panis relinquatur.' Hæc Virrio loquenti assensi omnes,
ita renuntiant legationem, uti deletum omnibus videretur¹⁰
nomen Romanum. Extemplo plebes ad defectionem ac
pars major senatus spectare. Extracta tamen, auctorita-
tibus³ seniorum, per paucos dies est res: postremo vicit sen-
tentia plurium, ut iidem legati, qui ad consulem Romanum
ierant, ad Hannibalem mitterentur. Quo priusquam iretur⁴,
certumque defectionis consilium esset, Romam legatos
missos a Campanis, in quibusdam annalibus invenio, postu-
lantes, ut alter consul Campanus fieret, si rem Romanam
adjuvari vellent. Indignatione orta, summoveri a curia
jussos esse: missumque lictorem, qui ex urbe educeret eos,
atque eo die manere⁵ extra fines Romanos juberet. Quia
nimis compar Latinorum⁶ quondam postulatio erat, Cœlius-
que et alii id haud sine causa prætermiserant scriptores,
ponere pro certo sum veritus.

⁹ *Jam pecuniæ affatim &c.*] "You can just now command money and provisions in abundance."

¹⁰ *Exercitumque deportet.*] The conventional phrase for the removal of a victorious army.

¹¹ *Ita renuntiant &c. videretur.*] "They reported the result of their mission in such a manner, as to make it appear to all," &c.

¹² *Auctoritatibus &c.*] "The opinions," with the additional idea of influence. Cicero also uses the word in the plural, (*Leg. Man.* 17.) in the sense of "precedents."

¹³ *Quo priusquam iretur.*] "But, before that application was made (or that expedition was undertaken)."

¹⁴ *Eo die manere.*] "To find a residence on that day," &c.

¹⁵ *Nimis compar Latinorum &c.*]

The proposal made by the Latin representatives was, that the two nations which had up to that time maintained an *equal* alliance, should become more closely united; that, of two consuls (or *prætors*) one should be a Latin; that the senate should consist of Latins and Romans in equal proportions; that a number of Latin tribes equal to the Roman should be instituted, so as to make altogether fifty-four, forming one great national assembly; and that Rome should be the seat of government. This offer was rejected at the instance of T. Manlius Torquatus, then consul; who threatened to take the life of the first Latin senator whom he should meet in the house. The result was, the great Latin war.

Legati ad Hannibalem venerunt, pacemque cum eo con- U. C. 588.
ditionibus fecerunt: 'Ne quis imperator magistratusve A. C. 216.
' Poenorum jus ullum in civem Campanum haberet; neve 7.
' civis Campanus invitus militaret, munusve ficeret'; ut
'suæ leges, sui magistratus Capuæ essent; ut trecentos ex
' Romanis captivis Poenus daret Campanis, quos ipsi ele-
' gissent; cum quibus equitum Campanorum, qui in Sicilia⁸
' stipendia ficerent, permutatio fieret.' Hæc pacta: illa
insuper, quam quæ pacta erant, facinora Campani edide-
runt. Nam præfectos socium⁹ civesque Romanos alios, par-
tim aliquo militiæ munere occupatos, partim privatis ne-
gotiis implicitos, plebs repente omnes comprehensos, velut
custodiæ causa, balneis includi jussit: ubi, fervore atque
æstu¹ anima interclusa, fœdum in modum exspirarent.

Ea ne fierent, neu legatio mitteretur ad Poenum, summa
ope Decius Magius, vir, cui ad summam auctoritatem² nihil,
præter sanam civium mentem, defuit, restiterat. Ut vero
præsidium mitti ab Hannibale audivit, Pyrrhi superbam
dominationem, miserabilemque Tarentinorum servitutem,
exempla referens, primo, ne recipere tur præsidium, palam
vociferatus est: deinde, ut receptum aut ejiceretur, aut, si
malum facinus, quod a vetustissimis sociis consanguineisque
defecissent, forti ac memorabili facinore purgare vellent, ut,
interfecto Punico præsidio, restituerent se Romanis. Hæc
(neque enim occulte agebantur) quum relata Hannibali
essent, primo misit, qui vocarent Magium ad sese in castra:
deinde, quum is ferociter negasset se iturum, (nec enim
Hannibali jus esse in civem Campanum) concitatus ira
Poenus, comprehendi hominem vinctumque attrahi ad se

⁷ *Munusve ficeret.*] "Be laid under contribution;" sc. of money, men, &c.—λειτουργία.

⁸ *Equitum Campanorum, qui in Siciliâ &c.*] These knights afterwards went to Rome, when their term of service expired, and were enrolled as citizens.

⁹ *Præfectos socium.*] "Commanding officers of the allies," appointed subject to the approbation and sometimes independently of the consuls. *Nam*, "for instance."

¹ *Ubi, fervore atque æstu &c.*] "Where they met a horrible death, suffocated by heat and vapour."

² *Cui ad summam auctoritatem &c.*] "Who wanted nothing toward the possession of the highest personal influence, but common sense on the part of his countrymen. When he heard, however, that a garrison

was on its way from Hannibal, recalling to mind the insulting tyranny of Pyrrhus and the wretched subjection of the Tarentines, as precedents; he at first openly proclaimed against the admission of the garrison; and then, either that, if admitted," &c. When Pyrrhus established himself in Tarentum, his endeavours to maintain some appearance of military discipline, in a city as wealthy and soft and sensual as Capua, naturally suggested the idea of an arbitrary and tyrannical restraint. All dramatic exhibitions and festive and convivial meetings were interdicted; the citizens were kept under arms all day; and, after many of the principal inhabitants had left the city in disgust, the gates were guarded to prevent others following their example.

U. C. 538. jussit. Veritus deinde, ne quid³ inter vim tumultus, atque
 A. C. 216. ex concitatione animorum inconsulti certaminis oriretur, ipse, præmisso nuntio ad Marium Blosium prætorem Campanum, postero die se Capuæ futurum, proficiscitur e castris cum modico præsidio. Marius concione advocata edicit, ut frequentes cum conjugibus ac liberis obviam irent Hannibali. Ab universis id non obdienter modo⁴, sed enixe, favore etiam vulgi, et studio visendi tot jam victoris clarum imperatorem, factum est. Decius Magius nec obviam egressus est, nec, quo timorem aliquem ex conscientia⁵ significare posset, privatum se tenuit: in foro cum filio cipientibusque paucis otiose inambulavit, trepidante tota civitate ad excipiendum Poenum visendumque. Hannibal, ingressus urbem, senatum extemplo postulat, precantibusque inde primoribus Campanorum, ne quid eo die seriæ rei gereret, diemque ut ipse adventu suo festum⁶ latus ac libens celebraret; quanquam præceps ingenio in iram erat, tamen, ne quid in principio negaret, visenda urbe magnam diel partem consumpsit.

8. Diversatus est apud Ninnios Celeres, Stenium Pacuviumque, inclutos nobilitate ac divitiis. Eo Pacuvius Calavius, de quo ante dictum est, princeps factionis ejus, quæ traxerat rem ad Poenos⁷, filium⁸ juvenem adduxit, abstractum abs Decii Magii latere, cum quo ferocissime pro Romana societate adversus Punicum fœdus steterat; nec eum aut inclinata in partem alteram civitas⁹, aut patria majestas sententia depulerat. Huic tum pater juveni Hannibalem deprecando magis, quam purgando, placavit, victusque patris precibus lacrimisque etiam ad cœnam eum cum patre vocari jussit: cui convivio neminem Campanum, præterquam hospites, Jubelliumque Tauream, insignem bello virum, adhibiturus erat. Cœperunt epulari de die, et convivium non ex more Punico, aut militari disciplina esse; sed, ut in civitate atque etiam domo diti ac luxuriosa, omnibus voluptatum illecebris¹ instructum. Unus nec dominorum invitatione, nec ipsius interdum Hannibal, Calavii filius Perolla vinci potuit; ipse valetudinem excusans,

³ *Veritus deinde, ne quid &c.]* “Then, becoming apprehensive that some imprudent collision might take place amid the heat of confusion, and the excitement of passion,” &c.

⁴ *Non obdienter modo &c.]* “Not only submissively but enthusiastically.”

⁵ *Quo timorem aliquem ex conscientia &c.]* “By which he might have shown any conscious alarm.”

⁶ *Diemque—adventu suo festum.]*

“The day solemnized by his arrival.”

⁷ *Traxerat rem ad Poenos.]* “Supported the Carthaginian interest.”

⁸ *Filium.]* i.e. His own son.

⁹ *Inclinata—civitas.]* “But neither the tendency (or partiality) of the whole community,” &c.

¹ *Omnibus voluptatum illecebris.]*

“Every temptation to enjoyment—all the seductions of pleasure.”

patre animi quoque ejus haud mirabilem *interturbationem*³ U. C. 538.
causante. Solis ferme occasu patrem Calavium, ex convivio A. C. 216.
egressum, secutus filius ubi in secretum (hortus erat posticis
edium partibus) pervenerunt, 'Consilium,' inquit, 'affero,
'pater, quo non veniam solum peccati, quod defecimus ad
'Hannibalem, impetraturi ab Romanis, sed in multo majore
'dignitate et gratia simus Campani, quam unquam fuimus.'
Quum mirabundus pater, 'quidnam id esset consilii,' quæ-
reret; toga rejecta ab humero, latus succinctum gladio
nudat: 'Jam ego,' inquit, 'sanguine Hannibalis sanciam
'Romanum fœdus. Te id prius scire volui, si forte abesse,
'dum facinus patratur, malles.' Quæ ubi vidit audivitque
senex, velut si jam agendis⁴, quæ audiebat, interesset, amens
metu, 'Per ego te,' inquit, 'fili, quæcunque jura liberos
'jungunt parentibus, precor quæsoque, ne ante oculos pa-
'tris⁵ facere et pati omnia infanda velis. Paucæ horæ sunt,
'intra quas jurantes per quicquid deorum est, dextræ dex-
'tras jungentes, fidem obstrinximus, ut sacratas fide⁶ manus,
'digressi ab colloquio, extempro in eum armaremus? Ab
'hospitali mensa surgis, ad quam tertius Campanorum ad-
'hibitus es ab Hannibale, ut eam ipsam mensam cruentares
'hospitis sanguine? Hannibalem pater filio meo potui pla-
'care, filium Hannibali non possum? Sed sit nihil⁷ sancti,
'non fides, non religio, non pietas: audeantur infanda, si
'non perniciem nobis cum scelere afferunt. Unus aggres-
'surus es Hannibalem? Quid? illa turba tot liberorum
'servorumque; quid? in unum intenti omnium oculi;
'quid? tot dextræ, torpescen⁸te in amentia illa? Vultum
'ipsius Hannibalis, quem armati exercitus sustinere neque-
'unt, quem horret populus Romanus, tu sustinebis? et, alia
'auxilia desint, me ipsum ferire, corpus meum opponentem
'pro corpore Hannibal, sustinebis? Atque per meum
'pectus⁹ petendus ille tibi transfigendusque est. Deterrei
'hic sine te potius, quam illic vinci. Valeant preces apud
'te meæ, sicut pro te¹⁰ hodie valuerunt.' Lacrimantem inde
juvenem cernens, medium complectitur, atque, osculo

³ *Haud mirabilem interturbationem.*] "His father also pleading for him the not unnatural agitation of his mind."

⁴ *Velut si jam agendis &c.*] "As if he were already witnessing what he heard."

⁵ *Ne ante oculos patris &c.]* "Do not choose to do and suffer every thing horrible before your father's eyes."

⁶ *Ut sacratas fide &c.]* "Was it, that we should arm against him our

hands consecrated by the pledge?"

⁷ *Sed sit nihil.*] "But, let there be (granting that there be) nothing solemn, no honour, no religion, no duty."

⁸ *Torpescen⁸te.*] "Will they remain idle at such an act of madness?" The verb is to be referred to all the three nominatives.

⁹ *Atque per meum pectus.*] "And yet, it is through my breast," &c.

¹⁰ *Apud te—pro te.*] "To you—for you."

U. C. 538. hærens, non ante precibus abstitit, quam pervicit, ut gladium poneret, fidemque daret, nihil facturum tale. Tum
 A. C. 216. juvenis, 'Ego quidem,' inquit, 'quam patriæ debo¹, pietatem exsolvam patri. Tuam doleo vicem, cui ter proditæ patriæ sustinendum est crimen; semel, quum defec²tionis ab Romanis; iterum, quum pacis cum Hannibale fuisti auctor; tertio hodie, quum restituendæ Romanis Capuæ mora atque impedimentum es. Tu, patria, ferrum, quo pro te armatus hanc arcem³ hostium inii, quando parens extorquet, recipe.' Hæc quum dixisset, gladium in publicum trans maceriam horti abjecit: et, quo minus res suspecta esset, se ipse convivio reddidit.

10. Postero die senatus frequens datus Hannibali. Ubi prima ejus oratio⁴ perblanda ac benigna fuit, qua gratias egit Campanis, quod amicitiam suam Romanæ societati præposuissent: et inter cetera magnifica promissa pollicitus, brevi caput Italiæ omni Capuam fore, juraque inde cum ceteris populis Romanum etiam petiturum. Unum esse exsortem⁴ Punicæ amicitiae foederisque secum facti, quem neque esse Campanum, neque dici debere, Magium Decium. Eum postulare, ut sibi dedatur, ac se præsente de eo referatur, senatusque consultum fiat. Omnes in eam sententiam ierunt: quanquam magnæ parti et vir indignus ea calamitate, et haud parvo initio minui videbatur jus libertatis. Egressus curia, in templo magistratum consedit⁶, compre-

¹ *Quam patriæ debo &c.*] "The duty I owe to my country, I will fulfil to my father—for your sake I grieve, having to bear the guilt of having three times &c."

² *Quo pro te armatus hanc arcem &c.*] The reading approved by Gronovius, Drakenborch, and Crevier. Though this text has been the subject of some emendations, it supplies, as it stands, a sufficiently plausible meaning to render alterations superfluous—sc. "with which, armed in thy cause, I have entered this fortress, (i. e. this house.)"

Hanc arcem is sometimes understood in the sense of "this purpose, or, determination;" but only in association with the text of Minelli, sc. substituting for *inii, defendere volebam, hosti minimè parcens*, in which case *defendere* should signify to "vindicate, or realize." *Hosti minimè paroens* also may be either joined with *defendere volebam*, "and shewn no mercy to the enemy;"

or, with the following clause; thus, "not through consideration for an enemy, but, because my father wrests it from my hand." The Latin however will scarcely bear this; for, in such a position, *parcens* would have nothing to agree with. Further, it has been proposed to substitute *nimium* for *minimè*, and take *parcens* with *pater*. i. e. "Since my father too merciful to an enemy," &c. It may be doubted whether the order of the Latin words will admit of such a distortion as this would involve.

³ *Prima ejus oratio.*] "The opening of his address, his first words."

⁴ *Unum esse exsortem &c.*] "There was one man excluded from the friendship of Carthage and the treaty &c. who neither was nor ought to be called a Campanian."

⁵ *In templo magistratum consedit.*] Hannibal, occupying the place of "the prætor (Marius Blosius), took his seat in court."

hendique Decium Magium, atque ante pedes substitutum causam dicere jussit. Qui quum, manente ferocia animi, negaret lege foederis id cogi posse⁶, tum injectæ catenæ, ducique ante lictorem in castra est jussus. Quoad capite aperto est ductus, concionabundus incessit, ad circumfusam undique multitudinem vociferans: ‘Habetis libertatem, ‘Campani, quam petistis. Foro medio, luce clara, videntibus vobis, nulli Campanorum secundus, vinctus ad mortem rapior. Quid violentius Capua capta fieret? Ite obviam Hannibali, exornate urbem, diemque adventus ejus consecrate, ut hunc triumphum de cive vestro spectetis.’ Hæc vociferanti, quum moveri vulgus videretur, obvolutum caput est, ociusque rapi extra portam jussus. Ita in castra perducitur: extemploque impositus in navim, et Carthaginem missus; ne, motu aliquo Capuæ ex indignite rei orto, senatum quoque poeniteret dediti principis: et, legatione missa⁷ ad repetendum eum, ne aut negando rem, quam primam peterent, offendendi sibi novi socii; aut tribuendo, habendus Capuæ esset seditionis ac turbarum auctor. Navem Cyrenas detulit tempestas, quæ tum in ditione regum⁸ erant. Ibi quum Magius ad statuam Ptolemaei regis configisset, deportatus a custodibus Alexandriam ad Ptolemaeum, quum eum docuisset, contra jus foederis vinctum se ab Hannibale esse, vinculis liberatur; permisumque, ut rediret, seu Romam seu Capuam mallet. ‘Nec’ Magius ‘Capuam sibi tutam’ dicere⁹; ‘et Romam eo tempore, quo inter Romanos Campanosque bellum sit, trans fugæ magis, quam hospitis, fore domicilium. Nusquam malle, quam in regno ejus, vivere, quem vindicem atque auctorem habeat libertatis.’

Dum hæc geruntur, Q. Fabius Pictor legatus a Delphis Romam rediit, responsumque ex scripto recitavit. Divi quoque in eo erant¹⁰, quibus modo supplicaretur:

⁶ *Id cogi posse.*] If this phrase can be translated impersonally—and analogy would seem to favour such an interpretation—it would be a considerable improvement on the usual version; sc. “asserted that no such compulsion (or violence) could be used, consistently with the terms of the treaty.”

⁷ *Et, legatione missa.*] “And lest, in case an embassy should be sent to demand his return; either his new allies must be offended by the refusal of their first request; or, by granting it, a mover of discontent and sedition be kept in Capua.”

⁸ *Quæ tum in ditione regum &c.*] Cyrenaica (Pentapolis), consisting of Greek colonies, was at that time part of the dominions of Ptolemy Philopator. In Livy's time it was subject to Rome.

⁹ *Nec Magius—dicere &c.*] The compound negative is to be resolved, sc. “But Magius declared that Capua was not a safe place for him; and that Rome, at a time when,” &c. &c.

¹⁰ *Divi quoque in eo (responso) erant.*] “The Gods were also mentioned in it, relatively to the form in which they were to be severally worshipped.”

U.C. 538. *tum*¹, 'Si ita faxitis, Romani, vestræ res meliores faciliores-
A.C. 216. 'que erunt: magisque ex sententia respublica vestra vobis
'procedet, victoriaque duelli populi Romani erit. Pythio
'Apollini, respublica vestra bene gesta servataque, lucris
'meritis² donum mittitote, deque præda, manubii, spoliis-
'que honorem habetote: lasciviam³ a vobis prohibetote.'
Hæc ubi ex Græco carmine interpretata recitavit, tum
dixit, 'se oraculo egressum extemplo his omnibus divis
'rem divinam ture ac vino fecisse: jussumque ab templi
'antistite, sicut coronatus laurea⁴ corona et oraculum adisset,
'et rem divinam fecisset; ita coronatum navim ascendere,
'nec ante deponere eam, quam Romam pervenisset. Se,
'quæcunque imperata sint, cum summa religione ac dili-
'gentia exsecutum; coronam Romæ in aram Apollinis de-
'posuisse.' Senatus decrevit, ut eæ res divinæ supplica-
tionesque primo quoque tempore cum cura fierent.

Dum hæc Romæ atque in Italia geruntur, nuntius victoriæ ad Cannas Carthaginem venerat Mago Hamilcaris filius: non ex ipsa acie⁵ a fratre missus, sed retentus aliquot dies in recipiendis civitatibus Bruttiorum, quæque deficiebant⁶. Is, quum ei senatus datus esset, res gestas in Italia a fratre exponit: 'Cum sex imperatoribus⁷ eum, quorum
'quattuor consules, duo dictator ac magister equitum fue-
'rint, cum sex consularibus exercitibus acie conflixisse:
'occidisse supra ducenta millia hostium: supra quinqua-
'ginta millia cepisse. Ex quattuor consulibus duos occi-
'disse; ex duobus saucium alterum, alterum, toto exercitu
'amisso, vix cum quinquaginta hominibus effugisse. Ma-
'gistrum equitum, quæ consularis potestas sit⁸, fusum fuga-
'tumque: dictatorem, quia se in aciem nunquam commi-
'serit, unicum haberi imperatorem⁹. Bruttios Apulosque,

¹ *Tum.*] "After which, it said,"
&c.

² *Lucris meritis.*] (sc. ex) "from the benefits realized."

³ *Lasciviam.*] "Arrogance, presumption, insolent exultation."

⁴ *Coronatus laurea.*] Would express the idea sufficiently without *coronæ*, which appears to have been originally a marginal note. It was the usual practice of all who consulted oracles to wear those crowns.

⁵ *Non ex ipsa acie.*] "Not directly (or immediately) from the field."

⁶ *Quæque deficiebant.*] (sc. quæ-
cunque.) "Such of them as were becoming disaffected."

⁷ *Cum sex imperatoribus, &c.*]

"That he had met in the field six commanders, of whom four were Consuls," (more properly seven, of whom five were Consuls; Tib. Sempronius is omitted;) "two, a Dictator and Master of Horse: that of the four Consuls, two (Flaminius and P. Æmilius) had fallen; of the other two, one had been wounded (Scipio), and the other (Ter. Varro) had scarcely escaped (from Cannæ) with fifty men."

⁸ *Quæ consularis potestas sit.*]

"Which is an office of consular rank."
⁹ *Unicum haberi imperatorem.*]
"Was considered an eminent (matchless) general."

'partim Samnitium ac Lucanorum defecisse ad Pœnos: U.C. 538.
 'Capuam, quod caput, non Campaniæ modo, sed, post A.C. 216.
 'afflictam rem Romanam Cannensi pugna, Italæ sit, Han-
 'nibali se tradidisse. Pro his tantis totque victoriis, verum
 'esse, grates deis immortalibus agi haberique.' Ad fidem
 deinde tam lætarum rerum effundi in vestibulo curiæ jussit
 annulos aureos¹, qui tantus acervus fuit, ut, metentibus di-
 midium super tres modios explesse, sint quidam auctores.
 Fama tenuit, quæ propior vero est, haud plus fuisse modio.
 Adjecit deinde verbis, quo majoris cladis indicium esset,
 neminem, nisi equitem, atque eorum ipsorum primores, id
 gerere insigne. Summa fuit orationis², 'Quo propius spem
 'belli perficiendi sit, eo magis omni ope juvandum Hanni-
 'balem esse. Procul enim ab domo militiam esse, in media
 'hostium terra: magnam vim frumenti, pecuniæ, absumi³;
 'et tot acies, ut hostium exercitus delesse, ita victoris etiam
 'copias parte aliqua minuisse. Mittendum igitur supple-
 'mentum esse; mittendam in stipendum pecuniam fru-
 'mentumque tam bene meritis de nomine Punico mili-
 'tibus.'

12.

Secundum hæc dicta Magonis lætis omnibus, Himilco,
 vir factionis Barcinæ, locum Hannonis increpandi esse
 ratus, 'Quid est, Hanno?' inquit, 'etiam nunc pœnitet
 'belli suscepti adversus Romanos? Jube dedi Hannibalem:
 'veta in tam prosperis rebus grates diis immortalibus agi.
 'Audiamus Romanum senatorem in Carthaginiensium
 'curia.' Tum Hanno: 'Tacuissem hodie, Patres conscripti⁴,'

¹ *Annulos aureos.*] This incident is very closely paralleled by one in modern history. After the battle of Courtrai between the French and Flemish armies, in the time of Philip Le Bel (13th century), four thousand pairs of gold spurs were gathered on the field, attesting the almost total destruction of the chivalry of France. The action is popularly known as "the battle of the spurs."

² *Summa fuit orationis.*] "The burden of his address."

³ *Magnam vim frumenti, &c. absumi.*] "Great quantities of provisions, &c. were in course of expenditure (the consumption of provisions, &c. was large); and all those battles, while they had exterminated the armies of the enemy, had also, to some extent, diminished the forces of the conqueror." The motive that urged Hannibal to call for reinforcements was apparently the sound policy of maintaining if not a pre-

ponderance, at least a fair proportion of native troops in his army, increased as it must have been by his new alliances. It was on the same principle that young Scipio, on a later occasion, when drafting the crews of eighteen Carthaginian galleys into his own fleet, distributed them in such a manner, that they never formed more than one third of the complement of any ship. On the subject of foreign and auxiliary troops, it may not be uninteresting to quote a maxim of Lord Bacon from an old translation: "All examples," he says, "shew, that whatsoever estate or prince doth rest upon them, he may spread his feathers for a time, but he will mew them soon after."

⁴ *Patres conscripti.*] Here, as in the following chapter (sc. *bello Punico*), the historian inadvertently attributes to a Carthaginian Senator a form of words suited only to a Roman. It may not perhaps be very

U.C. 538. 'ne quid in communi omnium gaudio, minus lætum quod
 A.C. 216. 'esset vobis, loquerer. Nunc interroganti senatori, poeni-
 'teatne me adhuc suscepti adversus Romanos belli, si reti-
 'ceam, aut superbus, aut obnoxius⁵ videar: quorum alterum
 'est hominis alienæ libertatis obliti; alterum suæ. Re-
 'spondeam igitur Himilconi, non desisse pœnitere me
 'belli, neque desitum ante invictum vestrum imperato-
 'rem incusare, quam finitum aliqua tolerabili conditione⁶
 'bellum videro: nec mihi pacis antiquæ desiderium ulla
 'alia res, quam pax nova, finiet. Itaque ista, quæ modo
 'Mago jactavit, Himilconi ceterisque Hannibalis satelliti-
 'bus jam læta sunt. Mihi possunt læta esse', quia res
 'bello bene gestæ, si volumus fortuna uti, pacem nobis
 'æquiorem dabunt. Nam si prætermittimus hoc tempus,
 'quo magis dare, quam accipere, possumus videri pacem,
 'vereor, ne hæc quoque lætitia⁷ luxuriet nobis, ac vana
 'evadat. Quæ tamen⁸ nunc quoque qualis est? Occidi
 'exercitus hostium: mittite milites mihi. Quid aliud ro-
 'gares, si esses victus? Hostium cepi bina castra, prædæ
 'videlicet plena et commeatum: frumentum et pecuniam
 'date. Quid aliud, si spoliatus, si exutus castris esses, pe-
 'teres? Et, ne omnia ipse mirer¹, (mihi quoque enim, quo-
 'niam respondi Himilconi, interrogare jus fasque est) velim
 'seu Himilco, seu Mago respondeat; quum ad interneci-
 'onem Romani imperii pugnatum ad Cannas sit, constetque
 'in defectione totam Italiam esse; primum equis Latini
 'nominis populus defecerit ad nos? deinde equis homo,
 'ex quinque et triginta tribubus, ad Hannibalem transfu-

incorrect to address the Punic Senate as *Patres* of some sort; but in speaking of the war between the two countries, Hanno should have called it, according to all analogy, 'the Roman war.' The Carthaginian Senate consisted of one hundred members, who were also members of the several committees (of five each) which superintended the different departments of the Government, and were analogous to our Secretaries of State. The assembly resembled the Venetian Senate, as a jealous and exclusive oligarchy, more than any other supreme council of any period. About the time of this second Punic war, however, a democratic spirit was beginning to shew itself under the auspices of the Barcine family, and would probably have eventually prevailed, but for the total extinction of Carthaginian

nationality by the Romans.

⁵ *Aut superbus, aut obnoxius.*] "Either supercilious or servile."

⁶ *Aliquæ tolerabili conditione.*] "On some reasonable terms."

⁷ *Mihi possunt læta esse.*] "To me too they are capable of being gratifying, inasmuch as," &c.

⁸ *Ne hæc quoque lætitia, &c.*] "Lest this exultation also may become extravagant, and pass away (end) in disappointment."

⁹ *Quæ tamen.*] "And yet even now what does it mean?"

¹ *Ne omnia ipse mirer.*] "Not to be singular in considering every thing strange." These arguments of Hanno are sophistical; for it is quite possible that the crisis of a victory may be that in which a general will most need supplies, to maintain his position.

‘gerit?’ Quum utrumque Mago negasset: ‘Hostium qui- U.C. 538.
 ‘dem ergo,’ inquit, ‘adhuc nimis multum superest. Sed, A.C. 216.
 ‘multitudo ea quid animorum, quidve spei habeat, scire
 ‘velim.’ Quum, id nescire, Mago diceret; ‘Nihil facilius
 ‘scitu est,’ inquit. ‘Ecquos legatos ad Hannibalem Ro-
 ‘mani miserunt de pace? Ecquam denique mentionem
 ‘pacis Romæ factam esse, allatum ad vos est?’ Quum id
 quoque negasset, ‘Bellum igitur,’ inquit, ‘tam integrum’
 ‘habemus, quam habuimus, qua die Hannibal in Italiam
 ‘est transgressus. Quam varia victoria priore Punico bello
 ‘fuerit, plerique, qui meminerimus, supersumus. Nun-
 ‘quam terra marique magis prosperæ res nostræ visæ
 ‘sunt, quam ante consules C. Lutatium et A. Postumium’
 ‘fuerunt. Lutatio et Postumio consulibus devicti ad Æ-
 ‘gates insulas sumus. Quod si (id quod dii omen avertant)
 ‘nunc quoque fortuna aliquid variaverit; tum pacem spe-
 ‘ratis, quum vincemur, quam nunc, quum vincimus, dat
 ‘nemo? Ergo, si quis de pace consullet⁴, seu deferenda
 ‘hostibus, seu accipienda, habeo, quid sententiæ dicam: si
 ‘de iis, quæ Mago postulat, refertis, nec victoribus mitti
 ‘attinere puto, et frustrantibus nos falsa atque inani spe
 ‘multo minus censeo mittenda esse.’ Haud multos movit
 Hannonis oratio. Nam et simultas cum familia Barcina
 leviorem auctorem faciebat, et occupati animi præsenti
 lætitia nihil, quo vanius fieret gaudium suum, auribus ad-
 mittebant: debellatumque mox fore, si anniti paullulum
 voluissent, rebantur. Itaque ingenti consensu fit senatus-
 consultum, ut Hannibali quattuor Numidarum millia in
 supplementum mitterentur, et quadraginta elephanti, et
 argenti mille quinquaginta talenta⁵. Dictatorque⁶ cum

³ *Tam integrum.* [“As entire (as much of the war before us) as,” &c.]

³ *Ante consules C. Lutatium et A. Postumium.* [“Before the Consulship of C. Lutatius and A. Posthumius.”] Immediately before that decisive period, the Romans, drained of their last men and money, had been maintaining a fruitless blockade at Lilybæum, and Hamilcar Barca, from his fortified camp at Panormus (on *Monte Pellegrino*), not only commanded all the coast of Sicily, but made occasional descents on the shores of Bruttium, Lucania, and Campania.

⁴ *Ergo, si quis de pace consullet, &c.* [“For my part, if any one is going to put a question concerning peace to be offered to or accepted from the enemy, I have my vote

ready; but, if your question relates to the demands of Mago, I do not think it necessary that they should be granted to conquerors; and I am much farther from thinking that they should be granted to men who mock us with an unfounded and empty hope.”

⁵ *Argenti mille quinquaginta talenta.* [This reading has been substituted with good effect for that of the older editions, *multa talenta*; which was, most probably, a corruption of *mille quingenta talenta*. The latter number would be written *MVcta*, which, in MSS. might have been easily mistaken for *multa*.]

⁶ *Dictatorque.* [Here again, probably for want of the special name, Livy employs the nearest analogous phrase.]

U. C. 538. Magone in Hispaniam præmissus est, ad conducenda viginti
 A. C. 216. millia peditum, quattuor equitum, quibus exercitus, qui in
 Italia, quique in Hispania erant, supplerentur.

14. Ceterum hæc, ut in secundis rebus, segniter otioseque
 gesta. Romanos, præter⁷ insitam industriam animis, fortuna
 etiam cunctari prohibebat. Nam nec consul ulli rei, quæ
 per eum agenda esset, deerat⁸: et dictator M. Junius Pera,
 rebus divinis perfectis, latoque, ut solet, ad populum, ut
 equum escendere liceret⁹, præter duas urbanas legiones,
 quæ principio anni a consulibus conscriptæ fuerant, et ser-
 vorum delectum, cohortesque ex agro Piceno et Gallico¹
 collectas, ad ultimum prope desperatæ reipublicæ auxilium,
 quum honesta utilibus cedunt², descendit, edixitque: 'Qui
 'capitalem fraudem ausi³, quique pecuniæ judicati in vin-
 'culis essent, qui eorum apud se milites fierent, eos noxa
 'pecuniaque sese exsolfi jussurum.' Ea sex millia homi-
 num Gallicis spoliis, quæ triumpho C. Flaminii translata
 erant, armavit. Itaque cum viginti quinque millibus arma-
 torum ab urbe proficiscitur.

Hannibal, Capua recepta, quum iterum Neapolitanorum
 animos, partim spe, partim metu, nequicquam tentasset, in
 agrum Nolanum exercitum traducit: ut non hostiliter⁴ sta-
 tim, quia non desperabat voluntariam deditioem; ita, si
 morarentur spem, nihil eorum, quæ pati aut timere pos-
 sent, prætermissurus. Senatus, ac maxime primores ejus,
 in societate Romana cum fide perstare; plebs novarum,
 ut solet, rerum atque Hannibalis tota esse; metumque
 agrorum populationis, et patienda in obsidione multa gravia
 indignaque proponere animo. Neque auctores defectionis

⁷ *Romanos, præter, &c.]* "While the Romans, independently of their constitutional energy, were prevented by circumstances from losing time."

⁸ *Nec consul ulli rei—deerat.]* "The Consul omitted (forgot) nothing."

⁹ *Ut equum escendere liceret.]* The Dictator was forbidden by an old law to mount a horse; probably because, as the *Magister equitum* stood in the relation of commander-in-chief to all mounted soldiers, the Dictator, by appearing on horseback, would place himself, for the time, under the authority of his subordinate officer.

¹ *Agro Piceno et Gallico.]* This was the territory between the *Æs*is and the *Rubicon* (*Esino e Rugone*),

belonging originally to the *Senones*.

² *Quum honesta utilibus cedunt:]* "When principle gives way to expediency."

³ *Qui capitalem fraudem ausi, &c.]* "To all who had been guilty of capital offences, and were under execution for debt; such of these as would enlist," &c. Scaliger suggests that Livy most probably wrote *fraudem frausi*, such being the old technical phrase; and we find in Plautus, *ne quam fraudem frausus sit*.

⁴ *Ut non hostiliter, &c.]* "Though not, at first, in a hostile attitude, as he did not despair of a voluntary surrender; still, with a determination to reserve nothing that they could suffer or fear, if they obstructed his views."

deerant. Itaque ubi senatum metus cepit⁵, si propalam U. C. 538.
tenderent, resisti multitudini concitatæ non posse; clam A. C. 216.
simulando⁶ dilationem mali inveniunt. Placere enim sibi
defectionem ad Hannibalem simulant: quibus autem con-
ditionibus in foedus amicitiamque novam transeant, parum
constare. Ita spatio sumpto⁷, legatos propere ad prætorem
Romanum Marcellum Claudium, qui Casilini cum exercitu
erat, mittunt, docentque, quanto in discrimine sit Nolana
res: agrum Hannibalis esse et Poenorum, urbem extemplo
futuram, ni subveniatur. Concedendo plebei senatum⁸, ubi
velint, defecturos se, ne deficere præfestinarent, effecisse.
Marcellus, collaudatis Nolanis, eadem simulatione extrahi
rem in suum adventum jussit: interim celari, quæ secum
acta essent, spemque omnem auxiliū Romani. Ipse a
Casilino Calatiam⁹ petit: atque inde, Vulturno amni tra-
jecto, perque agrum Saticulanum Trebulanumque super
Suessulam per montes Nolam pervenit.

Sub adventum prætoris Romani Poenus agro Nolano
excessit, et ad mare proxime Neapolim descendit, cupidus
maritimi oppidi potiundi, quo cursus navibus tutus ex
Africa esset. Ceterum, postquam Neapolim a præfecto
Romano teneri accepit, (M. Junius Silanus erat, ab ipsis
Neapolitanis accitus) Neapoli quoque, sicut Nola, omissa,
petit Nuceriam¹. Eam quum aliquamdiu circumsedisset,
sæpe vi, sæpe sollicitandis nequicquam nunc plebe nunc
principibus, fame demum in deditio[n]em accepit, pactus, ut
inermes cum singulis abirent vestimentis. Deinde, ut qui

15.

⁵ *Ubi senatum metus cepit.*] “When the Senate became afraid that, if they held their way (by persisting) openly, the populace could not be resisted.

⁶ *Clam simulando.*] It has been observed here, that these words contradict each other, as *simulare* implies the open and visible exhibition of something unreal. Their connection, however, may be defended on the principle, that every pretence involves some concealment. All difficulty may be removed by joining *clam* with *inveniunt*, or reading, with Gronovius, *obsecundando* for *simulando*, on the analogy of a similar passage in l. iii. c. 35.

⁷ *Spatio sumpto.*] “Having secured a respite.”

⁸ *Concedendo plebei senatum.*] “The Senate, by satisfying the people that they were ready to revolt as soon as they pleased, had

succeeded in preventing,” &c.

⁹ *A Casilino Calatiam &c.*] Marcellus might have taken a more direct line to Nola, by crossing the Vulturnus where he was; but it was necessary to avoid Hannibal, who had taken that route, and to march round behind the mountains (the *Matese*).

¹ *Nuceriam.*] (Now *Nocera*). On a long subsequent occasion, its adherence, under not very dissimilar circumstances, to the cause of Rome, was the cause of another destruction. Having taken part with the Pope in “the great schism,” it provoked the resentment of Ruggiero, king of Naples, who razed the walls and dispersed the inhabitants. In more modern times, it has been called *Nocera dei Pagani*, from having been for some time in possession of the Saracens.

U. C. 538. a principio mitis omnibus Italicis, præter Romanos, videri
 A. C. 216. vellet, præmia atque honores, qui remanerent, ac militare secum voluissent², proposuit. Nec ea spe quemquam tenuit. Dilapsi omnes, quocunque hospitia aut fortuitus³ animi impetus tulit, per Campaniæ urbes, maxime Nolam Neapolimque. Quum ferme triginta senatores, ac forte primus quisque⁴, Capuam petissent, exclusi inde, quod portas Hannibali clausissent, Cumas se contulerunt. Nuceriæ præda militi data est, urbs direpta atque incensa. Nolam Marcellus non sui magis fiducia præsidii, quam voluntate principum, habebat. Plebes timebatur⁵, et ante omnes L. Bantius, quem consensus attentatæ⁶ defectionis, ac metus a prætore Romano, nunc ad proditionem patriæ, nunc, si ad id fortuna defuisset, ad transfugiendum stimulabat. Erat juvenis acer, et sociorum ea tempestate prope nobilissimus eques. Seminecem eum ad Cannas in acervo cæsorum corporum inventum, curatumque benigne, etiam cum donis Hannibal domum remiserat. Ob ejus gratiam meriti rem Nolanam in jus ditionemque dare voluerat Poeno: anxiumque eum et sollicitum cura novandi res prætor cernebat. Ceterum, quum aut poena cohibendus esset, aut beneficio conciliandus, sibi assumpsisse, quam hosti ademisse, fortem ac strenuum maluit socium, accitumque ad se benigne appellat: 'Multos eum invidos⁷ inter populares habere; inde existimatu facile esse, quod nemo civis Nolanus sibi indi- caverit, quam multa ejus egregia facinora militaria essent. 'Sed, qui in Romanis militaverit castris, non posse obscuram ejus virtutem esse. Multos sibi, qui cum eo stipendia fecerint, referre, qui vir esset ille, quæque et quoties pericula pro salute ac dignitate populi Romani adisset: utique Cannensi⁸ prælio non prius pugna abstiterit, quam prope exsanguis ruina superincidentium virorum, equorum, armorumque sit oppressus. Itaque macte virtute esto,' inquit. 'Apud me tibi omnis honos atque omne præmium erit: et, quo frequentior tecum fueris, senties eam rem tibi dignitati atque emolumento esse: lætoque juveni promissis equum eximium dono dat, bigatosque quingentos⁹ quæstorem nu-

² *Qui remanerent, ac—voluissent.*] "Who were staying there, and might be disposed to," &c.

³ *Hospitia aut fortuitus &c.*] "Wherever a friendly refuge or capricious impulse of fancy," &c.

⁴ *Ac forte primus quisque.*] "And, as it happened, all the highest of them."

⁵ *Plebes timebatur.*] (emphasis) "It was the populace that was dreaded."

⁶ *Consensus attentatæ &c.*] "His participation (complicity) in the attempted revolt."

⁷ *Multos eum invidos &c.*] The fact of his having many enemies was easy to infer, from the circumstance that no citizen of Nola," &c.

⁸ *Utique Cannensi &c.*] "And how, on the field of Cannæ," &c.

⁹ *Bigatosque (sc. denarios) quingentos*] δραχμὰς ἑργυρον τεντακόσιας, (Plutarch. Vit. Marc.)

merare jubet: licitoribus imperat, ut eum se adire, quoties ^{U. C. 588.} velit, patientur. Hac comitate Marcelli ferocis juvenis ^{A. C. 216.} animus adeo est mollitus, ut nemo inde sociorum rem Romanam fortius ac fidelius juverit, quum Hannibal ad portas esset, (Nolam enim rursus a Nuceria moverat castra) plebesque Nolana de integro ad defectionem spectaret.

Marcellus sub adventum hostium intra muros se recepit; non castris metuens, sed ne prodendæ¹ urbis occasionem nimis multis in eam imminentibus daret. Instrui deinde utrimque acies cœptæ, Romanorum pro mœnibus Nolæ, Poenorum ante castra sua. Proœlia hinc parva inter urbem castraque, et vario eventu fiebant: quia duces nec prohibere paucos temere² provocantes, nec dare signum universæ pugnæ volebant. In hac continua³ jam duorum exercituum statione principes Nolanorum nuntiant Marcello, 'Nocturna colloquia inter plebem ac Poenos fieri; statutumque esse, ut, quum Romana acies egressa portis iret, impedimenta eorum ac sarcinas⁴ diriperent, clauderent deinde portas, murosque occuparent, ut, potentes rerum suarum⁵ atque urbis, Poenum inde pro Romano acciperent.' Hæc ubi nuntiata sunt Marcello, collaudatis senatoribus Nolanis, priusquam aliquis motus intus oriretur, fortunam pugnæ experiri statuit. Ad tres portas in hostes versas tripartito exercitum instruxit: impedimenta subsequi jussit: calones lixasque et invalidos milites vallum ferre. Media porta robora legionum et Romanos equites, duabus circa portis novos milites levemque armaturam ac sociorum equites statuit. Nolani muros portasque adire vetiti; subsidiaque destinata⁶ impedimentis data, ne, occupatis proœlio legionibus, in ea impetus fieret. Ita instructi intra portas stabant. Hannibali, sub signis (id quod per aliquot dies fecerat) ad multum diei in acie stanti, primo miraculo esse, quod nec exercitus Romanus porta egredieretur, nec armatus quisquam in muris esset. Ratus deinde prodita colloquia esse, metuque resides factos, partem militum in castra remittit, jussos propere apparatum omnem oppugnandæ urbis in primam aciem afferre; satis fidens, si cunctantibus instaret, tumultum aliquem in urbe plebem moturam. Dum in sua quiske ministeria⁷ discursu trepidat ad prima signa, succeditque ad

¹ *Sed ne prodendæ &c.]* "But to avoid giving an opportunity of betraying the town to many who were anxiously awaiting it."

² *Temere.]* "Irregularly."

³ *In hac continua.]* "During this permanent position," &c.

⁴ *Impedimenta—sarcinas.]* i. e. The public baggage of the legions

and the personal moveables of the men.

⁵ *Potentes rerum suarum &c.]* "As soon as they should become masters of their own situation and of the city," &c.

⁶ *Subsidiaque destinata.]* "A special guard."

⁷ *Dum in sua quiske ministeria*

U. C. 538. muros acies, patefacta repente porta, Marcellus signa canere,
 A. C: 916. clamoremque tolli, ac pedites primum, deinde equites, quanto maximo possent impetu, in hostem erumpere jubet. Satis terroris tumultusque in aciem medium intulerant, quum duabus circa portis⁸ P. Valerius Flaccus et C. Aurelius legati in cornua hostium erupere. Addidere clamorem lixæ calonesque, et alia turba custodiæ impedimentorum apposita, ut paucitatem maxime spernentibus⁹ Pœnus ingentis repente exercitus speciem fecerint. Vix equidem ausim affirmare, quod quidam auctores sunt, duo millia et octingentos hostium cæsos; non plus quingentos Romanum amisisse. Sive tanta, sive minor¹ victoria fuit, ingens eo die res, ac nescio an maxima, illo bello gesta sit. Non vinci enim² ab Hannibale tunc vincentibus difficilis fuit, quam postea vincere.

Hannibal, spe potiundæ Nolæ adempta, quum Acerræ recessisset, Marcellus extemplo, clausis portis custodibusque dispositis, ne quis egredetur, quæstionem in foro de iis, qui clam in colloquiis hostium fuerant, habuit³: supra septuaginta damnatos proditionis securi percussit, bonaque eorum jussit publica populi Romani esse: et, summa rerum senatui⁴ tradita, cum exercitu omni profectus, supra Suesulam castris positis consedit. Pœnus, Acerræ⁵ primum ad voluntariam deditiōnem conatus pellicere, postquam obstinatos vidit, obsidere inde atque oppugnare parat. Ceterum Accerranis plus animi, quam virium, erat. Itaque, desperata

&c.] "While they were thrown into disorder in front by dispersing to their several duties."

⁸ *Duabus circa portis.*] "From the two gates at both sides."

⁹ *Paucitatem maxime spernentibus.*] "At the moment when they were regarding their small numbers with contempt." The adverb may be also taken with *paucitatem*, &c. "their small numbers especially," i.e. more than any other disability.

¹ *Sive tanta, sive minor.*] "Whether to that or a less extent."

² *Non vinci enim &c.*] "For, it was more difficult for the winners of that success to avoid being conquered by Hannibal, than it was thenceforth to continue victorious." Such are the moral influences of success and disappointment: the unsuccessful man finds his most formidable antagonist in his own feelings.

³ *Quæstionem—habuit.*] "Held

an investigation—instigated a trial." The sanguinary severity of Marcellus on such occasions was the most fatal obstacle to his success; his cruelty, for instance, to the Sicilians in Leontini alienated the whole allied army at a rather momentous crisis. In addition to their inhumanity, such acts of resentment are impolitic and irrational; for men have never yet been successfully subjected by mere terror, and the really guilty persons, in such cases, are always comparatively very few.

⁴ *Summū rerum senatui &c.*] "Resigning the government to the (local) Senate."

⁵ *Pœnus, Acerræ &c.*] "When the Carthaginian, having first endeavoured to tempt Accerræ to a voluntary surrender, found it obstinate," &c. This town stood higher up on the river than Casingum, and still retains the singular form of the ancient name.

tutela urbis, ut circumvallari mœnia viderunt, priusquam U. C. 538. continuarentur hostium⁶ opera, per intermissa munimenta A. C. 216. neglectasque custodias silentio noctis dilapsi, per vias inviaque, qua quemque aut consilium aut error tulit, in urbes Campaniæ, quas satis certum erat non mutasse fidem, per fugerunt.

Hannibal, Aceris direptis atque incensis, quum a Casilino dictatorem Romanum legionesque novas acciri nuntiassent, ne quis tam propinquis hostium castris Capuam quoque recurrat⁷, exercitum ad Casilinum ducit. Casilinum eo tempore quingenti Prænestini habebant, cum paucis Romanis Latinique nominis, quos eodem auditæ Cannensis clades⁸ compulerat. Hi, non confecto⁹ Præneste ad diem delectu, serius profecti domo, quum Casilinum ante adversæ pugnæ famam venissent, et aliis aggregarent sese Romanis sociisque, profecti a Casilino cum satis magno agmine irent; avertit eos retro Casilinum nuntius Cannensis pugnæ. Ibi quum dies aliquot, suspecti Campanis timentesque, caven-¹⁰dis¹ ac struendis in vicem insidiis traduxissent, jamque de

⁶ *Priusquam continuarentur hostium &c.]* “Before the enemy’s lines could be completed, escaping in the stillness of night through the unconnected works and neglected posts, they made their way by roads and through wilds to those cities of Campania, which, it was tolerably certain, had not changed their allegiance.”

⁷ *Ne quis—Capuam quoque recurrat.]* This reading is very generally regarded as incorrect. The obvious meaning is an allusion to some revulsion of sentiment in Capua; and, if we were to read *quid Capuae*, we might, without much violence, translate, “Lest any reaction should take place in Capua.” Gronovius suggests a still more decided alteration, sc. *ne quis Capuae motus oriretur*, or, *ne quid moveretur*. As the text stands, the only sense it can convey is, “lest any (of the exiled Roman party) should effect their return to Capua.”

⁸ *Audita Cannensis clades.]* “The news of the defeat,” &c.

⁹ *Hi, non confecto &c.]* “As these—having left home too late, for the enlistment at Præneste had not been completed by the specified time—had arrived at Casilinum be-

fore the announcement of the disastrous engagement, and effected a junction with the other Romans and allies; and as, on their way from Casilinum, they were marching in a tolerably numerous body, the intelligence of the action at Cannæ turned them back to Casilinum.” The emendations proposed by Drakenborch and Crevier would change the sentence to, *et alii aggregantibus Romanis sociisque profecti a Casilino cum satis magno agmine irent*. i. e. “And as, in company with other Romans and allies, leaving Casilinum, they were,” &c. This would present more unity in the sentence, but the alteration is scarcely worth the trouble, as we must in any case (in translation) repeat the conjunction. The new garrison, on this occasion, treated the natives of Casilinum in the same manner as the Campanians themselves had acted toward the people of Rhegium in the Tarentine war. The great importance of Casilinum was its situation, which commanded Capua and the passage of the Vulturnus.

¹⁰ *Suspecti—timentesque caven-¹⁰dis¹ &c.]* “Feared by and fearing &c. defeating and contriving mutual surprises.”

U. C. 538. Capuæ defectione agi, accipique Hannibalem satis pro certo haberent, interfectis nocte oppidanis, partem urbis, quæ cis *Vulturnum*² est, (eo enim dividitur amni) occupare: idque præsidium Casilini habebant Romani. Additur et *Perusina*³ cohors, homines quadringenti sexaginta, eodem nuntio, quo *Prænestini* paucos ante dies, Casilinum compulsi. Et satis ferme armatorum ad tam exigua mœnia, et flumine altera parte cincta, tuenda erat: penuria frumenti, nimium etiam ut videretur hominum, efficiebat.

18. Hannibal quum jam inde haud procul esset, Gætulos cum præfecto, nomine *Isalca*, præmittit: ac primo, si fiat colloquii copia⁴, verbis benignis ad portas aperiendas præsidiumque accipendum pellicere jubet: si in pertinacia perstent, rem gerere ac tentare, si qua parte invadere urbem possit. Ubi ad mœnia accessere, quia silentium erat⁵, solitudo visa; metuque concessum barbarus ratus, moliri portas et claustra refringere parat: quum, patefactis repente portis, cohortes duæ, ad id ipsum instructæ intus, ingenti cum tumultu erumpunt, stragemque hostium faciunt. Ita primis repulsi, *Mahabal*, cum majore robore virorum missus, nec ipse⁶ eruptionem cohortium sustinuit. Postremo Hannibal, castris ante ipsa mœnia oppositis, parvam urbem parvumque præsidium summa vi atque omnibus copiis oppugnare parat. Ac, dum instat laccisitque⁷, corona undique circumdatis mœnibus, aliquot milites et promptissimum quemque⁸, e muro turribusque ictos, amisit. Semel ultra erumpentes agmine elephantorum⁹ opposito prope interclusit, trepidosque compulit in urbem, satis multis, ut ex tanta paucitate, interfectis. Plures cecidissent, ni nox prælio intervenisset. Postero die omnium animi ad oppugnandum accenduntur; utique postquam corona aurea muralis proposita est, atque ipse dux castelli, plano loco positi, seguen oppugnationem *Sagunti*¹ expugnatoribus exprobrabat, Can-

² *Cis Vulturnum.*] “On the near side (the north) of the V.”

³ *Additur* (mid. voice) *Perusina* &c.] “A cohort of Perusians joined them,” lit. “added themselves.”

⁴ *Si fiat colloquii copia.*] “In case there should be an opportunity of conversation.”

⁵ *Quia silentium erat &c.*] “As all was silent, it looked like (was supposed to be) desertion; and the barbarian imagining that it was the submission of terror,” &c.

⁶ *Nec ipse.*] “Did not, any more than the others,” &c.

⁷ *Instat laccisitque.*] “Persisted in harassing.”

⁸ *Aliquot milites et promptissimum quemque.*] “Several soldiers, and those the most active.”

⁹ *Agmine elephantorum.*] On reference to l. xxi. c. 56, we find, that several elephants survived the passage of the Alps; in l. xxii. 2, it is stated, that after crossing the Apennines, but one survived. Some reinforcements must, then, have arrived in the mean time; for those which Mago had gone to Carthage to solicit, were not yet come.

¹ *Segnem oppugnationem Sagunti &c.*] “Taunted the captors of Saguntum with the slow progress of the siege.”

narum Trasimenique et Trebiæ singulos admonens universosque. ^{U.C. 538.} Inde vineæ quoque cœptæ agi cuniculique: nec ^{A.C. 216.} ad varios conatus² hostium aut vis ulla, aut ars deerat. Socii Romanorum propugnacula adversus vineas statuere, transversis cuniculis³ hostium cuniculos excipere, et palam et clam cœptis obviam ire; donec pudor etiam Hannibalem ab incepto avertit: castrisque communis, ac præsidio modico imposito, ne omissa res videretur, in hiberna Capuam ccessit.

Ibi partem majorem hiemis exercitum in tectis habuit, aduersus omnia humana mala⁴ sœpe ac diu duratum, bonis inexpertum atque insuetum. Itaque, quos nulla mali vicerat vis, perdidere nimia bona ac voluptates immodicæ; et eo impensius, quo avidius⁵ ex insolentia in eas se merserant. Somnus enim, et vinum, et epulæ, et scorta, balineaque, et otium, consuetudine in dies blandius, ita enervaverunt corpora animosque, ut magis deinde⁶ præteritæ victoriæ eos, quam præsentes tutarentur vires; majusque id peccatum ducis apud peritos artium militarium haberetur, quam quod non ex Cannensi acie protinus ad urbem Romanam duxisset. Illa enim cunctatio⁷ distulisse modo victoriam videri

² *Ad varios conatus.*] "Against their several attempts."

³ *Transversis cuniculis &c.*] "Crossed the enemy's mines at right angles."

⁴ *Adversus omnia humana mala &c.*] "Inured by many and long intervals to all the hardships of life, ignorant of and unused to indulgence; and, accordingly," &c. If Thucydides or Sallust, or some such philosopher, had recorded the Punic wars, we should never have been taught to believe that it was the enervating luxury of Capua that checked Hannibal's career of victory. The causes of the turn in the tide of war are to be sought much farther below the surface; if for no other reason, because the sensual indulgences of a single winter could never have so utterly demoralized or enfeebled an army of hardy veterans; and because the deterioration described by Livy and Polybius could have resulted only either from a short period of intense physical suffering and privation, or, from the progressive degeneracy of some successive generations. The real cause was the change which the character of the war assumed after the battle of Cannæ. The Romans

then began to understand the nature and requirements of the campaign, and the temper of the enemy; and the war consequently resolved itself into a trial of patience and perseverance, in which Hannibal's most powerful arm—his cavalry—became almost totally useless. Had the Romans continued to meet him in the field, or had Hannibal been only assisted by a corps of Macedonian engineers, or even by Archimedes—which would have been impossible during the life of Hiero—there is no reason to suppose that his victories would not have been repeated. And if the Carthaginian army did really become demoralized, the cause was rather their comparative inaction, and the cessation of their usual success, than the comforts and enjoyments of the Campanian capital.

⁵ *Quo avidius &c.*] "As they plunged into them the more greedily for their inexperience."

⁶ *Ut magis deinde.*] "That, thenceforth, it was rather their previous success, than their present strength, that supported them."

⁷ *Illa enim cunctatio.*] "For that hesitation may be regarded as

U. C. 53^a. potuit; hic error vires ademisse ad vincendum. Itaque,
 A. C. 216. hercule, velut si cum alio exercitu a Capua exiret, nihil us-
 quam pristinæ disciplinæ tenuit. Nam et redierunt pler-
 que scortis impliciti: et, ubi primum sub pellibus haberi
 cepti sunt, viaque et alias militaris labor excepit, tironum
 modo corporibus animisque deficiebant: et deinde per omne
 æstivorum tempus magna pars sine commeatibus ab signis
 dilabebantur: neque aliæ latebræ^b, quam Capua, desertori-
 bus erant.

19. Ceterum, mitescente jam hieme, educto ex hibernis milite,
 Casilinum redit. Ubi, quanquam ab oppugnatione cessatum
 erat^c, obsidio tamen continuata oppidanos præsidiumque ad
 ultimum inopiæ adduxerat. Castris Romanis Ti. Sempro-
 nius præerat, dictatore auspiciorum repetendorum causa
 profecto Romam. Marcellum, et ipsum cupientem^d ferre
 auxilium obsessis, et Vulturnus amnis inflatus aquis, et
 preces Nolanorum atque Acceranorum tenebant, Campanos
 timentium, si præsidium Romanum abscessisset. Gracchus,
 assidens tantum Casilino, quia prædictum^e erat dictatoris,
 ne quid absente eo rei gereret, nihil movebat: quanquam,
 quæ facile omnem patientiam vincerent, nuntiabantur a
 Casilino. Nam et, præcipitasse se^f quosdam non tolerantes
 famem, constabat; et stare inermes in muris, nuda corpora
 ad missilium telorum ictus præbentes. Ea ægre patiens
 Gracchus, quum neque pugnam conserere dictatoris injussu
 auderet, (pugnandum autem esse, si palam frumentum im-
 portaret, videbat) neque clam importandi spes esset, farre,
 ex agris circa undique convecto, quum complura dolia com-
 plessent, nuntium ad magistratum Casilinum misit, ut exci-
 perent dolia, quæ amnis deferret. Insequenti nocte,
 intentis omnibus in flumen ac spem ab nuntio Romano fac-
 tam, dolia medio missa amni defluxerunt. Æqualiter inter
 omnes frumentum divisum. Id postero quoque die ac
 tertio factum est. Nocte et mittebantur et perveniebant:
 eo custodias hostium fallebant. Imbribus deinde continuis
 citatior solito amnis, transverso vortice dolia impulit ad

having merely postponed a victory; this mistake as having destroyed the strength to conquer." Here again, the historian judges too superficially; for the victory that might have followed the blow struck at Cannæ, could not be *postponed*. It must have been either secured at once, or abandoned for ever.

^a *Neque aliæ latebræ.*] "And the retreat of the deserters was no other than Capua."

^b *Ab oppugnatione cessatum erat.*] "The assault had been discontinued."

^c *Marcellum, et ipsum cupientem &c.*] "Marcellus, who also desired to bring relief to the besieged, the river Vulturnus, swollen by the rain, and the entreaties of &c. &c. detained."

^d *Prædictum.*] "Warning."

^e *Præcipitasse se.*] sc. From the walls, or, into the river.

ripam, quam hostes servabant. Ibi hærentia inter obnata ^{U. C. 538.} ripis salicta conspiciuntur: nuntiatumque Hannibali est, et ^{A. C. 216.} deinde intentiore custodia⁴ caustum, ne quid falleret Vulturno ad urbem missum. Nuces tamen fusæ ad Romanis castris, quum medio amni ad Casilinum defluenter, cratibus excipiebantur. Postremo ad id ventum inopizæ est, ut lora detractasque scutis pelles, ubi fervida mollissent aqua, mandere conarentur, nec muribus aliove animali abstinerent, et omne herbarum radicumque genus aggeribus infimis muri eruerent; et, quum hostes obarassent⁵, quicquid herbidi terreni extra murum erat, raporum semen injecerunt, ut Hannibal, ‘Eone usque, dum ea nascantur, ad Casilinum sessurus sum?’ exclamaret: et, qui nullam antea pactionem auribus admiserat, tum demum agi secum est passus de redemptione liberorum capitum. Septunces auri⁶ in singulos pretium convenit. Fide accepta, sese tradiderunt: donec omne aurum persolutum est, in vinculis habiti: tum remissi Cumas cum fide. Id verius est, quam ab equite in abeuntes immisso imperfectos. Prænestini maxima pars fuere. Ex quingentis septuaginta, qui in præsidio fuerunt, minus dimidium ferrum famesque absumpsit: ceteri incolumes Prænesti cum prætore suo M. Anicio (scriba is antea fuerat) redierunt. Statua ejus indicio fuit, Prænesti in foro statuta, loricata, amicta toga, velato capite; et tria signa cum titulo lammæ æneæ inscripto, ‘M. Anicum pro militibus, qui Casilini in præsidio fuerint, votum vovisse.’ Idem titulus tribus signis in æde Fortunæ positis fuit subiectus. Casilinum oppidum redditum Campanis est, firmatum septingentorum militum de exercitu Hannibalis præsidio; ne, ubi Poenus inde abscessisset, Romani oppugnarent. Prænestinis militibus senatus Romanus duplex stipendum et quinquennii militiae vacationem decrevit. Civitate quum donarentur ob virtutem, non mutaverunt⁷. Perusinorum casus obscurior fama est; quia nec ipsorum monumento ullo est illustratus, nec decreto Romanorum.

Eodem tempore Petelinos, qui uni⁸ ex Bruttis manserant

⁴ *Deinde intentiore custodiæ.*] “After that, the precaution of a more diligent watch was adopted against any thing being secretly conveyed by the Vulturnus to the town.”

⁵ *Quum hostes obarassent.*] “Though the enemy had ploughed up all the green soil.”

⁶ *Septunces auri &c.*] “Seven ounces of gold for each.” This sum they were enabled to pay out

of the plunder of the town, which they had previously seized.

⁷ *Non mutaverunt.*] “They did not accept the change;” i. e. did not avail themselves of their new privileges. A similar refusal is recorded of the three nations of the Hernici. (l. ix. c. 43.)

⁸ *Petelinos, qui uni &c.*] We find afterwards (c. 30.) that Consentia also remained faithful to the cause of Rome. All the other

U.C. 538. in amicitia Romana, non Carthaginenses modo, qui regio-
 A.C. 216. nem obtinebant, sed Brutii quoque ceteri, ob separata ab
 se consilia, oppugnabant. Quibus quum obsistere malis
 nequirent Petelini, legatos Romanos ad præsidium petendum
 miserunt. Quorum preces lacrimæque⁹ (in questus enim
 flebiles, quum sibimet ipsi consulere jussi sunt, sese in ve-
 stibulo curiæ profuderunt) ingentem misericordiam Patribus
 ac populo moverunt. Consultique iterum a M'. Pomponio
 prætore Patres, circumspectis omnibus imperii viribus, fateri
 coacti, nihil jam longinquis sociis in se præsidii esse, redire
 domum¹, fideque ad ultimum expleta, consulere sibimet ipsos
 in reliquum præsenti fortuna jusserunt. Hæc postquam
 renuntiata legatio Petelinis est, tantus repente mœror pa-
 vorque senatum eorum cepit, ut pars profugiendi, qua quis-
 que posset, ac deserendæ urbis auctores essent; pars,
 quando deserti a veteribus sociis essent, adjungendi se
 ceteris Bruttiis, ac per eos dedendi Hannibali. Vicit tamen
 ea pars, quæ nihil raptim nec temere agendum, consulendu-
 mque de integro censuit. Re laxata² postero die per
 minorem trepidationem tenuerunt optimates, ut, convectis
 omnibus ex agris, urbem ac muros firmarent.

21. Per idem fere tempus literæ ex Sicilia Sardiniaque Ro-
 manam allatæ. Priors ex Sicilia T. Otacilii proprætoris in
 senatu recitatæ sunt: 'P. Furium prætorem cum classe ex
 'Africa Lilybæum venisse: ipsum graviter saucium in dis-
 'crimine ultimo vitæ esse. Militi et navalibus sociis neque
 'stipendium, neque frumentum ad diem³ dari; neque, unde
 'detur, esse. Magnopere suadere, ut quam primum ea
 'mittantur; sibique, si ita videatur, ex novis prætoribus
 'successorem mittant.' Eademque ferme de stipendio fru-
 mentoque ab A. Cornelio Mammula proprætore ex Sardinia
 scripta. Responsum utrisque, non esse, unde mitteretur:
 jussique ipsi classibus atque exercitibus suis consulere.
 T. Otacilius, ad unicum subsidium populi Romani Hieronem⁴

Bruttians had by this time taken
 up arms for Carthage, and joined
 the foreign forces under Himilco.

⁹ *Quorum preces lacrimæque &c.*] "And their prayers and tears—for
 they broke forth into loud sorrow
 at the door of the house when re-
 quired to protect themselves—awakened
 the sincere sympathy of," &c.

¹ *Redire domum &c.*] "They
 bade them return home, and as
 they had maintained their allegiance
 to the last, to take measures for
 themselves thenceforth, under exist-
 ing circumstances."

² *Re laxatæ.*] i. e. Laxamento

dato. "The case appearing less
 urgent." It is almost certain, how-
 ever, that Crevier's emendation re-
 stores the original reading, *relatæ—*
re tenuerunt, and this is further
 confirmed by the appearance of *reti-
 nuerunt* in some MSS.

³ *Frumentum ad diem.*] Either,
 "their daily provisions," (rations,) or,
ad diem (sc. constitutam) *dari*,
 "were distributed regularly," (in
 time.)

⁴ *Hieronem*] This timely act
 of generosity is believed to have
 been the last public act of Hiero.

legatos quum misisset, in stipendium, quanti argenti opus U. C 538. fuit, et sex mensium frumentum accepit. Cornelio in Sar. A. C. 216. dinia civitates sociæ benigne contulerunt. Et Romæ quoque propter penuriam argenti triumviri mensarii⁵, rogatione M. Minucii tribuni plebis, facti, L. Aemilius Papus, qui consul censorque fuerat, et M. Atilius Regulus, qui bis consul fuerat, et L. Scribonius Libo, qui tum tribunus plebis erat. Et duumviri creati, M. et C. Atilii, ædem Concordiæ, quam L. Manlius prætor voverat, dedicaverunt. Et tres pontifices creati, Q. Cæcilius Metellus, et Q. Fabius Maximus, et Q. Fulvius Flaccus, in locum P. Scantinii demortui, et L. Aemilii Paulli consulis, et Q. Aelii Pæti, qui ceciderant pugna Cannensi.

Quum cetera, quæ continuis cladibus fortuna minuerat, quantum consiliis humanis assequi poterant, Patres exples- sent; tandem se quoque et solitudinem curiæ, paucitatemque convenientium ad publicum consilium respexerunt. Neque enim post L. Aemilium et C. Flaminium censores senatus lectus fuerat, quum tantum senatorum⁶ adversæ pugnæ, ad hoc sui quemque casus per quinquennium absumpsissent. Quum de ea re M. Pomponius prætor, dictatore post Casilinum amissum profecto jam ad exercitum, exposcentibus cunctis retulisset; tum Sp. Carvilius, quum longa oratione non solum inopiam, sed paucitatem etiam civium, ex quibus in Patres legerentur, conquestus esset, explendi senatus causa, et jungendi artius Latini nominis cum populo Romano, magnopere⁷ se suadere dixit, ut ex singulis populis Latinorum, binis senatoribus, si Patres Romani censuissent, civitas daretur, atque in demortuorum locum in senatum legerentur. Eam sententiam haud æquioribus animis, quam ipsorum quondam postulatum Latinorum, Patres audierunt: et, quum fremitus indignantium tota curia esset, et præcipue T. Manlius⁸, 'esse etiam nunc

22.

⁵ *Triumviri mensarii.*] "Three commissioners of finance, banking commissioners." Independently of the expenses of the war, the want of money was occasioned by the revolt of several towns, from which the exchequer would have been, otherwise, receiving contributions; by the hostile occupation of large tracts of land, and the destruction of crops; by the deaths in battle of many tax-payers, whose bereaved families could not supply the deficiency; and by the dread of borrowing money at interest, as the poorer citizens had done, to their

sore cost, after the Gallic invasion. "In war," says Gibbon, "the worst sufferings fall upon the most innocent and helpless."⁹

⁶ *Quum tantum senatorum &c.*] "Though the calamities of war, in addition to personal casualties, had been removing so many," &c.

⁷ *Magnopere.*] "Earnestly, seriously."

⁸ *Et præcipue T. Manlius &c.*] "And Manlius in particular declared that there still lived a man of that family, one of whom, a consul, had once threatened in the Senate," &c. (See note c. 6, above.)

U. C. 538. 'stirpis ejus virum,' diceret, 'ex qua quondam in Capitolio
 A. C. 216. 'consul minatus esset, quem Latinum in curia vidisset, eum
 'sua manu se interfectorum ;' Q. Fabius Maximus, 'Nun-
 'quam rei ullius alieniore tempore⁹ mentionem factam in
 'senatu,' dixit, 'quam inter tam suspensos sociorum ani-
 'mos incertamque fidem id tactum¹, quod insuper sollicita-
 'ret eos. Eam unius hominis temerariam vocem silentio
 'omnium extinguendam esse: et, si quid unquam arcani²
 'sanctive ad silendum in curia fuerit, id omnium maxime
 'tegendum, oculendum, obliviscendum, pro non dicto ha-
 'bendum esse.' Ita ejus rei oppressa mentio est. Dicta-
 torem, qui censor ante fuisse, vetustissimusque³ ex iis, qui
 viverent, censoris esset, creari placuit, qui senatum legeret:
 accirque C. Terentium consulem ad dictatorem dicendum
 jusserunt. Qui, quum ex Apulia, relicto ibi præsidio,
 magnis itineribus Romanam redisset, nocte proxima, ut mos
 erat, M. Fabium Buteonem ex senatusconsulto sine magistro
 equitum dictatorem et sex menses dixit. Is, ubi cum licto-
 ribus in Rostra escendit, 'neque duos dictatores tempore
 23. 'uno, quod nunquam antea factum esset, probare se,' dixit:
 'neque dictatorem⁴ se sine magistro equitum: nec censoriam
 'vim uni permissam, et eidem iterum: nec dictatori, nisi
 'rei gerendæ causa creato, in sex menses datum imperium.
 'Quæ immoderata⁵ fors, tempus ac necessitas fecerint, iis se
 'modum impositurum. Nam neque senatu quemquam
 'moturum ex iis, quos C. Flaminius, L. Æmilius censores
 'in senatum legissent: transscribi⁶ tantum recitarique eos
 'jussurum; ne penes unum hominem judicium arbitrium-
 'que de fama ac moribus senatoris fuerit: et ita in demor-
 'tuorum locum sublecturum, ut ordo ordini, non homo ho-
 'mini prælatus videretur.' Recitato vetere senatu, inde
 primos in demortuorum locum legit, qui post L. Æmilium
 et C. Flaminium censores curulem magistratum cepissent,
 nequid in senatum lecti essent; ut quisque eorum primus⁷
 creatus erat: tum legit, qui ædiles, tribuni plebei, quæsto-

⁹ *Alieniore tempore.*] "At a more unlucky (unseasonable) moment."

¹ *Id tactum.*] "Such a question should be started."

² *Si quid unquam arcani &c.*] "With whatever secrecy and solemnity had ever tended to secure silence."

³ *Vetustissimusque.*] "The senior of the ex-censors then living."

⁴ *Neque dictatorem &c.*] It was contrary to precedent that there should be two dictators and but one

censor at a time; and contrary to law that the same man should be censor a second time.

⁵ *Quæ immoderata &c.*] "The irregularities which accident, occasion, and necessity had created, he would restrain within due limits."

⁶ *Transscribi.*] i. e. So as to contain only the names of the survivors.

⁷ *Ut quisque eorum primus.*] "In the order in which they had been successively elected" (to the curule offices).

resve fuerant: tum ex iis, qui magistratus non cepissent, U. C. 538.
qui spolia ex hoste fixa domi haberent, aut civicam coronam A. C. 216.
acepissent. Ita, centum septuaginta septem cum ingenti
approbatione hominum in senatum lectis, extemplo se ma-
gistratu abdicavit, privatusque de Rostris descendit, lictori-
bus abire jussis: turbæque se immiscuit privatas agentium
res, tempus hoc sedulo terens, ne deducendi sui causa po-
pulum de foro abduceret. Neque tamen elanguit cura•
hominum ea mora, frequentesque eum domum deduxerunt.
Consul nocte insequenti ad exercitum rediit, non facto
certiore senatu, ne comitiorum causa in urbe retineretur.

Postero die consultus a M' Pomponio prætore senatus
decrevit, dictatori scribendum, uti, si e republica censeret
esse, ad consules subrogandos veniret cum magistro equi-
tum et prætore M. Marcello, ut ex iis præsentibus noscere
Patres possent, quo statu respæblica esset, consiliaque ex
rebus caperent. Qui acciti erant, omnes venerunt, relictis
legatis, qui legionibus præcessent. Dictator, de se pauca
ac modice locutus, in magistrum equitum, Ti. Sempronium
Gracchum, magnam partem gloriæ vertit; comitiaque
edixit, quibus L. Postumius tertium absens, qui tum Gal-
liam provinciam obtinebat, et Ti. Sempronius Gracchus,
qui tum magister equitum et ædilis curulis erat, consules
crearentur⁸. Prætores inde creati, M. Valerius Lævinus,
Ap. Claudius Pulcher, Q. Fulvius Flaccus, Q. Mucius Scæ-
vola. Dictator, creatis magistratibus, Teanum¹ in hiberna
ad exercitum rediit, relicto magistro equitum Romæ: qui,
quum post paucos dies magistratum initurus esset, de exerci-
tibus scribendis comparandisque in annum Patres consuleret.

Quum eæ res maxime agerentur, nova clades nuntiata,
aliam super aliam² cumulante in eum annum fortuna: L. Po-
stumium, consulem designatun, in Gallia ipsum atque ex-
ercitum deletos. Silva erat vasta, (Litanam Galli vocabant³)
qua exercitum traducturus erat. Ejus silvæ dextra læva-
que circa viam Galli arbores ita inciderant, ut immotæ sta-
rent⁴, momento levi impulsæ occiderent. Legiones duas

⁸ *Elanguit cura.*] “But the enthusiasm of the people did not die away (cool down),” &c.

⁹ *Comitiaque—quibus—consules crearentur.*] If this reading be retained, the sentence would imply, that the election of the two individuals named was part of the proclamation, which would be inconsistent with the principle of free election. There can be scarcely a doubt that Livy wrote *creantur*.

¹ *Teanum.*] sc. Sidicinum, on the

Appian road.

² *Aliam super aliam.*] “In con-
stant succession.”

³ *Litanam Galli vocabant.*] This forest was the scene of a defeat inflicted on the Gauls, some years afterwards, by Valerius Flaccus, on which occasion they lost 8,000 men.

⁴ *Ut immotæ starent, &c.*] “That they stood while unshaken, and when moved by a slight impulse would fall.”

U.C. 538. Romanas habebat Postumius, sociūmque ab supero mari
A.C. 216. tantum conscripserat, ut viginti quinque millia armatorum in agros hostium induxerit. Galli oram extremæ silvæ⁵ quum circumsedissent, ubi intravit agmen saltum, tum extremas arborum succisarum impellunt: quæ, alia in aliam⁶, instabilem per se ac male hærentem, incidentes, ancipi strage arma, viros, equos obruerunt, ut vix decem homines effugerent. Nam quum exanimati plerique essent arborum truncis fragmentisque ramorum, ceteram quoque multitudinem, inopinato malo trepidam, Galli, saltum omnem armati circumsedentes, interfecerunt; paucis e tanto numero captis, qui, fluminis pontem petentes, obsesso ante ab hostibus ponte interclusi sunt. Ibi Postumius, omni vi, ne caperetur, dimicans, occubuit. Spolia corporis caputque ducis præcismum Boii ovantes templo, quod sanctissimum est apud eos, intulere. Purgato inde capite, ut mos iis est, calvam auro cœlavere⁷: idque sacrum vas⁸ iis erat, quo solennibus libarent: poculumque idem sacerdoti esse, ac templi antistitibus. Præda quoque haud minor Gallis, quam victoria, fuit. Nam etsi magna pars animalium strage silvæ

[5 Oram extremæ silvæ.] “The outskirts of the forest.”

[6 Quæ, alia in aliam, &c.] “And these, as they fell successively against the others which were unsteady and slightly attached, buried arms, horses, and men under the surrounding ruin, so that, &c.”

[7 Calvam auro cœlavere.] “Embossed the skull with gold.” A more recent period of Italian history furnishes a similar story of a skull, the desecration of which was followed by tragical consequences. Alboin, king of the Lombards, (in the reign of Justin II. the nephew of Justinian,) having slain Cunimund king of the Gepidæ in battle, made a drinking-cup of his skull, according to the national custom, and at the same time, strange to tell, married his enemy’s daughter, Rosamond, by whose beauty he had been captivated. Some time after, on the capture of Pavia, he sent to the queen, from his own table where he was celebrating his victory, her father’s skull filled with wine, together with an insulting message. Dissembling her resentment for the moment, she immediately entered into a conspiracy with two of the king’s officers

to assassinate him. The conspiracy was successful; but she was eventually compelled to take flight in company with one of the murderers. The skull of Cunimund was preserved for 200 years among the Lombards.

The popularity of this practice among the northern nations may be inferred from the fact, that it was anticipated as one of the enjoyments of the Valhala, and that they numbered their victories by such trophies, as the North-American Indians by scalps. In the translation of the song of Lodbrok, in an Edda, we find the lines;

“Bliss eternal shall be mine
 Where the halls of Odin shine:
 To him, great sire, my deeds are known;
 For me he has prepared a throne,
 Where richest ale for ever flows
 In the hollow skulls of foes.”

[8 Idque sacrum vas &c.] Either, “such was (usually) their consecrated cup;” or, “this (particular skull) became,” &c. The ancient Scythians also held a periodical festival, where those who had slain enemies drank from their skulls; the quantity of wine allowed to each being proportioned to the number of his trophies.

oppressa erat, tamen ceteræ res, quia nihil dissipatum fuga ^{U. C. 538.}
est, stratae per omnem jacentis agminis ordinem inventæ sunt. ^{A. C. 216.}

Hac nuntiata clade⁹, quum per dies multos in tanto pavore
fuisset civitas, ut, tabernis clausis, velut nocturna solitudine
per urbem acta, senatus ædilibus negotium daret, ut urbem
circumirent, aperirique tabernas, et moestitiæ publicæ spe-
ciem urbi demi juberent; tum Ti. Sempronius senatum
habuit, consolatusque Patres est, et adhortatus, ‘ne, qui
‘Cannensi’ ruinæ non succubuisserint, ad minores calamita-
tes animos summitterent. Quod ad Carthaginenses hostes
‘Hannibalemque attinet¹⁰, prospera modo essent, sicut spe-
raret futura, Gallicum bellum et omitti tuto¹¹ et differri
posse: ultiō nemque eam fraudis in deorum ac populi Ro-
mani potestate fore. De hoste Pœno¹² exercitibusque, per
‘quos id bellum gereretur, consultandum atque agitandum.’
Ipse primum, quid peditum equitumque, quid civium, quid
sociorum in exercitu esset dictatoris, disseruit. Tum Mar-
cellus suarum copiarum summam exposuit. Quid in
Apulia cum C. Terentio consule esset, a peritis quæsitum
est. Nec, unde consulares¹³ exercitus satis firmi ad tantum
bellum efficerentur, inibatur ratio. Itaque Galliam, quan-
quam stimulabat justa ira, omitti eo anno placuit. Exer-
citus dictatoris consuli decretus est. De exercitu Marcelli,
qui eorum ex fuga Cannensi essent, in Siciliam eos traduci,
atque ibi militare, donec in Italia bellum esset, placuit.
Eodem ex dictatoris legionibus rejici militem minimi quem-
que roboris, nullo præstituto¹⁴ militiæ tempore, nisi qui sti-
pendiorum legitimorum esset. Duæ legiones urbanæ

⁹ *Hac nuntiata clade.*] “On the announcement of this loss, when the public were for several days in such alarm that, as the shops were closed and a loneliness as if of night overhung the city, the Senate commissioned,” &c.

¹⁰ *Ne, qui Cannensi &c.*] “That, as they had not bowed beneath the calamity of Cannæ, they should not bend their courage to smaller losses.”

¹¹ *Quod—attinet &c.*] The oblique oratio requires that we should substitute *attineret*. “With respect to the Carthaginians and Hannibal, if things turned out favourably as he hoped they would.”

¹² *Gallicum bellum et omitti tuto &c.*] It is remarkable that, after the destruction of Posthumius and his army, the Gauls did really refrain from any further hostilities

during the war, though the lost army was not replaced. It was also a strange coincidence, that those same Gauls, though in arms before and after, had remained quiet during the first Punic war. It would appear that there must have been some understood reason for this forbearance, as the words attributed here to Sempronius would imply that he calculated upon it.

¹³ *De hoste Pœno.*] (emphasis) “It was for the Carthaginian enemy and the armies &c. that it was necessary to,” &c.

¹⁴ *Nec, unde consulares &c.*] “But no expedient was adopted by which the consular armies could be made sufficiently strong,” &c.

¹⁵ *Nullo præstituto &c.*] No term of service being defined, except for those who had completed their full time.”

U.C. 538. alteri consuli, qui in locum L. Postumii suffectus esset, de-
 A.C. 216. cretæ sunt: eumque, quum primum salvis auspiciis posset, creari placuit. Legiones præterea duas primo quoque tempore ex Sicilia acciri: atque inde⁷ consul, cui legiones urbanæ evenissent, militum sumeret quantum opus esset. C. Terentio consuli propagari in annum imperium: neque de eo exercitu, quem ad præsidium Apuliæ haberet, quicquam minui⁸.

26. Dum hæc in Italia geruntur apparanturque, nihilo segnus in Hispania bellum⁹ erat: sed ad eam diem magis prosperum Romanis. P. et Cn. Scipionibus inter se partitis copias, ut Cnæus terra, Publius navibus rem gereret; Hasdrubal Pœnorum imperator, neutri parti virium satis fidens, procul ab hoste, intervallo ac locis tutus, tenebat se: quoad multum ac diu obtestanti quattuor millia peditum et quingenti equites in supplementum missi ex Africa sunt. Tum, refecta tandem spe, castra propius hostem movit: classemque et ipse instrui paraque jubet ad insulas maritimamque oram tutandam. In ipso impetu movendarum¹ de integro rerum perculit eum præfectorum navium transitio: qui, post classem ad Iberum per pavorem desertam graviter increpiti, nunquam deinde satis fidi aut duci, aut Carthaginiensium rebus fuerant. Fecerant hi transfuge motum in Carpesciorum² gente, desciverantque iis auctoribus urbes aliquot: una etiam ab ipsis vi capta fuerat. In eam gentem versus ab Romanis bellum est; infestoque exercitu Hasdrubal ingressus agrum hostium, pro captæ ante dies³ paucos urbis mœnibus, Galbum, nobilem Carpesciorum ducem, cum valido exercitu castris sese tenentem, aggredi statuit. Præmissa igitur levi armatura, quæ eliceret hostes ad certamen, peditum partem ad depopulandum per agros passim dimisit, ut palantes exciperent. Simul et ad castra tumultus erat, et per agros fugaque et cædes; deinde undique diversis itineribus quum in castra se recepissent, adeo repente decessit animis pavor, ut non ad munimenta modo

⁷ *Atque inde.*] And that, out of these, the consul should," &c.

⁸ *Neque de eo exercitu—quicquam minui.*] "And that no draft should be made from the army which," &c.

⁹ *In Hispanid bellum.*] The great importance of the war in Spain was, that it kept a large Carthaginian force occupied, which would have been otherwise set free for operations in Italy, at the same time that it deprived Hannibal of his best nursery of soldiers.

¹ *In ipso impetu movendarum*

&c.] "Amid the actual excitement of renewing operations, the desertion of some commanders of ships startled him; but these, having been severely reprimanded after abandoning the fleet &c. had never been," &c.

² *Carpesciorum.*] It has been suggested that this name might be advantageously replaced by Tarvensiorum.

³ *Pro captæ ante dies &c.*] "Under the walls of a city taken a few days previously."

defendenda satis animorum esset, sed etiam ad lacessendum U.C. 538.
hostem proelio. Erumpunt igitur agninae e castris, tripudi- A.C. 216.
antes more suo; repentinaque eorum audacia terrorem
hosti, paullo ante ultro lacessenti, incussit. Itaque et ipse
Hasdrubal in collem satis arduuin, tutum flumine etiam ob-
jecto, tum copias subducit, et præmissam levem armaturam
equitesque palatos eodem recipit: nec⁴ aut colli aut flumini
satis fidens, vallo castra permunit. In hoc alterno pavore
certamina aliquot sunt contracta: nec Numida Hispano
eques par fuit; nec jaculator Maurus cætrato, velocitate
pari, robore animi viriumque aliquantum præstanti. Post-
quam neque elicere Pœnum ad certamen obversati castris
poterant, neque castrorum oppugnatio facilis erat; urbem
Ascuam, quo, fines hostium ingrediens, Hasdrubal frumentum
commeatusque alios convexerat, vi capiunt, omnique
circa agro potiuntur. Nec jam, aut in agmine, aut in
castris, ullo imperio contineri. Quain ubi negligentiam ex
re, ut fit, bene gesta oriri senserat Hasdrubal, cohortatus
milites, ut palatos sine signis hostes aggrederentur, degres-
sus colle, pergit ire acie instructa ad castra. Quem ut
adesse⁵ tumultuose nuntiavere fugientes ex speculis stationi-
busque, ad arma concilatum est. Ut quisque arma cepe-
rat, sine imperio, sine signo, incompositi, inordinati⁶ in
prælium ruunt. Jam primi conseruerant manus, quum
alii cætervatim currerent, alii nondum e castris exissent.
Tamen primo ipsa audacia terruere hostem. Deinde, rari
in confertos illati, quum paucitas parum tuta esset, respicere
alii alios, et undique pulsi coire in orbem; et dum corpori-
bus applicantur⁷, armaque armis jungunt, in artum compulsi,
quum vix movendis armis satis spatii esset, corona hostium
cincti, ad multum diei cæduntur. Exigua pars, eruptione
facta, silvas ac montes petit: parique terrore et castra sunt
deserta, et universa gens postero die in ditionem venit.

Nec diu in pacato⁸ mansit. Nam subinde ab Carthagine
allatum est, ut Hasdrubal primo quoque tempore in Italiam
exercitum duceret. Quæ vulgata res⁹ per Hispaniam om-
nium ferme animos ad Romanos avertit. Itaque Hasdrubal
extemplo literas Carthaginem mittit, indicans, quanto fama
profactionis suæ damno fuisse. ‘Sive vero inde pergeret,

⁴ *Nec.*] The compound negative is to be resolved, here and in the following sentence, into, “but not.”

⁵ *Quem ut adesse &c.*] “And when they hastily announced his arrival, as they fled from the observatories and outposts, the cry ‘to arms’ was raised.”

⁶ *Incompositi, inordinati.*] “With-

out system and arrangement.”

⁷ *Corporibus applicantur.*] (mid. voice.) “Placing themselves in personal contact, taking close order.”

⁸ *In pacato.*] (sc. agro.) The usual ellipsis. Gronovius reads *pacata* (sc. gens); “in repose.”

⁹ *Quæ vulgata res.*] “And the publication of this news.”

U. C. 538. ' priusquam Iberum transiret, Romanorum Hispaniam fore.
 A. C. 216. ' Nam, præterquam quod nec præsidium, nec ducem habet, quem relinquaret pro se; eos imperatores esse Romanos', quibus vix æquis viribus resisti possit. Itaque si ulla Hispaniæ cura esset, successorem sibi cum valido exercitu mitterent: cui, ut omnia prospere² evenirent, non 28. ' tamen otiosam provinciam fore.' Hæ literæ quanquam primo admodum moverunt senatum; tamen, quia Italæ cura prior potiorque³ erat, nihil de Hasdrubale, neque de copiis ejus mutatum est. Himilco cum exercitu justo et aucta classe, ad retinendam terra marique ac tuendam Hispaniam, est missus; qui, ut pedestres navalesque copias trajecit, castris communitis, navibusque subductis et vallo circumdatis, cum equitibus delectis ipse, quantum maxime accelerare poterat, per dubios infestosque⁴ populos juxta intentus ad Hasdrubalem pervenit. Quum decreta senatus mandataque exposuisset, atque edidicisset ipse in vicem, quemadmodum tractandum bellum in Hispania foret, retro in sua castra rediit; nulla re, quam celeritate⁵, tutior, quod undique abierat, antequam consentirent. Hasdrubal, priusquam moveret castra, pecunias imperat populis omnibus suæ ditionis, satis gnarus, Hannibalem transitus quosdam pretio mercatum: nec auxilia Gallica aliter, quam conducta, habuisse; inopem, tantum iter ingressum, vix penetraturum ad Alpes⁶ fuisse. Pecuniis igitur raptim exactis, ad Iberum descendit.

Decreta Carthaginiensium et Hasdrubalis iter ubi ad

¹ *Eos imperatores esse Romanos.*] "The Roman commanders were such men as could scarcely be resisted."

² *Cui, ut omnia prospere &c.*] "And that he, even though all should go on favourably, would find his province no sinecure."

³ *Italæ cura prior potiorque.*] "The question of Italy had precedence in time and importance."

⁴ *Per dubios infestosque, &c.*] "Made his way to Hasdrubal, passing with equal caution through neutral and hostile nations."

⁵ *Nulla re, quam celeritate, &c.*] "In no circumstance safer than in his rapidity of march, as he had disappeared (passed through) every where, before they could organise an attack."

⁶ *Vix penetraturum ad Alpes, &c.*] Hasdrubal's march through the Alps, which was prevented on this occasion by the successes of the Scipios, took

place in A.U.C. 547, eleven years after that of Hannibal. Young Scipio was then commanding the Roman army in Spain, occupying the southern coast, and guarding the eastern passes of the Pyrenees. In order to out-maneuvre him, Hasdrubal marched across the neck of the peninsula to the western passes near the Bay of Biscay, and took the line of the modern road through Barcelona and Perpignan, into Languedoc, thus entering Gaul through the same country which the wars of the last generation have rendered so memorable—the plains of the Adour and the Bidassoa. He then crossed the Rhone at Lyons, and the mountains by Hannibal's road, with much less opposition, however, on the part of the natives, and the help of some relics of his brother's engineering; and descending into the valley of the Po, halted at Placentia, where the gates were shut against him.

Romanos sunt perlata, omnibus omissis rebus, ambo duces, U. C. 538. junctis copiis, ire obviam coeptis atque obsistere parant; A. C. 216. rati si Hannibali, vix per se ipsi tolerando Italiæ hosti, Hasdrubal dux atque Hispaniensis exercitus esset junctus, illum Romani finem imperii fore. His anxii curis ad Iberum contrahunt copias⁷; et, transito amne, quum diu consultassent, utrum castra castris conferrent, an satis haberent, sociis Carthaginiensium oppugnandis, morari ab itinere proposito hostem, urbem a propinquuo flumine Iberam appellatam, opulentissimam ea tempestate regionis ejus, oppugnare parant. Quod ubi sensit Hasdrubal, pro ope ferenda⁸ sociis, pergit ipse ire ad urbem, deditam nuper in fidem Romanorum, oppugnandam. Ita jam cœpta obsidio omissa ab Romanis est, et in ipsum Hasdrubalem versum bellum. Quinque millium intervallo castra distantia habuere paucos dies: nec sine levibus pœliis, nec ut in aciem exirent. Tandem uno eodemque die velut ex composito utrimque signum pugnæ propositum est, atque omnibus copiis in campum descensum⁹. Triplex stetit Romana acies. Velut pars inter antesignanos locata, pars post signa accepta, equites cornua cinxere. Hasdrubal medium aciem Hispanis firmat: in cornibus, dextro Pœnos locat, laeo Afros mercenariorumque auxilia: equitum Numidas¹ Pœnorum peditibus, ceteros Afris pro cornibus apponit. Nec omnes Numidæ in dextro locati cornu, sed quibus, desultorum² in modum, binos trahentibus equos inter acerrimam sæpe pugnam in recentem equum ex fesso armatis transsultare mos erat: tanta velocitas ipsis³, tamque docile equorum genus est. Quum hoc modo instructi starent, imperatorum utriusque partis haud ferme dispare spes erant. Nam ne multum quidem, aut numero, aut genere militum, hi aut illi præstabant. Militibus longe dispar animus erat. Romanis enim, quanquam procul a patria pugnarent, facile persuaserant duces, pro Italia atque urbe Romana eos pugnare. Itaque, velut quibus reditus in patriam eo discrimine pugnæ verteretur, obstinaverant animis⁴, vincere aut mori. Minus

⁷ *Ad Iberum contrahunt copias.*] “Concentrated their forces on the Iberus.”

⁸ *Pro ope ferendâ.*] “Instead of the protection he should have given,” &c.

⁹ *Omnibus copiis—descensum.*] “A descent of all their forces into the plain took place.”

¹ *Equitum Numidas, &c.*] “Of the cavalry, he placed the Numidians on the flank of the Carthaginian infantry, and the rest on that of the

Africans.” Gronovius and Drakenborch would read *opponit*, which Livy generally constructs with *adversus* and an accus.

² *Desultorum.*] “Vaulters.” See Homer, Il. O. 679 sq.

³ *Tanta velocitas ipsis.*] “Such is the agility of the men, and so docile their breed of horses.”

⁴ *Obstinaverant animis.*] “They had made up their minds,” &c. *Animos* occurs in some editions; but the reading above is the more idiomatic,

U. C. 538. pertinaces viros habebat altera acies. Nam maxima pars
 A. C. 216. Hispani erant: qui vinci in Hispania, quam victores in
 Italiam trahi, malebant. Primo igitur concursu, quum vix
 pila conjecta essent, retulit pedem media acies, inferenti-
 busque sese magno impetu Romanis terga vertit. Nihilo
 segnus in cornibus præclium fuit. Hinc Poenus, hinc
 Afer urget; et velut in circumventos⁵ prælio ancipiit
 pugnant. Sed quum in medium tota jam coisset Romana
 acies, satis virium ad dimovenda hostium cornua⁶ habuit.
 Itaque duo diversa præclia erant: utroque Romani, ut qui,
 pulsis tandem mediis, et numero et robore virorum præsta-
 rent, haud dubie superarunt. Magna vis hominum ibi oc-
 cisa: et, nisi Hispani vixdum conserto prælio tam effuse
 fugissent, perpauci ex tota superfuissent acie. Equestris
 pugna nulla admodum⁷ fuit; quia, simul inclinatam medium
 aciem Mauri Numidæque viderunt, extemplo fuga effusa
 nuda cornua, elephantis quoque præ se actis, deseruere.
 Et Hasdrubal, usque ad ultimum eventum pugnæ moratus,
 e media cæde cum paucis effugit. Castra Romani cepere
 atque diripuere. Ea pugna, si qua dubia in Hispania⁸ erant,
 Romanis adjunxit: Hasdrubalique non modo in Italiam
 traducendi exercitus, sed ne manendi quidem satis tuto in
 Hispania, spem reliquit. Quæ postquam literis Scipionum
 Romæ vulgata sunt, non tam victoria, quam prohibito
 Hasdrubalis in Italiam transitu, lætabantur.

30. Dum hæc in Hispania geruntur, Petelia in Bruttii,
 aliquot post mensibus, quam copta oppugnari erat, ab
 Himilcone, præfecto Hannibalique, expugnata est. Multo
 sanguine⁹ ac vulneribus ea Poenis victoria stetit: nec ulla
 magis vis obsessos, quam fames, expugnavit. Absumptis
 enim frugum alimentis, carnisque omnis generis quadrupe-
 dum, sutrinæ¹ postremo coriis, herbisque et radicibus, et
 corticibus teneris, strictisque rubis vixere; nec, antequam
 vires ad standum in muris ferendaque arma deerant, expu-
 gnati sunt. Recepta Petelia, Poenus ad Consentiam copias
 traducit: quam, minus pertinaciter defensam, intra paucos

and the infinitives following can be
 scarcely left without the direct go-
 vernment of a verb.

⁵ *Velut in circumventos.*] “When
 apparently surrounded.” They had
 repulsed and broken the enemy’s
 centre, and his wings closed in
 (collapsed) into the vacant space.

⁶ *Dimovenda hostium cornua.*] “To keep the enemy’s wings asun-
 der.”

⁷ *Equestris pugna nulla admodum,*
 &c.] “There was really no (scarcely

any) cavalry battle.”

⁸ *Si qua dubia in Hispania, &c.]*
 “All the undecided (neutral) interests
 in Spain.”

⁹ *Multo sanguine, &c.]* “Much
 bloodshed and wounds (many killed
 and wounded).”

¹ *Sutrinæ*] (sc. tabernæ.) “The
 hides of a leather-store,” i. e. tanned
 leather. Some commentators pro-
 pose to substitute *scutorum*, which
 presents a more natural association
 of ideas.

dies in deditio[n]em accepit. Iisdem ferme diebus et Brut- U. C. 538.
 tiorum exercitus Crotonem², Græcam urbem, circumsedit, A. C. 216.
 opulentam quondam armis virisque, tum jam adeo multis
 magnisque cladibus afflictam, ut omnis ætatis minus viginti
 millia civium superessent. Itaque urbe a defensoribus
 vasta³ facile potiti sunt hostes: arx tantum retenta, in quam
 inter tumultum captæ urbis e media cæde quidam effugere.
 Et Locrenses⁴ descivere ad Bruttios Pœnosque, prodita
 multitudine a principibus. Regini tantummodo regionis
 ejus, et in fide erga Romanos, et potestatis suæ ad ultimum
 manserunt. In Siciliam quoque eadem inclinatio animorum
 pervenit: et ne domus quidem Hieronis tota ab defectione
 abstinuit. Namque Gelo maximus stirpis, contempta simul
 senectute patris, simul post Cannensem cladem Romana
 societate, ad Pœnos defecit: movissetque in Sicilia res, nisi
 mors adeo opportuna⁵, ut patrem quoque suspicione asper-
 geret, armantem eum multitudinem, sollicitantemque socios
 absumpsisset. Hæc eo anno⁶ in Italia, in Africa, in Sicilia,
 in Hispania vario eventu acta.

Exitu anni Q. Fabius Maximus a senatu postulavit, ut
 ædem Veneris Erycinæ, quam dictator vovisset, dedicare
 liceret. Senatus decrevit, ut Ti. Sempronius consul desig-
 natus, quum primum honorem inisset, ad populum ferret,
 ut Q. Fabium duumvirum⁷ esse juberent ædis dedicandæ
 causa. Et M. Æmilio Lepido, qui bis consul augurque
 fuerat, filii tres, Lucius, Marcus, Quintus, ludos funebres
 per triduum, et gladiatorum paria duo et viginti per triduum
 in foro dederunt. Ædiles curules C. Lætorius, et Ti.
 Sempronius Gracchus, consul designatus, qui in ædilitate
 magister equitum fuerat, ludos Romanos fecerunt, qui per
 triduum instaurati sunt. Plebeii ludi ædilium M. Aurelii
 Cottæ et M. Claudii Marcelli ter instaurati.

Circumacto tertio anno Punici belli, Ti. Sempronius U. C. 539.
 consul Idibus Martiis magistratum iniit. Prætores Q. A. C. 216.
 Fulvius Flaccus, qui ante bis consul censorque fuerat, urba-

² *Crotonem.*] (Now *Crotone*.) A full description of the city is given below, (l. xxiv. c. 3.) The losses and calamities mentioned here, had been sustained in the Tarentine war.

³ *A defensoribus vasta.*] (sc. *vacuū*,) “destitute of defenders.”

⁴ *Ex Locrenses.*] (See l. xxiv. c. 1.) The site of Locri is believed to be covered by the modern town *Gerace*. It was founded, about the same time with Croton and Syracuse, by a colony of the Locri Ozolæ, and named for distinction *Epizephyrii*,

from the promontory *Zephyrium*, on which it stood. The celebrated laws of Zeleucus, the disciple of Pythagoras, constitute its principal claim to celebrity. It was restored to Rome, toward the close of the war, by Scipio. (l. xxix. c. 6.)

⁵ *Mors adeo opportuna, &c.*] “So critically timed, that it even cast suspicion upon his father.”

⁶ *Hæc eo anno.*] sc. A. U. C. 539. The third year of the war.

⁷ *Duumvirum.*] “One of two commissioners.”

U. C. 539. nam, M. Valerius Lævinus peregrinam sortem in jurisdictione habuit. Ap. Claudius Pulcher Siciliam, Q. Mucius Sævola Sardiniam sortiti sunt. M. Marcello pro consule imperium esse populus jussit, quod post Cannensem cladem unus Romanorum imperatorum in Italia prospere rem gessisset. Senatus, quo die primum est in Capitolio consultus, decrevit, ut, quo eo anno⁸ duplex tributum imperaretur, simplex confestim exigetur, ex quo stipendium præsens omnibus militibus daretur, præterquam qui milites ad Cannas fuissent. De exercitibus⁹ ita decreverunt, ut duabus legionibus urbanis Ti. Sempronius consul Cales ad convenientum diem ediceret: inde eæ legiones in castra Claudiana supra Suessulam dducerentur: quæ ibi legiones essent, (erant autem Cannensis maxime exercitus) eas Ap. Claudius Pulcher prætor in Siciliam trajiceret; quæque in Sicilia essent, Romanam deportarentur. Ad exercitum, cui ad convenientum Cales edicta dies erat, M. Claudius Marcellus missus; isque jussus in castra Claudiana deducere urbanas legiones. Ad veterem exercitum accipiendum deducendumque inde in Siciliam, T. Metilius Croto legatus ab Ap. Claudio est missus. Taciti primo exspectaverant homines, uti consul comitia collegæ creando haberet. Deinde, ubi ablegatum, velut de industria, M. Marcellum viderunt, quem maxime consulem in eum annum ob egregie in prætura res gestas creari volebant, fremitus in curia est ortus. Quod ubi sensit consul, 'Utrumque,' inquit, 'e republica fuit, Patres conscripti, et M. Claudium ad permutandos exercitus in Campaniam proficisci, et comitia non prius edici, quam is inde, confecto, quod mandatum est, negotio, revertisset; ut vos consulem, quem tempus reipublicæ postularet, quem maxime vultis, haberetis.' Ita de comitiis, donec rediit Marcellus, silentium fuit. Interea duumviri creati sunt Q. Fabius Maximus et T. Otacilius Crassus, ædibus dedicandis, Menti Otacilius, Fabius Veneri Erycinæ. Utraque in Capitolio est, canali uno discretæ. Et de trecentis equitibus Campanis, qui, in Sicilia cum fide stipendiis emeritis, Romanam venerant, dein latum ad populum, ut cives Romani essent: item, uti municipes Cumani essent, pridie quam¹ populus Campanus a populo

⁸ *Quo eo anno.*] "In order that, during this year, a double tax might be imposed, the ordinary tax should be collected at once," (i. e. in advance.)

⁹ *De exercitibus.*] The Roman levies at this time amounted to about 140,000 men, exclusively of the garrisons in the Latin and other colo-

nies, and the private guerilla which the *publicani* would naturally maintain, by means of their own servants, on the Bruttian lands and forests in the occupation of the enemy.

¹ *Municipes Cumani essent, pridie quam, &c.*] "They were to be free citizens of Cumæ from the day preceding that on which the Campa-

Romano defecisset. Maxime, ut hoc ferretur, moverat, ^{U. C. 589.} ^{A. C. 215.} quod, quorum hominum essent², scire se ipsi negabant; vetera patria relicta, in eam, in quam redierant, nondum adsciti. Postquam Marcellus ab exercitu rediit, comitia uni consuli rogando in locum L. Postumii edicuntur. Creatur ingenti consensu Marcellus, qui extemplo magistratum occiperet. Cui ineunti consulatum quum tonuisset, vocati augures vitio creatum videri³ pronuntiaverunt; vulgoque Patres ita fama ferebant, quod tum primum duo plebeii consules facti essent, id deis cordi non esse. In locum Marcelli, ubi is se magistratu abdicavit, suffectus Fabius Maximus tertium. Mare arsit eo anno: ad Sinuissam bos equuleum peperit: signa Lanuvii ad Junonis Sospitae crux manavere, lapidibusque circa id templum pluit. Ob quem imbrem novendiale, ut assolet, sacrum fuit: ceteraque prodigia cum cura expiata.

32. Consules exercitus inter sese divisorunt. Fabio exercitus, cui M. Junius dictator præfuerat, evenit; Sempronio volones, qui fierent⁴, et sociorum viginti quinque millia; M. Valerio prætori legiones, quæ ex Sicilia redissent, decretæ; M. Claudius proconsul ad eum exercitum, qui supra Suesulam Nolæ præsideret⁵, missus. Prætores in Siciliam ac Sardiniam profecti. Consules edixerunt, quoties in senatum vocassent, uti senatores, quibusque⁶ in senatu dicere sententiam liceret, ad portam Capenam convenienter. Prætores, quorum jurisdictio erat⁷, tribunalia ad Piscinam publicam⁸ posuerunt. Eo vadimonia fieri⁹ jusserunt: ibique eo anno jus dictum est.

nians had revolted," &c. The object of this legal fiction was, of course, that they might be transferred from their own state while it was still friendly, and be regarded, during the interval, as citizens of another friendly community. Gronovius proposes to insert or restore the ellipsis *et ante diem* before *p/ idie*.

² *Quorum hominum essent.*] "To which people they belonged."

³ *Vitio creatum videri.*] "His election appeared to be informal." In the verdicts of the regular *judices*, *videri* was the phrase conventionally used instead of *esse*; and the augurs, on occasions like the present, were supposed to be invested with a judicial character.

⁴ *Volones, qui fierent.*] "The slave-volunteers who might be (as many as might be) enrolled." Crevier restores an old reading which

improves the connection of the sentence; sc. *volonum quod fuerat*, i. e. taken from the army which Fabius was about to command. Another suggestion alters the punctuation and sense as follows: *Fabio exercitus traditus cui M. Junius dictator præfuerat: evenit Sempronio volonum quod fuerat.* After *exercitus*, *tradi* or *traditus* appears in several MSS.

⁵ *Præsideret.*] This verb in the sense of *præsidio esse* occurs again (l. xxii. c. 11.)

⁶ *Senatores, quibusque.*] See note l. xxii. c. 49.

⁷ *Quorum jurisdictio erat.*] "On whom the administration of justice devolved."

⁸ *Piscinam publicam.*] "The public basin," used for swimming, &c.

⁹ *Vadimonia fieri.*] "Appearances to be made, (or, registered.)"

U. C. 539. Interim Carthaginem, unde Mago frater Hannibalis duoc.
 A. C. 215. decim millia peditum et mille quingentos equites, viginti ele-
 phantos, mille argenti talenta in Italiam transmissurus erat,
 cum præsidio sexaginta navium longarum, nuntius affertur,
 in Hispania rem male gestam, omnesque ferme ejus provinciæ
 populos ad Romanos defecisse. Erant, qui Magonem cum
 classe ea copiisque, omissa Italia, in Hispaniam averterent;
 quum Sardinia recipiendæ¹ repentina spes affulsa. ‘Parvum
 ‘ibi exercitum Romanum esse: veterem prætorem inde A.
 ‘Cornelium provinciæ peritum decadere, novum exspectari.
 ‘Ad hoc, fessos jam animos Sardorum esse diuturnitate
 ‘imperii: et proximo iis anno² acerbe atque avare imperatum.
 ‘Gravi tributo et collatione iniqua frumenti pressos. Nihil
 ‘deesse aliud, quam auctorem, ad quem deficerent.’ Hæc
 clandestina legatio³ per principes missa erat; maxime eam
 rem moliente Hampsicora, qui tum auctoritate atque opibus
 longe primus erat. His nuntiis⁴ prope uno tempore turbati
 erectique Magonem cum classe sua copiisque in
 Hispaniam mittunt. In Sardiniam Hasdrubalem⁵ deligunt
 ducem: et tantum ferme copiarum, quantum Magoni, de-
 cernunt.

Et Romæ consules, transactis rebus, quæ in urbe agen-
 dæ erant, movebant jam sese ad bellum. Ti. Sempronius
 militibus Sinuessam diem ad convenientum edixit; et Q.
 Fabius, consulto prius senatu, ut frumenta omnes ex agris,
 ante Kalendas Junias primas⁶ in urbes munitas conveherent.
 ‘Qui non invexisset, ejus se agrum populaturum, servos sub
 ‘hasta venditum, villas incensurum.’ Ne prætoribus
 quidem, qui ad jus dicendum creati erant, vacatio a belli
 administratione data est. Valerium prætorem in Apuliam
 ire placuit, ad exercitum a Terentio accipiendum: quum
 ex Sicilia⁷ legiones venissent, iis potissimum uti ad regionis

¹ *Sardinia recipienda.*] The Romans had held it since the close of the first Punic war. It was finally reduced by T. Semp. Gracchus, (Livy xli. c. 2.) who brought so many of the natives to Rome as prisoners of war, that the phrase *Sardi Venales* became an expression of contempt. (Cicero Fam. vii. 24.)

² *Proximo iis anno &c.*] “In the preceding year they had been rigorously and extortunately taxed.”

³ *Hæc clandestina legatio.*] “A secret embassy to this effect.”

⁴ *His nuntiis &c.*] “By these announcements (sc. from Spain and Sardinia) being, nearly at the same moment, agitated and animated.”

⁵ *Hasdrubalem.*] This was the Hasdrubal ‘cui calvo cognomen erat’ (see ch. 34. below,) to be distinguished from Hasdrubal Barca and H. Gisco.

⁶ *Kalendas Junias primas.*] “Of June next.” *Primus* is thus used in formal documents in the sense of our phrase “instant.”

⁷ *Quum ex Siciliâ &c.*] “As soon as the legions from Sicily should arrive, to employ these, in preference, for the protection of that district (Apulia); and that the army of Terentius be sent (to replace them in Sicily) under command of some of the lieutenants.”

ejus præsidium: Terentianum mitti cum aliquo legatorum. U. C. 539.
 Et viginti quinque naves P. Valerio datæ sunt, quibus oram
 maritimam inter Brundisium ac Tarentum tutari posset.
 Par navium numerus Q. Fulvio prætori urbano decretus ad
 suburbana litora tutanda. C. Terentio proconsuli negotium
 datum, ut in Piceno agro conquisitionem⁸ militum haberet,
 locisque iis præsidio esset. Et T. Otacilius Crassus, post-
 quam ædem Mentis in Capitolio dedicavit, in Siciliam cum
 imperio, qui classi⁹ præcesset, missus.

33.

In hanc dicimationem duorum opulentissimorum in terris
 populorum omnes reges gentesque animos intenderant: inter quos¹ Philippus Macedonum rex, eo magis, quo propior Italiæ, ac mari tantum Ionio discretus erat. Is ubi primum fama accepit, Hannibalem Alpes transgressum, ut bello inter Romanos Pœnumque orto lætatus erat², ita, utrius populi mallet victoriam esse, incertis adhuc viribus³, fluctuatus animo fuerat. Postquam tertia iam pugna⁴, tertia victoria cum Pœnis erat, ad fortunam inclinavit, legatosque ad Hannibalem misit: qui, vitantes portus Brundisinum Tarentinumque, quia custodiis navium Romanarum tenebantur⁵, ad Laciniæ⁶ Junonis templum in terram egressi sunt. Inde per Apuliam petentes Capuam⁷, media in præsidia Romana illati sunt: deductique ad M. Valerium Lævinum prætorem, circa Luceriam castra habentem. Ibi intrepide Xenophanes legationis princeps, a Philippo rege se missum, ait, ad amicitiam societatemque jungendam cum populo Romano, mandata habere ad consules ac senatum populumque Romanum. Prætor, inter defectiones veterum siorum nova societate tam clari regis lætus admodum, hostes pro hospitiis comiter accepit: dat, qui prosequantur, itinera cum

⁸ *Conquisitionem.*] “An enlist-
 ment (conscription).”

⁹ *Cum imperio, qui classi &c.*] “With a commission as commander
 of the fleet.”

¹ *Inter quos.*] “And among the
 rest.” If Philip had vigorously
 followed up the policy which he
 adopted on this occasion, he might
 have turned the scale decisively and
 permanently in favour of Carthage;
 but instead of assisting Hannibal in
 Italy with his powerful and scientific
 artillery at a time when such help
 would have been followed by the
 most important consequences, he
 contented himself with petty hosti-
 ties upon some of the Roman
 possessions in Illyricum, and gave
 the Romans time to find him occu-

pation at home.

² *Lætatus erat.*] Calculating, of
 course, upon some advantages not
 unlikely to result to the Greek
 colonies in the West.

³ *Incertis adhuc viribus.*] “While
 the superiority (i. e. their relative
 strength) was yet undecided.”

⁴ *Tertia jam pugna.*] May be
 either a nominative, or, much more
 elegantly, an abl. abs.

⁵ *Custodiis—tenebantur.*] “Were
 blockaded by,” &c.

⁶ *Ad Laciniæ &c.*] sc. At the
 promontory Lacinium, (*capo di Colonna*,) the southern boundary of
 the Tarentine gulf. (I. xxiv. c. 3.)

⁷ *Per Apuliam petentes Capuam.*] “Taking the road to Capua through
 Apulia.”

U.C. 589. cura demonstrent, quæ loca, quosque saltus, aut Romanus,
 A.C. 315. aut hostes teneant. Xenophanes per præsidia Romana in Campaniam, inde, qua proximum fuit⁸, in castra Hannibalis pervenit, foedusque cum eo atque amicitiam junxit legibus his: ‘ut Philippus rex quam maxima classe (ducentas autem naves videbatur effecturus) in Italiam trajiceret, et vastaret maritimam oram: bellum pro parte sua⁹ terra marique gereret. Ubi debellatum esset, Italia omnis cum ipsa urbe Roma Carthaginiensium atque Hannibalis esset, præda que omnis Hannibali cederet. Perdomita Italia, navigarent in Græciam, bellumque, cum quibus regibus placeret¹⁰, gererent. Quæ civitates continentis, quæ insulæ ad Macedoniam vergunt, eæ Philippi regnique ejus essent.’

34. In has ferme leges inter Poenum ducem legatosque Macedonum ictum foedus, missique cum iis ad regis ipsius¹¹ firmandam fidem legati, Gisgo, et Bostar, et Mago, eodem ad Junonis Lacinia, ubi navis occulta in statione erat, perveniant¹²: inde profecti, quum jam altum tenerent¹³, conspecti a classe Romana sunt, quæ præsidio erat Calabriæ litoribus. P. Valerius Flaccus cercuros¹⁴ ad persequendam retrahendamque navem quum misisset, primo fugere regii conati: deinde, ubi celeritate vinci senserunt, tradunt se Romanis, et ad præfectum classis adducti: quum quæreret, ‘qui, et unde, et quo tenderent cursum?’ Xenophanes primo, satis jam semel felix¹⁵, mendacium struere, ‘Philippo se ad Romanos missum, ad M. Valerium, ad quem unum iter tutum fuerit, pervenisse. Campaniam superare nequisse, septam hostium præsidiis.’ Deinde, ut Punicus cultus¹⁶ habitusque suspectos legatos fecit Hannibal, interrogatosque sermo

⁸ *Quā proximum fuit.*] “By (Caiques?) The term is obviously the nearest way,” *quā viā proximum iter fuit*.

⁹ *Bellum pro parte sud &c.*] “That he was to commence hostilities on his own account, as soon as the (present) war should be concluded.”

¹⁰ *Cum quibus regibus placeret.*] Or rather, *cum quibus regi* (Philippo) *placeret*.

¹¹ *Ad regis ipsius &c.*] “To receive the assurances (ratification) of the king in person.”

¹² *Eodem—perveniant.*] “Met together.”

¹³ *Quum jam altum tenerent.*] “Just as they were getting out to sea.”

¹⁴ *Cercuros.*] “Corcyrean boats.”

¹⁵ *Satis jam semel felix.*] “Resorted to the falsehood which had been once before completely successful, (had served his purpose successfully once before.)”

¹⁶ *Ut Punicus cultus &c.*] The apodosis to *ut* begins below at *literæ*; the abl. abs. in the second clause of the epitasis corresponding to the adverb and verb in the first. sc. “When their Carthaginian manner and costume excited a suspicion of Hannibal's envoys, and their language betrayed them when questioned; and afterwards, when their retinue were taken apart and intimidated; a letter from Hannibal,” &c.

prodidit: tum, comitibus eorum seductis ac metu territis, ^{U. C. 538.} literæ quoque ab Hannibale ad Philippum inventæ, et ^{A. C. 215.} pacta inter regem Macedonum Poenumque ducem. Quibus satis cognitis, optimum visum est, captivos comitesque eorum Romanum ad senatum, aut ad consules, ubicunque essent, quam primum deportare. Ad id celerrimæ quinque naves delectæ, ac L. Valerius Antias⁸, qui præcesset, missus: eique mandatum, ut in omnes naves legatos separatim custodiendos divideret, daretque operam, ne quod iis colloquium inter se, neve quæ communicatio consilii esset.

Per idem tempus Romæ quum A. Cornelius Mammula, ex Sardinia provincia decedens, retulisset, qui status rerum in insula esset, bellum ac defectionem omnes spectare; Q. Mucium, qui⁹ successisset sibi, gravitate cœli aquarumque advenientem exceptum, non tam in periculosum, quam longum, morbum implicitum, diu ad bellum vim sustinendam inutilem fore, exercitumque ibi ut satis firmum pacatæ provinciæ præsidio esse, ita parum bello, quod motum iri videretur: decreverunt Patres, ut Q. Fulvius Flaccus quinque millia peditum, quadringentos equites scriberet, eamque legionem primo quoque tempore in Sardiniam trajiciendam curaret, mitteretque cum imperio, quem ipsi videretur, qui rem gereret, quoad Mucius convaluisse. Ad eam rem missus est T. Manlius Torquatus, qui bis consul censorque fuerat, subegeratque in consulatu Sardos¹. Sub idem fere tempus et a Carthagine in Sardiniam classis missa, duce Hasdrubale, cui Calvo cognomen erat, foeda tempestate vexata, ad Baleares insulas dejicitur²: ibique (adeo non armamenta modo, sed etiam alvei navium quassati erant) subductæ naves³ dum reficiuntur, aliquantum temporis triverunt.

In Italia quum post Cannensem pugnam⁴, fractis partis alterius viribus, alterius mollitis animis, segnus bellum

35.

⁸ *Valerius Antias.*] Not to be identified with the historian, who lived in the time of Sylla.

⁹ *Q. Mucium, qui &c.*] "That his successor Q. Mucius, having encountered, on his arrival, the unhealthy influence of the climate and the rains, and having contracted an illness not so dangerous as tedious, would be, for a long time, incapable of supporting the exertions of a campaign; and that the army on the spot, though sufficiently strong for the protection of a peaceful province, was inadequate to the war that seemed likely to ensue."

¹ *Subegeratque in consulatu Sardos.*] This happened twenty years previously, in the first Punic war.

² *Ad Baleares insulas dejicitur.*] "Was wrecked (ran ashore) on the Baleares."

³ *Subductæ naves.*] "The laying up of the ships for repairs caused a considerable loss of time."

⁴ *Quum post Cannensem pugnam &c.*] "As the war was progressing more slowly ever since the battle of Cannæ, in consequence of the wreck of the forces of one party and the weakened (relaxed) energies of the other."

U. C. 539. esset: Campani per se adorti sunt rem Cumanam suæ ditionis facere; primo sollicitantes, ut ab Romanis deficerent. Ubi id parum processit, dolum ad capiendos eos comparant. Campanis omnibus statum sacrificium ad Hamas. Eo senatum Campanum venturum certiores Cumanos fecerunt: petieruntque, ut et Cumanus eo senatus veniret ad consultandum communiter, ut eosdem uterque populus socios hostesque haberet: præsidium ibi armatum sese habituros, ne quid ab Romano Poenove periculi esset. Cumani (quanquam suspecta fraus erat) nihil abnuere; ita tegi fallax consilium⁵ posse rati. Interim Ti. Sempronius consul Romanus Sinuessa, quo ad conveniendum diem edixerat, exercitu lustrato, transgressus Vulturnum flumen, circa Litternum castra posuit. Ibi, quia otiosa stativa erant, crebro decurrere⁶ milites cogebat, ut tirones (ea maxima pars⁷ volonum erat) assuescerent signa sequi, et in acie agnoscere ordines suos. Inter quæ concordiae maxima inerat cura duci, itaque legatis tribunisque præceperat, 'ne qua 'exprobratio⁸ cuiquam veteris fortunæ discordiam inter ordinates sereret: vetus miles tironi, liber voloni sese exæ- 'quari sineret: omnes satis honestos generososque ducerent, 'quibus arma sua signaque populus Romanus commisisset: 'quaæ fortunæ coegisset⁹ ita fieri, eandem cogere tueri factum.' Ea non majore cura præcepta ab ducibus sunt, quam a militibus observata; brevique tanta concordia coaluerant omnium animi, ut prope in oblivionem veniret, qua ex conditione quisque esset miles factus. Haec agenti Graccho legati Cumani nuntiarunt, quæ a Campanis legatio paucos ante dies venisset, et quid iis ipsi respondissent. Triduum post eum diem festum esse: non senatum solum omnem ibi futurum, sed castra etiam et exercitum Campanum. Gracchus, jussis Cumani omnia ex agris in urbem convehere, et manere intra muros, ipse pridie, quam statum sacrificium Campanis esset, Cumas movet castra. Hamæ inde tria millia passuum absunt. Jam Campani eo frequentes ex composito convenerant, nec procul inde in occulto Marius Alfius Medixtuticus (summus¹ magistratus

⁵ *Fallax consilium.*] "A deceptive plan (of their own)." It is believed that the treachery really originated with the Cumani, or was suggested to them by the Romans, who afterwards calumniated the Campanians, in order to justify themselves. (see Arnold, Rom. Hist. vol. iii. p. 184.)

⁶ *Decurrere.*] lit. "to march," "to exercise," "kept the soldiers constantly at drill."

⁷ *Ea maxima pars &c.*] "That

portion consisted principally of slave-soldiers."

⁸ *Ne qua exprobratio.*] "No reflections upon any man's former condition," &c.

⁹ *Quæ fortuna coegisset &c.*] "The circumstances that rendered such a measure necessary, would also oblige them to vindicate it."

¹ *Medixtuticus (summus &c.)*] "The Medix Tuticus; (this was the highest civil office," &c.)

erat Campanis) cum quattuordecim millibus armatorum U. C. 539. habebat castra; sacrificio apparando, et inter id instruendæ A. C. 215. fraudi aliquanto intentior, quam muniendis castris, aut ulli militari operi. Triduum sacrificatum ad Hamas. Nocturnum erat sacrum, ita ut³ ante medium noctem compleretur. Huic Gracchus insidiandum tempori³ ratus, custodibus ad portas positis, ne quis enuntiare posset cœpta, et ad decimam diei horam coactis militibus corpora curare, somnoque operam dare, ut primis tenebris convenire ad signum possent, vigilia ferme prima tolli jussit signa; silentique profectus agmine, quum ad Hamas media nocte pervenisset, castra Campana, ut in pervigilio⁴ neglecta, simul omnibus portis invadit: alios somno stratos, alios perpetrato sacro inermes redeuntes obtruncat. Hominum eo tumultu nocturno cæsa plus duo millia, cum ipso duce Mario Alfio: capta sunt signa militaria quattuor et triginta.

Gracchus, minus centum militum jactura castris hostium potitus, Cumas se propere recepit, ab Hannibale metuens, qui super Capuam in Tifatis habebat castra⁵. Nec eum provida futuri fefellit opinio⁶. Nam simul Capuam ea clades est nuntiata, ratus Hannibal⁷, ab re bene gesta insolenter lætum exercitum tironum magna ex parte servorumque, spoliantem victos, prædasque agentem, ad Hamas se inventurum; citatum agmen præter Capuam rapit, obviosque ex fuga Campanorum, dato præsidio, Capuam duci, saucios vehiculis portari jubet. Ipse Hamis vacua ab hostibus castra, nec quicquam præter recentis vestigia cædis, strataque passim corpora sociorum invenit. Auctores erant quidam⁸, ut protinus inde Cumas duceret, urbemque oppugnaret. Id quanquam haud modice Hannibal cupiebat, ut, quia Neapolim non potuerat, Cumas saltem, maritimam urbem, haberet; tamen, quia præter arma nihil secum miles, raptim acto agmine, extulerat, retro in castra supra

36.

² *Nocturnum sacrum, ita ut, &c.]* “The ceremony took place by night, but only so far that it was concluded before midnight.”

³ *Huic—insidiandum tempori, &c.]* “Deeming this the proper time for his ambuscade.”

⁴ *In pervigilio.]* “During a solemn match,” (a conventional phrase): i. e. where all were supposed to remain awake all night.

⁵ *In Tifatis habebat castra.]* It was on this mountain (now *Tifati*) that the Samnites were in the habit of encamping during their periodical descents upon Campania.

⁶ *Provida futuri—opinio.]* “Prophetic suspicion of the result”—“his presentiment.”

⁷ *Ratus Hannibal, &c.]* “Expecting to find at Hamæ an army consisting principally of recruits and volunteers, intemperately exulting in their success, stripping their fallen enemies, and driving away plunder; marched hastily by Capua, and commanded such of the retreating Campanians as he met, to be escorted to Capua, and the wounded,” &c.

⁸ *Auctores erant quidam.]* “Some advised him,” &c.

U.C. 539. Tifata se recepit. Inde, fatigatus Campanorum precibus,
 A.C. 215. sequenti die cum omni apparatu oppugnandæ urbis Cumas
 redit: perpopulatoque agro Cumano, mille passus ab urbe
 castra locat; quum Gracchus magis verecundia in tali
 necessitate deserendi socios, implorantes fidem suam popu-
 lique Romani, substitisset, quam satis fidens exercitui.
 Nec alter consul Fabius, qui ad Cales castra habebat, Vul-
 turnum flumen traducere audebat exercitum; occupatus
 primo auspiciis repetendis, dein prodigiis, quæ alia super
 alia nuntiabantur, expiantique ea haud facile litari⁹ har-
 spices respondebant.

37. Hæ causæ quum Fabium tenerent, Sempronius in ob-
 sidione erat; et jam operibus oppugnabatur. Adversus
 ligneam ingentem admotam urbi¹, aliam turrem ex ipso muro
 excitavit consul Romanus, aliquanto altiore: quia muro
 satis per se alto subjectis validis sublicis pro solo usus erat.
 Inde primum saxis sudibusque et ceteris missilibus propug-
 natores mœnia atque urbem tuebantur: postremo, ubi
 promovendo adjunctam muro² viderunt turrem, facibus ar-
 dentibus plurimum simul ignem conjecterunt. Quo incendio
 trepida³ armatorum multitudo quum de turre sese præcipi-
 taret, eruptio ex oppido simul duabus portis stationes ho-
 stium fudit, fugavitque in castra; ut eo die obsesso, quam
 obsidenti, similior esset Pœnus. Ad mille trecenti Car-
 thaginiensium cæsi, et undesexaginta vivi capti; qui, circa
 muros et in stationibus solute ac negligenter agentes, quum
 nihil minus, quam eruptionem, timuissent, ex improviso
 oppressi fuerant. Gracchus, priusquam se hostes ab repen-
 tino pavore colligerent, receptui signum dedit, ac suos intra
 muros recepit. Postero die Hannibal, lætum secunda re
 consulem justo prælio ratus certaturum, aciem inter castra
 atque urbem instruxit. Ceterum postquam neminem mo-

⁹ *Haud facile litari.*] "That
 propitiation would not be easy."

¹ *Ligneam ingentem admotam urbi.*] Among the many ingenious devices by which those engines were subsequently modified, an invention of Herod the Great (son of Antipater) appears to deserve especial notice. During the expedition which he undertook for the extermination of the robber insurgents who had fortified themselves in the caves of Antilibanus which were inaccessible from below, he ascended to the brow of the precipices, and constructed fixed engines or cranes, with pulleys, from which large stages or boxes

were let down. These were filled with armed men, and, as soon as they reached the mouths of the caverns, a hand-to-hand fight began between the two parties. Of Belisarius also it is recorded, that, when besieging the Gothic garrison in Palermo, he brought his ships up to the walls, and hoisted small boats filled with archers up to the mast-heads; so that they commanded the whole range of the ramparts.

² *Adjunctam muro.*] "Brought in contact with the wall."

³ *Quo incendio trepida.*] "And when, alarmed by this fire," &c.

veri ab solita custodia urbis vidit, nec committi quicquam⁴ U. C. 539.
temerariae spei, ad Tifata redit infecta re⁵. A. C. 215.

Quibus diebus Cumæ liberatae sunt obsidione, iisdem diebus et in Lucanis ad Grumentum⁶ Ti. Sempronius, cui Longo cognomen erat, cum Hannone Pœno prospere pugnat. Supra duo millia hostium occidit, et ducentos octoginta milites amisit: signa militaria⁷ ad quadraginta unum cepit. Pulsus finibus Lucanis Hanno retro in Bruttios sese recepit. Et ex Hirpinis oppida tria, quæ a populo Romano defecabant, vi recepta per M. Valerium prætorem, Vercellium, Vescellium, Sicilinum: et auctores defectionis securi percussi. Supra mille captivorum sub hasta venierunt: præda alia militi concessa, exercitus Luceriam reductus.

Dum hæc in Lucanis atque in Hirpinis geruntur, quinque naves, quæ Macedonum atque Pœnorum captos legatos Romam portabant, ab supero mari ad inferum circumvectæ prope omnem Italiae⁸ oram, quum præter Cumas velis ferrentur, neque, hostium an sociorum essent, satis sciretur, Gracchus obviam ex classe sua naves misit. Quum percunctando in vicem⁹ cognitum esset, consulem Cumis esse; naves Cumas appulsæ, captivique ad consulem deducti, et literæ datae. Consul, literis Philippi atque Hannibal perlectis, consignata omnia ad senatum itinere terrestri misit: navibus devehi legatos jussit. Quum eodem fere die literæ legatiique Romam venissent, et, percunctatione facta, dicta cum scriptis congruerent, primo gravis cura Patres incessit, cernentes, quanta vix¹ tolerantibus Punicum bellum Macedonici belli moles instaret. Cui tamen adeo non² succubuerunt, ut extemplo agitaretur, quemadmodum ultro inferendo bello averterent ab Italia hostem.

⁴ *Nec committi quicquam.*] "And that nothing was hazarded," &c.

⁵ *Infected re.*] This might have been expected, for the walls were defended, not by the usual garrison, but a consular army; and a sea-port town, with the sea open, could not be reduced by famine.

⁶ *Grumentum.*] (Now Armento,) was the scene of an inconsiderable defeat sustained, in the tenth year of the war, by Hannibal, from Claudius Nero. (l. xxvii. 42.)

⁷ *Signa militaria.*] The standard (or "arms") of Carthage was a lion. On the silver shield, left by Hannibal at *Passage* in Dauphiné, appears the figure of a lion standing under a palm-tree.

⁸ *Circumvectæ prope omnem Ita-*

lia, &c.] This is rather an exaggeration. The voyage, on the most liberal calculation, and supposing the Macedonians to have got clearly out to sea, could not have been longer than from Hydruntum (*Otranto*) to Cumæ; i. e. round the coast of Bruttium, through the Straits, and up along the coast of Lucania.

⁹ *Percunctando in vicem.*] "By mutual inquiries."

¹ *Cernentes, quanta vix,* &c.] "Perceiving what a pressure of war from Macedonia was approaching them, scarcely able, as they were, to withstand," &c.

² *Cui tamen adeo non,* &c.] "To this however they were so far from yielding."

U. C. 539. *Captivis in vincula condi jussis, comitibusque eorum sub A. C. 215. hasta venditis, ad naves viginti quinque, quibus P. Valerius Flaccus praefectus praeerat, viginti parandas alias decernunt. His comparatis deductisque, et additis quinque navibus, quae advexerant captivos legatos, triginta naves ab Ostia Tarentum profectae: jussusque P. Valerius, militibus Varronianis, quibus L. Apustius legatus Tarenti praeerat, in naves impositis, quinquaginta navium classe³ non tueri modo Italiae oram, sed explorare de Macedonico bello. Si congruentia literis legatorumque indicis Philippi consilia essent, ut M. Valerium praetorem literis certiorem faceret: isque, L. Apustio legato exercitui praeposito, Tarentum ad classem profectus, primo quoque tempore in Macedoniam transmittenret: daretque operam, ut Philippum in regno contineret. Pecunia ad classem tuendam bellumque Macedonicum ea decreta est, quae Ap. Claudio in Siciliam missa erat, ut redderetur Hieroni⁴ regi: ea per L. Apustum legatum Tarentum est devecta. Simul ab Hierone missa ducenta millia modium tritici, et hordei centum.*

39. *Dum haec Romani parant aguntque, ad Philippum captiva navis, una ex iis, quae Romam missae erant, ex cursu refugit: inde scitum, legatos cum literis captos. Itaque ignarus de iis, quae cum Hannibale legatis suis convenient, quaeque legati ejus ad se allaturi fuissent, legationem aliam cum iisdem mandatis mittit. Legati ad Hannibalem missi, Heraclitus, cui Scotino cognomen⁵ erat, et Crito Berceaus, et Sositheus Magnes. Hi prospere tulerunt ac retulerunt mandata. Sed prius se aestas circumegit, quam movere ac moliri quicquam rex posset: tantum navis una capta⁶ cum legatis momenti fecit ad dilationem imminentis Romanis belli.*

Et circa Capuam, transgresso Vulturenum Fabio post expiata tandem prodigia, ambo consules rem gerebant. Compuleriam, et Trebulam, et Saticulam, urbes, quae ad Poenum defecerant, Fabius vi cepit; praesidiaque in iis Hannibal, Campanique permulti capti. Et Nolae, sicut priore anno, senatus Romanorum, plebs Hannibal erat: consiliaque occulta de cæde principum et proditione urbis inibantur. Quibus ne incepta⁷ procederent, inter Capuam

³ *Quinquaginta navium classe.*] Made up of the twenty-five under the command of Flaccus, the five that brought the ambassadors, and the twenty additional.

⁴ *Ut redderetur Hieroni.*] For the supplies recently advanced to the troops in Sicily.

⁵ *Cui Scotino cognomen.*] This

designation is probably an addition by some later hand, for the Heraclitus so named lived a long time before the æra of this Philip.

⁶ *Tantum navis una capta, &c.*] "Of such importance was the capture of one ship."

⁷ *Quibus ne incepta, &c.*] "But to prevent the success of their designs."

castraque Hannibal, quæ in Tifatis erant, traducto exer- U.C. 539.
citu, Fabius super Suessulam⁸ in castris Claudianis consedit; A.C. 215.
inde M. Marcellum proprætorem cum iis copiis, quas habe-
bat, Nolam in præsidium misit.

Et in Sardinia res per T. Manlium prætorem⁹ admini-
strari coeptæ, quæ omissæ erant, postquam Q. Mucius
prætor gravi morbo est implicitus. Manlius, navibus longis
ad Carales¹ subductis, navalibusque sociis armatis, ut terra
rem gereret, et a prætore exercitu accepto, duo et viginti
millia peditum, mille et ducentos equites confecit. Cum
his equitum peditumque copiis profectus in agrum hostium,
haud procul ab Hampsicoræ castris castra posuit. Ham-
psicora tum forte profectus erat in Pellitos Sardos², ad juven-
tutem armandam, qua copias augeret. Filius ejus, nomine
Hiostus, castris præserat: is, adolescentia ferox, temere
prælio inito fusus fugatusque. Ad tria millia Sardorum
eo prælio cæsa, octingenti ferme vivi capti. Alius exer-
citus³ primo per agros silvasque fuga palatus; dein, quo
ducem fugisse fama erat, ad urbem nomine Cornum, caput
ejus regionis, confugit: debellatumque eo prælio in Sardi-
nia esset, ni classis Punica cum duce Hasdrubale, quæ
tempestate dejecta ad Baliares erat, in tempore ad spem
rebellandi advenisset. Manlius post famam appulsæ Pu-
nicæ classis, Carales se recepit. Ea occasio Hampsicoræ
data Poeno se jungendi. Hasdrubal, copiis in terram ex-
positis, et classe remissa Carthaginem, duce Hampsicora ad
sociorum populi Romani agrum populandum profectus,
Carales perventurus erat, ni Manlius obvio exercitu ab
effusa eum populatione continuisset. Primo castra castris

⁸ *Fabius super Suessulam, &c.*] It would appear, that, as Casilinum, commanding the fords of the Vultur, was in the occupation of the enemy, Fabius crossed the river at a point farther up, behind the mountains, and nearly opposite Alife, (*transgresso Vulturum*, above); that he then came down the left bank as far as the confluence of the Calor and Vultur, and crossing the Calor at that point, passed between Taburnus and the hills above Caserta and Maddaloni; and having, on his way, retaken the three towns mentioned a few lines above, joined Marcellus in his camp above Suessula. On his arrival there, the intelligence of the state of parties in Nola induced him to send down Marcellus. In the mean time, Gracchus had advanced from Cumæ

toward Capua; so that there were now three Roman armies, somewhere about 60,000 men, in free communication with each other, on the southern bank of the Vultur.

⁹ *T. Manlium prætorem.*] Manlius was not one of the Prætors of this year; we must therefore either substitute *proprætorem*, or understand the term in the general sense of "a commander."

¹ *Carales.*] (Now *Cagliari*.) The principal town, a seaport on the S. E. corner of the island.

² *Pellitos Sardos.*] This proper name arose from the practice which the term literally implies. In allusion to it, Cicero (pro Flacc.) calls them *Mastrucatos latrunculos*.

³ *Alius exercitus.*] "The rest of the army."

U. C. 539. modico intervallo sunt objecta: deinde procursationes levia-
 A. C. 215. que certamina vario eventu inita: postremo descensum in
 aciem, signisque collatis, justo pœlio per quattuor horas
 pugnatum. Diu pugnam ancipitem Pœni, Sardis facile
 vinci assuetis, fecerunt: postremo et ipsi, quum omnia
 circa strage ac fuga Sardorum repleta essent, fusi. Cete-
 rum terga dantes⁴, circumducto cornu, quo pepulerat Sardos,
 inclusus Romanus. Cædes inde magis, quam pugna, fuit.
 Duodecim millia hostium cæsa Sardorum simul Pœnorum-
 que, ferme tria millia et septingenti capti, et signa militaria
 septem et viginti. Ante omnia claram et memorabilem
 pugnam fecit Hasdrubal imperator captus⁵, et Hanno, et
 Mago, nobiles Carthaginenses: Mago ex gente Barcina,
 propinqua cognatione Hannibali junctus; Hanno auctor
 rebellionis Sardis, belliique ejus haud dubie concitor. Nec
 Sardorum duces minus nobilem eam pugnam cladibus suis
 fecerunt. Nam et filius Hampsicoræ Hiostus in acie
 cecidit: et Hampsicora, cum paucis equitibus fugiens, ut
 super afflictas res⁶ necem quoque filii audivit, nocte, ne
 cuius interventus cœpta impediret, mortem sibi consivit.
 Ceteris urbs Cornus eadem, quæ ante, fugæ receptaculum
 fuit: quam Manlius, victore exercitu aggressus, intra paucos
 dies recepit. Deinde aliæ quoque civitates, quæ ad Ham-
 psicoram Pœnosque defecerant, obsidibus datis, dediderunt
 sese. Quibus stipendio frumentoque imperato, pro cuius-
 que aut viribus aut delicto, Carales exercitum reduxit. Ibi
 navibus longis deductis, impositoque, quem secum advex-
 erat, milite, Romam navigat, Sardiniamque perdomitam
 nuntiat Patribus: et stipendum quæstoribus, frumentum
 ædilibus, captivos Q. Fulvio prætori tradidit.

Per idem tempus T. Otacilius prætor, quinquaginta
 navium ab Lilybæo classe in Africam transvectus, depopu-
 latusque agrum Carthaginensem, quum Sardiniam inde
 peteret, quo fama erat Hasdrubalem a Balaribus nuper
 trajecisse, classi Africam repetenti occurrit, levique certa-
 mine in alto commisso, septem inde naves cum sociis nava-
 libus cepit: ceteras metus haud secus, quam tempestas,
 passim disjecit.

Per eosdem forte dies et Bomilcar cum militibus, ad
 supplementum Carthagine missis, elephantisque, et com-
 meatu, Locros accessit. Quem ut incautum oppimeret
 Ap. Claudius, per simulationem provinciæ circumveundæ

⁴ *Ceterum terga dantes.*] “As dinians.”
 they took to flight, however, the
 Romans stopped their way, by en-
 closing them within the wing with
 which they had broken the Sar-

⁵ *Hasdrubal—captus.*] “The cap-
 ture of Hasdrubal,” &c.
⁶ *Super afflictas res.*] “In addition
 to the ruin of his cause.”

Messanam raptim exercitu ducto, æstu secundo⁷ Locros U.C. 539. trajecit. Jam inde Bomilcar⁸ ad Hannonem in Bruttios A.C. 215. profectus erat; et Locrenses portas Romanis clauerunt.

Appius magno conatu nulla⁹ re gesta, Messanam repetit.

Eadem æstate Marcellus ab Nola, quam præsidio obtinebat, crebras excursiones¹ in agrum Hirpinum et Samnites Caudinos fecit: adeoque omnia ferro atque igni vastavit, ut antiquarum cladium Samnio memoriam renovaret. Itaque extemplo legati, ad Hannibalem missi simul ex utraque gente, ita Pœnum allocuti sunt: 'Hostes populi Romani, 'Hannibal, fuimus primum per nos ipsi, quoad nostra arma, 'nostræ vires nos tutari poterant. Postquam iis parum 'fidebamus, Pyrrho regi nos adjunximus; a quo relicti 'pacem necessariam accepimus, fuimusque in ea per annos 'prope quinquaginta², ad id tempus, quo in Italiam venisti. 'Tua nos non magis³ virtus fortunaque, quam unica comitas 'ac benignitas erga cives nostros, quos captos nobis remisisti, ita conciliavit tibi, ut, te salvo atque incolumi amico, 'non modo populum Romanum, sed ne deos quidem iratos '(si dici fas est) timeremus. At, hercule, non solum incolumi et victore, sed præsente te, quum ploratum prope 'conjugum ac liberorum nostrorum exaudire, et flagrantia 'tecta posses conspicere, ita sumus aliquoties hac æstate 'devastati, ut M. Marcellus, non Hannibal, viciesse ad 'Cannas videatur; glorienturque Romani, te, ad unum 'modo ictum vigentem, velut aculeo emisso⁴, torpere⁵. Per 'centum prope annos cum populo Romano bellum gessimus, 'nullo externo adjuti nec duce, nec exercitu: nisi quod per 'biennium Pyrrhus nostro magis milite suas auxit vires, 'quam suis viribus nos defendit. Non ego secundis rebus 'nostris gloriabor, duos consules, ac duos consulares exercitus a nobis sub jugum missos, et si qua alia aut læta aut 'gloriosa nobis evenerunt. Quæ aspera adversaque tunc 'acciderunt, minore indignatione referre possumus, quam

42.

⁷ *Æstu secundo.*] "Taking advantage of the tide." From Messana to Locri, in a direction nearly at right angles with the strait, is a run of about fifty miles.

⁸ *Jam inde Bomilcar, &c.*] "Bomilcar had already gone from that place into the Bruttii to Hanno."

⁹ *Magno conatu nullā, &c.*] "Having realized no result from a great effort."

¹ *Crebras excursiones.*] These incursions appear to have been altogether unopposed; because a large Roman force was concentrated on

the spot, and the men of the district were under arms in the enemy's camp.

² *Per annos prope L.*] The exact time was 54 years.

³ *Tua nos non magis &c.*] "It was not your heroism and success more than," &c.

⁴ *Velut aculeo emisso.*] "After having (so to speak) darted your sting."

⁵ *Torpere.*] "Are powerless." Cicero uses the same metaphor. "Mortuus est aculeo jam dimisso." (pro Flacc.)

U.C. 539. *‘quæ hodie eveniunt. Magni dictatores⁶ cum magistris equitum, bini consules⁷ cum binis consularibus exercitibus ingrediebant fines nostros; ante explorato, et subsidiis positis, et sub signis ad populandum ducebant: nunc pro prætoris unius⁸ et parvi ad tuendam Nolam præsidii præda sumus. Jam ne manipulatim quidem, sed latronum modo, percursant totis finibus nostris negligentius, quam si in Romano vagarentur agro. Causa autem hæc est, quod neque tu defendis, et nostra juventus, quæ, si domo esset, tutaretur, omnis sub signis militat tuis. Nec te, nec exercitum⁹ tuum norim, nisi, a quo tot Romanas acies fusas stratasque esse sciām, ei facile esse ducam opprimere populatores nostros vagos, sine signis, palatos, quo quemque trahit, quamvis vana, prædæ spes. Numidarum paucorum illi quidem præda erunt, præsidiumque missum¹ nobis et Nolæ ademerit: si modo, quos, ut socios haberes, dignos duxisti, haud indignos judicas, quos in fidem receptos tuearis.’*

43. Ad ea Hannibal respondit: ‘*Omnia simul facere² Hirpinos Samnitesque: et indicare clades suas, et petere præsidium, et queri indefensos se neglectosque. Indicandum autem fuisse primum, dein petendum præsidium: post remo, ni impetraretur, tum denique querendum, frustra opem imploratam. Exercitum sese non in agrum Hirpinum Samnitemve, ne et ipse oneri esset, sed in proxima loca sociorum populi Romani adducturum: iis populandis et militem suum repleturum se, et metu procul ab iis summoturum hostes. Quod ad bellum Romanum attineret, si Trasimeni quam Trebiæ, si Cannarum quam Trasimeni pugna nobilior esset; Cannarum se quoque memoriam obscuram majore et clariore victoria facturum³.*’ Cum hoc responso muneribusque amplis legatos dimisit. Ipse, præsidio modico relicto in Tifatis, profectus cetero exercitu ire Nolam pergit. Eodem Hanno ex Bruttiiis, cum supplemento Carthagine advecto atque elephantis, venit. Castris

⁶ *Magni dictatores.*] sc. Papirius Cursor. The use of the plural form is merely rhetorical.

⁷ *Bini consules.*] i. e. The two consuls of the several years; as we would say, “pairs of consuls.”

⁸ *Proprietoris unius &c.*] “One special,” &c. i. e. a small garrison designed for a particular purpose.

⁹ *Nec te, nec exercitum &c.*] “I should not be acquainted with (I must be ignorant of the power of) yourself, or your army, if I did not

consider it an easy matter for,” &c.

¹ *Præsidiumque missum &c.*] “A garrison sent, (the sending a garrison) to us will remove theirs from Nola.”

² *Omnia simul facere.*] lit. “Doing every thing at the same moment,” i. e. going on too fast, not giving him time.

³ *Obscuram—facturum.*] “Would eclipse.”

laud procul positis, longe alia omnia⁴ inquirenti comperta U. C. 539.
unt, quam quæ a legatis sociorum audierat. Nihil enim A. C. 215.
Marcellus ita gerebat, ut aut fortunæ, aut temere hosti com-
nissum dici posset. Explorato, cum⁵ firmisque præsidiis,
uto receptu prædatum ierat: omniaque, velut adversus
præsentem Hannibalem, cauta provisaque fuerunt. Tum,
ibi sensit hostem adventare, copias intra moenia tenuit: per
nuros inambulare, senatores Nolanos jussit, et omnia circa
explorare, quæ apud hostes fierent. Ex iis Hanno, quum
ad murum successisset, Herennium Bassum et Herium
Pettium, ad colloquium evocatos, permissuque Marcelli
egressos, per interpretem alloquitur. Hannibalis virtutem
fortunamque extollit: populi Romani obterit⁶ senescentem
cum viribus majestatem. 'Quæ si paria essent, ut quondam
fuisserent, tamen expertis, quam grave Romanum imperium
sociis, quanta indulgentia Hannibal is etiam in captivos
omnes Italici nominis fuisse, Punicam Romanæ societatem
atque amicitiam præoptandam esse. Si ambo consules
cum suis exercitibus ad Nolam essent, tamen non magis
pares Hannibali futuros, quam ad Cannas fuisse: ne-
dum prætor unus, cum paucis et novis militibus, Nolam
tutari possit. Ipsorum, quam Hannibal is⁷, interesse, capta
an tradita Nola potiretur. Potiturum enim, ut Capua
Nuceriaque potitus esset: sed, quid inter Capuae Nuceriae-
que fortunam interesset, ipsos prope in medio sitos No-
lanos scire. Nolle ominari, quæ captæ urbi cessura
forent: sed potius spondere, si Marcellum cum præsidio
ac Nolam tradidissent, neminem alium, quam ipsos, legem,
qua in societatem amicitiamque Hannibal is venirent,
dicturum.' Ad ea Herennius Bassus respondit: 'Multos
annos jám inter Romanum Nolanumque populum amici-
tiam esse, cuius neutros ad eam diem pœnitere; et sibi, si
cum fortuna mutanda fides fuerat, sero jam esse mutare
eam. Deditur se Hannibali non fuisse arcessendum
Romanum præsidium: cum iis, quid ad se tuendos venis-
sent, omnia sibi et esse consociata, et ad ultimum fore.'

44.

Hoc colloquium abstulit spem Hannibali per præditionem
recipiendæ Nolæ. Itaque oppidum corona circumdedit,
ut simul ab omni parte moenia aggredetur. Quem ut
successisse muris Marcellus vidit, instructa intra portam
acie, cum magno tumultu erupit. Aliquot primo impetu
perculti cæsique sunt; dein, concursu ad pugnantes facto,

⁴ *Longè alia omnia &c.*] "Every thing, upon inquiry, proved far different from what he had heard," &c.

⁵ *Explorato, cum &c.*] "He had been going marauding with sure intelligence, strong escorts, and a re-

treat open."

⁶ *Extollit—obterit.*] "Magnified—disparaged."

⁷ *Ipsorum, (magis) quæd Hannibal is.*] "It made more difference to themselves than to Hannibal."

U.C. 539. *æquatisque viribus, atrox cœpit esse pugna: memorabilis-*
 A.C. 215. *que inter paucas⁸ fuisse, ni ingentibus procellis effusus*
imber diremisset pugnantes. Eo die commisso modico cer-
tamine, atque irritatis animis, in urbem Romani, Poeni in
castra sese receperunt. Tamen Poenorum prima eruptione
*perculsi ceciderant haud plus quadringenti, Romani quin-
 quaginta⁹.* Imber continens per noctem totam usque ad
horam tertiam diei insequentis tenuit¹: itaque, quanquam
utraque pars avidi certaminis erant, eo die tenuerunt sese
tamen munimentis. Tertio die Hannibal partem copiarum
*praedatum in agrum Nolanum misit. Quod ubi animad-
 vertit Marcellus, extemplo in aciem copias eduxit; neque*
Hannibal detectavit. Mille fere passuum inter urbem
*erant castraque. Eo spatio (et sunt omnia campi circa No-
 lam) concurrerunt. Clamor, ex parte utraque sublatus,*
*proximos ex cohortibus iis, quæ in agros prædatum exie-
 rant, ad proelium jam commissum revocavit. Et Nolani*
aciem Romanam auxerunt: quos collaudatos Marcellus in
subsidiis stare, et saucios ex acie efferre jussit; pugna
 45. *abstinere, ni ab se signum accepissent. Prælium erat an-
 ceps: summa vi et duces hortabantur, et milites pugnabant.*
Marcellus victis ante diem tertium, fugatis ante paucos dies
a Cumis², pulsis priore anno ab Nola ab eodem se duce,
*militie alio, instare jubet. 'Non omnes esse in acie: præ-
 dantes vagari in agro: sed, qui pugnant, marcere³ Cam-
 pana luxuria, vino et scortis, omnibusque lustris⁴ per totam*
hiemem confectos. Abisse illam vim vigoremque, dilapsa
esse robora corporum animorumque, quibus Pyrenæi
Alpiumque superata sint juga: reliquias illorum⁵ virorum,
vix arma membraque sustinentes, pugnare. Capuam
Hannibali Cannas fuisse. Ibi virtutem bellicam, ibi
militarem disciplinam, ibi præteriti temporis famam, ibi
spem futuri extinctam.' Quum hæc exprobrando hosti
Marcellus suorum militum animos erigeret, Hannibal multo
gravioribus probris increpabat: 'Arma signaque eadem se
noscere, quæ ad Trebiam Trasimenumque, postremo ad
Cannas viderit habueritque: militem alium profecto se in
hiberna Capuam duxisse, alium inde eduxisse⁶. Lega-

⁸ *Memorabilisque inter paucas.*] "One of the few most memorable."

⁹ *Romanorum quinquaginta.*] One would more naturally expect to find *haud plus* in the second clause. It has probably been transposed; sc. "four hundred Carthaginians; not more than fifty Romans."

¹ *Imber continens—tenuit.*] "The rain continued without intermission."

² *A Cumis.*] sc. by Sempronius.

³ *Marcere.*] "Were debilitated."

⁴ *Lustris.*] "Dissipation."

⁵ *Reliquias illorum &c.*] "They were but the wrecks of those men, scarcely able to, &c. that were now engaged."

⁶ *Alium durisse—alium eduxisse.*] "He had taken into Capua a different class of men from those whom he had brought out."

'tumne Romanum et legionis unius atque alæ magno cer- U.C. 539.
 'tamine vix toleratis pugnam, quos binæ acies consulares A.C. 215.
 'nunquam sustinuerunt? Marcellus, tirone milite ac Nolanis
 'subsidiis, inultus nos jam iterum lacescit? Ubi ille meus
 'miles est, qui erepto ex equo C. Flaminio consuli caput
 'abstulit? ubi, qui L. Paullum ad Cannas occidit? Ferrum
 'nunc hebet?⁷ an dextræ torpēt? an quid prodigii est
 'aliud? Qui pauci plures⁸ vincere soliti estis, nunc paucis
 'plures vix restatis. Romam vos expugnaturos, si quis du-
 'ceret, fortes lingua, jactabatis. *Enim minor est res⁹.* Hic
 'experiri vim virtutemque volo. *Expugnate Nolam, cam-*
 'pestrem urbem, non flumine, non mari sæptam. *Hinc*
 'vos ex tam opulenta urbe præda spoliisque onustos vel
 'ducam, quo voletis, vel sequar.

Nec bene, nec male dicta¹ profuerunt ad confirmandos
 animos. Quum omni parte pellerentur, Romanisque cre-
 scerent animi, non duce solum adhortante, sed Nolanis
 etiam per clamorem, favoris indicem, accendentibus ar-
 dorem pugnæ, terga Poeni dederunt, atque in castra com-
 pulsi sunt. Quæ oppugnare cupientes milites Romanos
 Marcellus Nolam reduxit, cum magno gaudio et gratu-
 latione etiam plebis, quæ ante inclinatior ad Poenos fuerat.
 Hostium plus quinque millia cæsa eo die, vivi capti sex-
 centi, et signa militaria undeviginti et duo elephanti: quat-
 tuor in acie occisi. Romanorum minus mille interfecti:
 posterum diem induitiis tacitis, sepeliendo utrimque cæsos
 in acie, consumpserunt. Spolia hostium Marcellus, Vul-
 cano votum, cremavit. Tertio post die (ob iram credo
 aliquam², aut spem liberalioris militiæ) mille ducenti sep-
 tuaginta duo equites, mixti Numidæ Hispanique, ad Mar-
 cellum transfugerunt. Eorum forti fidelique opera in eo
 bello usi sunt sæpe Romani. Ager Hispanis in Hispania,
 Numidis in Africa post bellum, virtutis causa, datus est³.

Hannibal, ab Nola remisso in Bruttios Hannone, cum
 quibus venerat copiis, ipse Apuliæ hiberna petit⁴, cirque

⁷ *Ferrum nunc hebet &c.*] “Is it your swords that have lost their edge? or, your arms their strength?”

⁸ *Qui pauci plures &c.*] “The few that used once to conquer many, you are now the many scarce able to withstand the few.”

⁹ *Enim minor est res.*] “Here now is a more humble feat.”

¹ *Nec bene, nec male dicta.*] “Neither praise nor censure,” (pro-
 misse nor reproaches.)

² *Ob iram credo aliquam &c.*] “On account, probably, of some

slight; or in expectation of a more respectable (as we would say ‘a more gentlemanly’) service.”

³ *Causa, datus est.*] For *datus* some commentators suggest *latius*, and some *locus*.

⁴ *Apuliæ hiberna petit.*] The retreat of Hannibal closed the year’s campaign; his object in withdrawing to Arpi was to relieve Capua of the support of his army. After his departure, Gracchus followed him with one legion; Fabius cut down the green corn to feed his horses during

U. C. 539. Arpos consedit. Q. Fabius, ut profectum in Apuliam Han-
 A. C. 215. nibalem audivit, frumento ab Nola Neapolique in ea castra
 convecto, quæ super Suessulam erant, munimentisque firmatis, et præsidio, quod per hiberna ad tutandum locum
 satis esset, relicto, ipse Capuam proprius movit castra,
 agrumque Campanum ferro ignique est depopulatus: donec
 coacti sunt Campani, nihil admodum viribus suis fidentes,
 egredi portis, et castra ante urbem in aperto communire.
 Sex millia armatorum habebant, peditem imbellem: equi-
 tatu plus poterant: itaque equestribus proeliis lacescebant
 hostem. Inter multos nobiles equites Campanos Cerrinus
 Jubellius erat, cognomine Taurea. Civis indidem erat⁴,
 longe omnium Campanorum fortissimus eques: adeo ut,
 quem apud Romanos militaret, unus eum Romanus Clau-
 dius Asellus gloria equestris æquaret. Hic Taurea, quem
 diu perlustrans oculis obequitasset hostium turmis, tandem
 facto silentio, 'ubi eset Claudio Asellus?' quæsivit: 'et,
 'quoniam verbis secum de virtute ambigere solitus eset,
 'cur non ferro decerneret; daretque opima spolia⁵ victus,
 'aut viñor caperet?' Hæc ubi Asello nuntiata sunt in
 castra, id modo moratus, ut consulem percunctaretur, lice-
 retne extra ordinem⁶ in provocantem hostem pugnare? per-
 missu ejus arma extemplo cepit: proiectusque ante sta-
 tiones equo, Tauream nomine compellavit, congrede,
 ubi vellet, jussit. Jam Romani ad spectaculum pugnæ
 ejus frequentes exierant: et Campani, non vallum modo
 castrorum, sed moenia etiam urbis prospectantes reple-
 vant. Quum jam ante ferocibus dictis rem nobilitassent,
 infestis hastis concitarunt equos⁷. Dein libero spatio inter
 se ludificantes, sine vulnere pugnam extrahebant. Tum
 Campanus Romano, 'Equorum,' inquit, 'hoc, non equi-
 tun, erit certamen, nisi e campo in cavam hanc viam de-
 mittimus equos: ibi, nullo ad evagandum spatio cominus

the winter, and encamped at Sues-
 sula; and Marcellus retiring to Nola
 sent home all who could be spared
 from the garrison.

⁵ *Civis indidem erat.*] "A (Ro-
 man) citizen from the same place;"
 i. e. a Campanian citizen of Rome.

⁶ *Opima spolia.*] The question,
 whether this name can be properly
 applied to any trophy not won by
 and taken from a supreme com-
 mander, is discussed by Livy, (l. iv.
 c. 20.) From the use of the term
 here, it would appear that any su-
 perior officer might win *spolia opima*
 in single combat with an antagonist

of equal rank. It may not be gene-
 rally remembered, that in addition
 to the three instances generally re-
 corded, *spolia opima* were won, on
 a fourth occasion in Roman history,
 by the Emperor Heraclius from the
 Persian commander Rhazates; but
 the victor in this combat, being a
 Christian, could not perform the
 ceremony of dedication.

⁷ *Extra ordinem.*] lit. "out of
 due course—irregularly;" i. e. "in
 single combat."

⁸ *Infestis hastis concitârunt equos.*]
 "With lances in rest they put their
 horses to their speed."

‘conserentur manus.’ Dicto prope citius equum in viam U. C. 539. Claudius dejecit. Taurea, verbis ferocior, quam re, ‘Minime A. C. 215. sis,’ inquit, ‘cantherium in fossam⁹.’ Quæ vox in rusticum inde proverbium prodita. Claudius, quum ea via longe perequitasset¹, nullo obvio hoste in campum rursum evectus, increpans ignaviam hostis, cum magno gaudio et gratulatione victor in castra redit. Huic pugnæ equestri rem (quam vera sit, communis² existimatio est) mirabilem certe, adjiciunt quidam annales: quum refugientem ad urbem Tauream Claudius sequeretur, patenti hostium portæ invectum, per alteram, stupentibus miraculo hostibus, intactum evasisse³.

Quieta inde stativa fuere, ac retro etiam consul movit castra, ut sementem Campani facerent: nec ante violavit agrum Campanum, quam jam altæ in segetibus herbæ pabulum præbere poterant. Id convexit in Claudiana castra super Suessulam; ibique hiberna ædificavit. M. Claudio proconsuli imperavit, ut, retento Nolæ necessario ad tuendam urbem præsidio, ceteros milites dimitteret Romam, ne oneri sociis, et sumptui reipublicæ essent. Et Ti. Gracchus a Cumis Luceriam in Apuliam legiones quum duxisset, M. Valerium inde prætorem Brundisium cum eo, quem Luceriae habuerat, exercitu misit, tuerique oram agri Sallentini, et providere, quod ad Philippum bellumque Macedonicum attineret, jussit.

Exitu æstatis ejus, qua hæc gesta perscripsimus⁴, literæ a P. et Cn. Scipionibus venerunt, quantas, quamque prosperas in Hispania res gessissent: sed pecuniam in stipen-

48.

⁹ *Minime sis,—Cantherium in fossam.*] The first of these phrases, in which *sis* must be understood as *si vis*, signifies literally “by no means, if you please;” *i. e.* “you must excuse me.” The other signifies “a stake in a trench,” an obvious allusion to the position of Claudius just then. *Taurea*, then, means either to apply this name to his antagonist; or, if we take *minime* in connection with the latter phrase, and *sis* parenthetically, to decline making himself a *cantherium in fossa*.

¹ *Quum ea viâ longè perequitasset.*] “When he got clear of that road after riding a long distance.”

² *Quam vera sit, communis &c.*] “To this equestrian combat some chronicles append an incident, of the

truth of which (lit. how true) there is a general (popular) belief; but, at least remarkable; that when,” &c.

³ *Per alteram—intactum evasisse.*] This recalls a similar incident, though less accidental, in the history of Aristomenes the Messenian, who rode on one occasion into the town of Sparta, and after making an offering in the temple of Neptune, rode out again unmolested. Aristomenes, however, like Fabius Dorso, (see l. v. c. 46.) may have been protected by the *jus gentium*, according to which it was unlawful to interrupt an enemy in any religious ceremony.

⁴ *Quæ hæc gesta perscripsimus.*] *i. e.* Quæ hæc gesta sunt, quæ perscripsimus.

U.C. 539. dium, vestimentaque, et frumentum exercitui, et sociis na-
 A.C. 215. valibus omnia deesse. Quod ad stipendum attineat, si
 aerarium inops esset, se aliquam rationem inituros, quo
 modo ab Hispanis sumant: cetera utique⁵ ab Roma mit-
 tenda esse: nec aliter aut exercitum aut provinciam retineri
 posse. Literis recitatis, nemo omnium erat, quin, et vera
 scribi, et postulari *æqua*⁶, fateretur: sed occurrebat animis,
 quantos exercitus terrestres navalesque tuerentur, quan-
 taque nova classis mox paranda esset, si bellum Mace-
 donicum moveretur. Siciliam ac Sardiniam, quæ ante
 bellum vectigales fuissent, vix præsides provinciarum⁷ ex-
 ercitus alere: tributo sumptus suppeditari⁸: quum ipsum
 tributum conferentium numerum tantis exercitum stra-
 gibus, et ad Trasimenum lacum, et ad Cannas, immi-
 nutum; tum, qui superessent pauci, si multiplici grava-
 rentur stipendio, alia perituros peste. Itaque, nisi fide
 staret respublica, opibus non staturam. Prodeundum in
 concionem Fulvio prætori esse, indicandas populo pub-
 licas necessitates, cohortandosque, qui redempturis auxis-
 sent⁹ patrimonia, ut reipublicæ, ex qua crevissent, ad tem-
 pus commodarent¹; conducerentque ea lege præbenda,
 quæ ad exercitum Hispaniensem opus essent, ut, quum
 pecunia in aerario esset, iis primis solveretur². Hæc prætor
 in concione edixit, et qua die vestimenta, frumentum His-
 panensi exercitui præbenda, quæque alia opus essent na-
 valibus sociis, esset locaturus. Ubi ea dies venit, ad con-
 ducendum tres societates³ aderant hominum undeviginti,

49.

⁵ *Cetera utique.*] “The other supplies especially (in any case) must be sent from Rome.

⁶ *Vera scribi et—æqua &c.*] “That the statement was true and the demand reasonable.”

⁷ *Præsides provinciarum.*] i. e. Qui præsidio essent provinciis—“The armies of occupation in those provinces.”

⁸ *Tributo sumptus suppeditari.*] “It was by taxation (of the citizens at home) that the expenses were met.” This tax had been doubled during the past year, and found insufficient. The only expedient then was, that the government should appeal to the public creditors; and this appeal was made by the Praetor (urbanus) who personated the home government.

⁹ *Qui redempturis auxissent &c.*] “Who had improved their fortunes

by tax-farming.”

¹ *Ad tempus commodarent.*] “Become creditors (or, lenders) for a time.”

² *Ed lege—ut—iis primis solveretur.*] These loans were to bear no interest; but to be entitled to precedence of payment. It must be observed, however, that as many of the ordinary opportunities of investment had been precluded by the consequences of the war; and as the contractors would be, of course, entitled to a fair mercantile profit on the several transactions; the sacrifice was less real and, therefore, less disinterested, than it may, at first sight, appear. See l. xxiv. 18.

³ *Tres societates.*] “Three companies, or, firms,” each consisting of nineteen individuals; i. e. eighteen members and a chairman or president.

quorum duo postulata fuere: unum, ut militia vacarent, U.C. 539.
dum in eo publico essent: alterum, ut, quæ in naves im- A.C. 216.
posuissent, ab hostium tempestatisque⁴ vi publico periculo
essent. Utroque impetrato, conduxerunt, privataque pe-
cunia res publica administrata est. Hi mores⁵, eaque caritas
patriæ per omnes ordines velut tenore uno pertinebat.
Quemadmodum conducta omnia magno animo⁶ sunt, sic
summa fide præbita, nec secus quam si ex opulento ærario,
ut quondam, alerentur.

Quum hi commeatus venerunt, Illiturgi oppidum⁷ ab Has-
drubale, ac Magone, et Hamilcare Bomilcaris filio, ob de-
fectionem ad Romanos oppugnabatur. Inter hæc trina
castra hostium Scipiones, quum in urbem sociorum magno
certamine ac strage obsistentium pervenissent, frumentum,
cujus inopia erat, advexerunt: cohortatiq[ue] oppidanos, ut
eodem animo mœnia tutarentur, quo pro se pugnantem
Romanum exercitum vidissent, ad castra maxima oppugnanda,
quibus Hasdrubal præerat, ducunt. Eodem et
duo duces, et duo exercitus Carthaginiensium, ibi rem
summam agi cernentes⁸, convenerunt. Itaque eruptione e
castris pugnatum est. Sexaginta hostium millia eo die in
pugna fuerunt, sexdecim circiter Romanis. Tamen adeo
haud dubia⁹ victoria fuit, ut plures numero, quam ipsi erant,
Romani hostium occiderint: ceperint amplius tria millia
hominum, paullo minus mille equorum, undesexaginta mi-
litaria signa, septem elephantes, quinque in p[re]celio occisis:
trinisque castris eo die potiti sunt. Illiturgi obsidione
liberato, ad Intibili oppugnandum Punici exercitus tra-
ducti, suppletis copiis ex provincia, ut quæ maxime om-
nium¹ belli avida, modo præda aut merces esset, et tum
juventute abundante. Iterum signis collatis, eadem for-

⁴ *Ab hostium tempestatisque &c.*] “That, whatever they put on board ship, should be at the risk of government, respecting war and weather.”

⁵ *Hi mores &c.*] “These principles and this public spirit (patriotism) pervaded all classes, so to speak, in a uniform course.” The metaphor is from the flight of a missile.

⁶ *Conducta omnia magno animo &c.*] All contracts were as honourably fulfilled as they were generally undertaken.” For a remarkable exception to this panegyric, see l. xxv. c. 4.

⁷ *Illiturgi oppidum.*] This town

was situated on the northern bank of the Boëtis, very nearly on the site of Andujar, and not far from Baylen, which has become memorable in our time as the scene of the exceptional success of the Spaniards against Napoleon I.

⁸ *Ibi rem summam agi cernentes.*] “Perceiving that decisive operations were in progress there.”

⁹ *Adeo haud dubia.*] “So unquestionable.”

¹ *Ut quæ maxime omnium &c.*] “As it was, of all others, the most anxious for war, if only pay or plunder formed an inducement, and, as young men were plenty.”

U.C. 539. tuna utriusque partis pugnatum. Supra tredecim millia
A.C. 215. hostium cæsa, supra duo capta, cum signis duobus et
quadraginta, et novem elephantis. Tum vero omnes
prope Hispaniæ populi ad Romanos defecerunt: mul-
toque majores ea sestate in Hispania, quam in Italia, res
gestæ.

LIBER XXIV.

EPITOME.

Hieronymus, Syracusanorum rex, cuius avus Hiero amicus populi mani fuerat, ad Carthaginenses defecit; et propter crudelitatem perbiāque a suis interfectus est. Ti. Sempronius Gracchus pronsul prospere adversus Pœnos et Hannonem ducem ad Beneventum gnavit, servorum maxime opera, quos liberos esse jussit. Claudius arcellus consul, in Sicilia, quæ prope tota ad Pœnos defecerat, racusas obsecrit. Philippo Macedonum regi bellum indictum est; i, ad Apolloniam nocturno prælio oppressus fugatusque, in Mace- niam cum prope inermi exercitu perfugit. Ad id bellum gerendum ulerius prætor missus est. Res præterea in Hispania a P. et Cn. nippionibus adversus Carthaginenses gestas continet. Syphax, rex umidarum, in amicitiam ascitus, et a Masinissa, rege Massylorum, o Carthaginensibus pugnante, victus, in Maurusios cum magna vanu transiit, contra Gades; ubi angusto freto Africa et Hispania irimuntur. Celtiberi quoque in amicitiam recepti sunt: quorum auxiliis ascitis, tunc primum mercenarium militem Romana castra abuerunt.

UT ex Campania in Bruttios redditum est, Hanno, adju- U. C. 539.
oribus et ducibus Bruttii, Græcas urbes¹ tentavit, eo A. C. 215.
acilius in societate manentes Romana, quod Bruttios, quos
toderant, et metuebant, Carthaginensium partis factos
ernebant. Rhegium primum tentatum est, diesque aliquot
i nequicquam absumpti. Interim Locrenses² frumentum,
gnaque, et cetera necessaria usibus ex agris in urbem ra-
ere, etiam ne quid³ relicum prædæ hostibus esset: et in
es major omnibus portis multitudine effundi. Postremo ii
odo relicti in urbe erant, qui reficere muros ac portas,
laque in propugnacula congerere cogebantur. In permix-
m omnium ætatum ordinumque multitudinem, et vagan-
m in agris magna ex parte inermem, Hamilcar Pœnus
luites emisit; qui, violare quemquam vetiti, tantum, ut
cluderent⁴ ab urbe fuga dissipatos, turmas objecere. Dux

¹ *Græcas urbes.*] Rhegium, Lo-
; Crotona, &c.

² *Interim Locrenses.*] There is
inconsistency here, so far as a
petition can effect it. Locri has
represented already (l. xxiii. ing.) &c.

³ c. 30.) as having revolted.

³ *Etiam ne quid, &c.*] “With
the additional motive,” &c.

⁴ *Tantum, ut excluderent, &c.*] “Only for the purpose of intercept-

U. C. 539. ipse, loco superiore capto, unde agros urbemque posset
 A. C. 215. conspicere, Bruttiorum cohortem adire muros, atque evocare principes Locrensum ad colloquium jussit, et, pollicentes amicitiam Hannibal, adhortari ad urbem tradendam. Bruttiis in colloquio nullius rei primo fides est⁵: deinde ut Pœnus apparuit in collibus, et refugientes pauci aliam omnem multitudinem in potestate hostium esse afferebant; tum, metu victi, consulturos se populum responderunt: ad vocataque extemplo concione, quum et levissimus quisque⁶ novas res novamque societatem mallent, et, quorum propinqui extra urbem interclusi ab hostibus erant, velut obsidibus datis, pigneratos haberent animos, pauci magis taciti probarent⁷ constantem fidem, quam probatam tueri audenter; haud dubio in speciem consensu⁸ fit ad Pœnos deditio. L. Atilio præfecto præsidii, quique cum eo milites Romani erant, clam in portum deductis, atque impositis in naves, ut Rhegium deveherentur, Hamilcarem Pœnosque ea conditione, ut fœdus extemplo æquis legibus fieret, in urbem acceperunt. Cujus rei prope non servata⁹ fides deditis est, quum Pœnus dolo dimissum Romanum incusaret; Locrenses profugisse ipsum causarentur. Insecuti etiam equites sunt, si quo casu¹ in freto æstus morari, aut deferre naves in terram posset. Et eos quidem², quos sequebantur, non sunt adepti: alias a Messana trajicientes freto Rhegium naves conspexerunt. Milites erant Romani, a Claudio prætore missi ad obtinendam urbem præsidio. Itaque Rægio³ extemplo abscessum est. Locrensisbus jussu Hannibal data pax, 'ut liberi suis legibus viverent: urbs patet' ret Pœnis, portus in potestatem Locrensum esset: societas 'eo jure staret, ut Pœnus Locrensem, Locrensisque Pœnum 'pace ac bello juvaret.'

2. Sic a freto Pœni reducti, frementibus Bruttiis, quod Rhegium ac Locros, quas urbes direpturos se destinaverant, intactas reliquissent. Itaque per se ipsi, conscriptis armatisque juventutis suæ quindecim millibus, ad Crotonem

⁵ Nullius rei—fides est.] "Obtained no credit for any thing."

⁶ Quum et levissimus quisque, &c.] "As all the most inconstant preferred revolution and a new alliance, while (at the same time that) they, whose relatives had been intercepted by the enemy from the city, had their affections in pledge," &c.

⁷ Magis taciti probarent, &c.] "Rather advocated by their silence their fidelity to their allegiance, than ventured to uphold what they approved."

⁸ Haud dubio in speciem consensu.] "With an apparently unanimous voice."

⁹ Cujus rei prope non servata, &c.] "But, in this arrangement, faith was nearly broken with," &c.

¹ Si quo casu.] "In case that by some accident," &c.

² Et eos quidem.] It will be observed, that *quidem* marks the antithesis between *eos* and *alias*.

³ Itaque Rægio.] "Rægio was, therefore, immediately abandoned."

oppugnandum pergunt ire, Græcam et ipsam urbem, et U. C. 539. maritimam: plurimum accessurum opibus, si in ora maris A. C. 215. urbem portu ac mœnibus validam tenuissent, credentes. Ea cura angebat, quod neque non arcessere⁴ ad auxilium Pœnos satis audebant, ne quid non pro sociis egisse vide-rentur: et, si Pœnus rursus magis arbiter pacis, quam adjutor belli, fuisset, ne in libertatem Crotonis, sicut ante Locrorum, frustra pugnaretur. Itaque optimum visum est, ad Hannibalem mitti legatos, caverique ab eo⁵, ut receptus Croto Bruttiorum esset. Hannibal quum præsentium eam consultationem⁶ esse respondisset, et ad Hannonem eos rejecisset, ab Hannone nihil certi ablatum. Nec enim diripi volebant⁷ nobilem atque opulentam urbem: et sperabant, quum Bruttius oppugnaret, Pœnos nec probare, nec juvare eam oppugnationem appareret, eo maturius ad se defecturos. Crotone nec consilium unum inter populares, nec voluntas⁸ erat. Unus velut morbus invaserat omnes Italiæ civitates, ut plebes ab optimatibus dissidentirent: senatus Romanis faveret, plebs ad Pœnos rem traheret. Eam dissensionem in urbe perfuga nuntiat Bruttii; Aristomachum esse principem plebis, tradendæque auctorem urbis: et in vasta urbe lateque omnibus⁹ disjectis mœnibus raras et stationes custodiasque senatorum esse: quacunque custodiant plebis homines, ea patere aditum. Auctore ac duce perfuga, Bruttii corona cinxerunt urbem: acceptique a plebe primo impetu locos omnes, præter arcem, cepere. Arcem optimates tenebant, preparato jam ante ad talem casum perfugio. Eodem Aristomachus perfugit; tanquam Pœnis, non Bruttii, auctor urbis tradendæ fuisset.

Urbs Croto¹ murum in circuitu patentem duodecim millia

3.

⁴ *Quod neque non arcessere, &c.]* "That they could not venture to refuse (omit) inviting the Carthaginians to their aid, lest they should be supposed to have done any thing inconsistent with their character as allies, (inconsistent with the spirit of their alliance); and lest, in case the Carthaginian should, a second time, become rather a mediator for peace than a party in the war, a gratuitous attack would have been made on the independence of Crotone."

⁵ *Caverique ab eo.]* "A security (an assurance) be exacted from him."

⁶ *Præsentium eam consultationem, &c.]* "That was a question for those on the spot."

⁷ *Nec enim diripi volebant, &c.]* "They (i. e. Hannibal and Hanno)

did not of course desire the destruction of a celebrated and wealthy town; and hoped, that, as the Brutians were the assailants, and as it would be evident that the Carthaginians neither sanctioned nor assisted in the assault, they (i. e. the Crotoniats) would the sooner come over to themselves."

⁸ *Consilium unum—neq; voluntas.]* "No agreement either of policy or sentiment."

⁹ *In vasta urbe latèque omnibus, &c.]* "In an empty (a thinly inhabited) city, and with all its walls extending to a great distance (enclosing a large space), the out-posts and stations of the Senators were far between."

¹ *Urbs Croto.]* This city had been one of the most flourishing of

U. C. 539. passuum habuit, ante Pyrrhi in Italiam adventum. Post
 A. C. 215. vastitatem eo bello factam vix pars dimidia habitabatur: flumen, quod medio oppido fluxerat², extra frequentia tectis loca præterfluebat: et arx procul iis, quæ habitabantur. Sex millia aberat ab urbe nobili templum (ipsa urbe erat nobilis) Laciniae Junonis³, sanctum omnibus circa populis. Locus ibi⁴, frequenti silva et proceris abietis arboribus septus, lœta in medio pascua habuit, ubi omnis generis sacrum deæ pascebatur pecus sine ullo pastore: separatimque egressi cujusque generis⁵ greges nocte remeabant ad stabula, nunquam insidiis ferarum, non fraude violati hominum. Magni igitur fructus ex eo pecore capti, columnaque inde aurea solida facta et sacra est: inclutumque templum, divitiis etiam, non tantum sanctitate, fuit. Ac miracula aliqua affinguntur plerumque⁶ tam insignibus locis. Fama est, aram esse in vestibulo templi; cujus cinerem nullo unquam moveri vento. Sed arx Crotonis, una parte imminens mari, altera vergente in agrum, situ tantum naturali quondam munita, postea et muro cincta est, qua per aversas rupes⁷ ab Dionysio Siciliae tyranno per dolum fuerat capta. Eam tum arcem, satis, ut videbatur, tutam, Crotoniatum optimates tenebant, circumsedente cum Bruttii eos etiam plebe sua. Postremo Bruttii, quum suis viribus in-

the Greek colonies, and especially distinguished for the proficiency of the natives in all athletic exercises, until they became enervated by the consequences of their victory over the Sybarites. It was the only Greek colony that, in the Persian war, assisted the parent country against the enemy. After the second Punic war it never recovered its former position, though colonized by the Romans.

² *Flumen, quod medio, &c. fluxerat, &c.]* Observe the change of tense. “The river, that had (formerly) flowed through the centre of the town, was (now) flowing outside the inhabited portion.”

³ *Templum Laciniae Junonis.]* This building stood on the Lacinian Promontory (*Cerro delle Colonne*), near a small rocky island, supposed to have been the isle of Calypso. Livy (l. xlivi. 3.) relates a legend, popular in his time, respecting this temple; that Fulvius Flaccus, the censur, wishing to complete the roof of a temple of Fortune in Rome, removed some marble flags from the

temple of Juno, which the Senate subsequently commanded him to restore; but that no artizan or artist could be found able to replace them. The distance from the town stated here to be six miles, is fixed by Strabo at 150 stadi (nineteen miles), but it is possible that he may have measured it by sea.

⁴ *Lucus ibi.]* This is very like the description given by several writers (e. g. Q. Curtius) of the Oasis surrounding the temple of Jupiter Ammon. The *Lucus* which is described as being surrounded by forest (*septus silvæ*), must mean the consecrated domain in the centre; and such, in other places, is the proper signification of the term.

⁵ *Separatimque—cujusque generis.]* i. e. Sui quisque generis.

⁶ *Affinguntur plerumque.]* Some editions substitute *affingunt*, ut *plerumque*.

⁷ *Per aversas rupes.]* “Up the back of the rocks”—the rocks behind—i. e. supposing the side overlooking the sea to be the front (*aversas*).

expugnabilem viderent arcem, coacti necessitate, Hannonis U. C. 539. auxilium implorant. Is, conditionibus ad ditionem com- A. C. 215. pellere Crotoniatas conatus, ut coloniam Bruttiorum eo deduci, antiquamque frequentiam eorum recipere⁸ vastam ac desertam bellis urbem paterentur, omnium neminem, præter Aristomachum, movit. Morituros se affirmabant citius, quam, immixti Bruttii, in alienos ritus, mores, legesque, ac mox linguam⁹ etiam verterentur¹. Aristomachus unus, quando nec suadendo ad ditionem satis vallebat, nec, sicut urbem prodiderat, locum prodendæ arcis inveniebat, transfugit ad Hannonem. Locrenses brevi post legati, quum permisso Hannonis arcem intrassent, persuadent, ut traduci se in Locros paterentur, nec ultima experiri vellent. Jam hoc ut sibi liceret, impetraverant² et ab Hannibale, missis ad id ipsum legatis. Ita Crotone excessum est, deductique Crotoniatae ad mare naves condescendunt. Locros omnis multitudo abeunt.

In Apulia ne hiems quidem quieta inter Romanos atque Hannibalem erat. Luceræ Sempronius consul, Hannibal haud procul Arpis hibernabat. Inter eos levia prælia ex occasione, aut³ opportunitate hujus aut illius partis, orientabantur: meliorque iis Romanus, et in dies cautor tutiorque ab insidiis siebat.

In Sicilia Romanis omnia mutaverat mors Hieronis, regnumque ad Hieronymum nepotem ejus translatum: puerum, vixdum libertatem, nedum dominationem, modice laturum. Læte id ingenium tutores atque amici ad præcipitandum⁴ in omnia vitia acceperunt: quæ ita futura cernens Hiero, ultima senecta voluisse dicitur liberas Syracusas relinquare, ne sub dominatu puerili, per ludibrium⁵, bonis artibus partum firmatumque interiret regnum. Huic consilio ejus summa ope obstitere filiæ, nomen regium penes puerum futurum ratae, regimen rerum omnium penes se virosque suos, Andranodorum et Zoippum: nam ii tutorum primi relinquebantur. Non facile erat nonagesimum jam agenti annum, circumcesso dies noctesque

4.

⁸ *Antiquamque frequentiam eorum (so. Bruttiorum) recipere.*] “To fill up with them the former number of the population.”

⁹ *Ac mox linguam.*] “And eventually, language.”

¹ *Verterentur.*] (middle voice) “Revolutionise themselves.”

² *Impetraverant.*] sc. Locrenses.

³ *Ex occasione, aut, &c.*] “Or at the convenience of one party or the other, and the Romans were improved by them (*melior eis siebat*),” &c.

⁴ *Læte id ingenium—ad præcipitandum.*] “His guardians (governors) and friends gladly availed themselves of such a temper, in order to plunge him into,” &c. Crevier reads *læti* and omits *ad*. With this reading *præcipitandum* must be taken immediately with *ingenium* and *acceperunt* in the sense of “perceived, became aware of.”

⁵ *Per ludibrium.*] “Through folly, or, in contempt.”

U.C. 539. muliebribus blanditiis, liberare animum, et convertere⁶ ad
 A.C. 215. publicam privata curam. Itaque tutores modo quindecim
 puero reliquit: quos precatus est moriens, ut fidem erga
 populum Romanum, quinquaginta annos ab se cultam, in-
 violatam servarent, juvenemque suis potissimum vestigiis
 insistere vellent disciplinæque, in qua edoctus esset. Hæc
 mandata. Quum exspirasset, per tutores testamento pro-
 lato, pueroque in concionem producto, (erat autem quin-
 decim tunc ferme annorum) paucis, qui per concionem ad
 excitandos clamores dispositi erant, approbantibus testa-
 mentum, ceteris velut patre amissso in orba civitate omnia
 timentibus, funus fit regium, magis amore civium et caritate,
 quam cura suorum, celebre. Brevi deinde ceteros⁷ tutores
 summovet Andranodus, juvenem jam esse dictans Hiero-
 nymum, ac regni potentem⁸: deponendoque tutelam ipse,
 quæ cum pluribus communis erat, in se unum omnium
 vires convertit.

5. Vix quidem ulli bono moderatoque regi facilis erat favor
 apud Syracusanos, succedenti tantæ caritati Hieronis.
 Verum enim vero⁹ Hieronymus, velut suis vitiis desidera-
 bilem efficere vellet avum¹⁰, primo statim conspectu, omnia
 quam disparia essent, ostendit. Nam qui per tot annos
 Hieronem filiumque ejus Gelonem, nec vestis habitu, nec

⁶ *Liberare animum, et convertere*, &c.] “To assert his liberty of opinion, and adapt his domestic arrangements to the public interest.”

⁷ *Deinde ceteros, &c.*] “Eventually,” &c. This must have taken place about two years after Hiero’s death. To be called *juvenis*, in the special sense of the term, Hieronymus must have attained the age of seventeen.

⁸ *Regni potentem.*] “Competent to the duties of royalty.”

⁹ *Verum enim vero.*] Emphatic assertion, “but Hieronymus indeed.” It will be found, throughout all history, that princes ‘born in the purple,’ and succeeding to power at an early age, have in most cases reigned during short and unquiet intervals, and met violent and tragical deaths. Accustomed from infancy to command, and receiving their only impressions of society from the unnatural servility of a Court, they naturally become the objects of selfish speculation, and the unconscious victims of intrigue, and eventually fall under the hasty retribution of

crimes and excesses committed by those who are really their worst enemies. They are first demoralized, and then punished for having become so. And if the accession to power of such unfortunate children does not produce immediate civil dissensions, as in the case of our Edward VI.; it must be followed by long, feeble, and vicious reigns, such as that of Louis XV. As it has been found that the founders of dynasties are the most able rulers; because, as Sallust says, “power is effectually retained by the same qualities that had in the first instance acquired it;” so it would appear that a mere hereditary claim, when unaccompanied by any qualifications suited to so great and solemn a responsibility, cannot really constitute a *right* to sovereign power.

¹⁰ *Desiderabilem efficere—avum.*] “As though he designed to render his grandfather an object of regret, shewed, at the very first view, how wide was the contrast in every thing.”

alio ullo insigni differentes a ceteris civibus vidissent, con- U. C. 539.
spexere purpuram, ac diadema, ac satellites armatos: qua- A. C. 215.
drisque etiam alborum equorum interdum ex regia proce-
dente, more Dionysii tyranni¹. Hunc tam superbum
apparatum² habitumque convenientes sequebantur contem-
pus omnium hominum, superbæ aures, contumeliosa dicta,
rari aditus, non alienis modo, sed tutoribus etiam, libidines
novæ, inhumana crudelitas. Itaque tantus omnes terror
invaserat, ut quidam ex tutoribus aut morte voluntaria, aut
fuga præverterent metum suppliciorum. Tres ex iis, qui-
bus solis aditus in domum familiarior erat, Andranodorus et
Zoippus, generi Hieronis, et Thraso quidam, de aliis quidem
rebus haud magnopere audiebantur: tendendo autem³ duo
ad Carthaginenses, Thraso ad societatem Romanam, certa-
mine ac studiis interdum in se convertebant animum ado-
lescentis: quin conjuratio, in tyranni caput facta, indicatur
per Callonem quendam⁴, æqualem Hieronymi, et jam inde
a puero in omnia familiaria jura assuetum. Index unum ex
conjuratis Theodotum, a quo ipse appellatus erat, nominare
potuit. Qui comprehensus extemplo, traditusque Andrano-
doro torquendus, de se ipse haud cunctanter fassus, conscius
celabat. Postremo, quum omnibus⁵ intolerandis patientiæ
humanæ cruciatis laceraretur, victimum malis re simulans,

¹ *Tyranni.*] This term does not convey, necessarily, the idea expressed by our word "tyrant;" for instance,

"The tyrant of the Chersonese
Was freedom's best and bravest friend."

It signifies rather, one who rules without the restraint of constitutional securities; analogous, in general, to the Emperors of our time; and whose administration takes its tone and character from the temper and principles of the individual, whatever these may happen to be.

² *Hunc tam superbum apparatus &c.*] "This so ambitious pomp and manner there accompanied as its natural associations, a contempt of every body, a haughty presence, insulting language, a difficulty of access not for strangers only but even his governors, new forms of sensuality, and a heartless cruelty."

³ *Tendendo autem, &c.*] "By advocating, however, (lit. "aiming at") the two others, a Carthaginian, and Thraso a Roman alliance, they sometimes interested the prince by their rivalry and zeal."

⁴ *Callonem quendam.*] It is sug-

gested by the best commentators, that this was most probably the personal name of some young Sicilian of high rank; as it is not likely that a mere slave—for some editions read *calo-*
nenem—could have enjoyed the intimacy described. We know however that highly educated slaves frequently lived on very familiar and confidential terms with their masters; (e. g. Cicero's *Tyro*;) and we can easily understand how a slave might enjoy more opportunities of discovering a conspiracy, than a young patrician.

⁵ *Postremo, quum omnibus &c.*] "At length when racked by every torture beyond the stretch of human endurance, affecting to be subdued by suffering, he pointed his evidence instead of the guilty, against the king's innocent acquaintances, whose lives were the most worthless that occurred to his invention amid &c. falsely representing Thraso as the originator of the plot, since they would not, except in reliance on so confidential a leader, attempt so desperate an enterprise."

U.C. 539. avertit ab consciis in insontes indicium, Thrasonem esse
 A. C. 215. auctorem consilii mentitus, nec, nisi tam potenti duce confisos rem tantam ausuros, ab latere tyranni, quorum capita vilissima fingenti inter dolores gemitusque occurrere. Maxime animo tyranni credibile indicium Thraso nominatus fecit. Itaque extemplo traditur ad supplicium: adjectique poenæ ceteri juxta insontes. Consciorum nemo⁶, quum diu socius consilii torqueretur, aut latuit, aut fugit. Tantum illis in virtute ac fide Theodoti fiducia fuit: tantumque ipsi Theodoto virium ad arcana occultanda.

6. Ita, quod unum vinculum cum Romanis societatis erat, Thrasone sublato e medio, extemplo haud dubie ad defectionem res spectabat: legatus ad Hannibalem missi, ac remissi ab eo cum⁷ Hannibale, nobili adolescente, Hippocrates et Epicydes, nati Carthagine, sed oriundi ab Syracusis exsule avo, Poeni ipsi materno genere. Per hos juncta societas Hannibali ac Syracusano tyranno: nec invito Hannibale⁸ apud tyrannum manserunt. Ap. Claudius praetor, cuius Sicilia provincia erat, ubi ea accepit, extemplo legatos ad Hieronymum misit: qui, quum sese ad renovandam societatem, quæ cum avo fuisse, venisse dicerent, per ludibrium audit⁹ dimissique sunt ab querente per jocum Hieronymo, 'quæ fortuna iis pugnæ ad Cannas fuisse? vix credibilia enim legatos Hannibalis narrare. Velle, quid veri sit, scire, ut ex eo, utram spem sequatur, consilium capiat.' Romani, 'quum serio legationes audire coepisset, reddituros se ad eum' dicentes 'esse,' monito magis eo, quam rogato, ne fidem temere mutaret, proficiscuntur. Hieronymus legatos Carthaginem misit ad foedus ex societate cum Hannibale faciendum. Pacto convenit, ut, quum Romanos Sicilia expulissent, (id autem brevi fore, si naves atque exercitum misissent) Himera amnis¹, qui ferme insu-

⁶ Consciorum nemo &c.] "Of the real conspirators, not one, though their accomplice was undergoing protracted tortures, either concealed himself or took flight."

⁷ Ac remissi ab eo cum &c.] There were sent back by him, together with Hannibal, a young man of high rank, Hippocrates and Epicydes, natives of Carthage, but of Syracusan origin, as their grandfather had been a refugee, and personally Carthaginians by the mother's side."

These two firebrands, whose ancestor had been banished by Agathocles, acted a very conspicuous part, and may be almost regarded

as the principal agents in all the tragical events that preceded the capture of Syracuse.

⁸ Nec invito Hannibale.] "And with Hannibal's consent."

⁹ Per ludibrium auditⁱ &c.] "Were insultingly received and dismissed by Hieronymus with the sneering inquiry, 'what had been their success in the fight at Canæ?'"

¹ Himera amnis.] There were two rivers of this name in Sicily. The one in question here, and which nearly bisected the island, is now called Fiume Salso. The other running by Palermo is now the Fiume dei termini.

lam dividit, finis regni Syracusani ac Punici imperii esset. U.C. 539.
Aliam deinde, inflatus assentationibus eorum, qui eum non A.C. 216.
Hieronis tantum, sed Pyrrhi etiam regis³, materni avi, jube-
bant meminisse, legationem misit, qua æquum censebat,
Sicilia sibi omni cedi: Italiæ imperium proprium quæri
Carthaginiensi populo. Hanc levitatem ac jactationem
animi⁴ neque mirabantur⁵ in juvne furioso, neque arguebant,
dummodo averterent eum ab Romanis.

Sed omnia in eo præcipitia⁶ ad exitium fuerunt. Nam
quum, præmissis Hippocrate atque Epicyde cum binis
millibus armatorum ad tentandas urbes, quæ præsidiis
tenebant Romanis, et ipse in Leontinos cum cetero omni
exercitu (erant autem ad quindecim millia peditum equi-
tumque) profectus esset; liberas ædes⁷ conjurati (et omnes
forte militabant⁸) imminentes viæ angustæ⁹, qua descendere
ad forum rex solebat, sumpserunt. Ibi, quum instructi
armatique ceteri transitum exspectantes starent, uni ex iis,
(Dinomeni fuit nomen) quia custos corporis erat, partes
datae sunt, ut, quum appropinquaret januæ rex, per cau-
sam aliquam¹⁰ in angustiis sustineret ab tergo agmen. Ita,
ut convenerat, factum est. Tanquam laxaret elatum pedem
ab stricto nodo, moratus turbam Dinomenes, tantum inter-
valli fecit, ut, quum in prætereuntem sine armatis regem
impetus fieret, confoderetur aliquot prius vulneribus, quam
succurri posset. Clamore et tumultu auditu, in Dinome-
nem, jam haud dubie obstantem¹¹, tela conjiciuntur: inter
quæ tamen, duobus acceptis vulneribus, evasit. Fuga sa-
tellitum, ut jacentem videre regem, facta est. Interfectores

³ *Pyrrhi—regis &c.]* His father Gelon had married Nerei's, daughter of Pyrrhus.

⁴ *Jactationem animi.]* "Incon-
stancy, or, arrogance."

⁵ *Neque mirabantur &c.]* "They
neither liked nor reproved," i. e.
though they did not like, still they
took no notice of it.

⁶ *Omnia in eo præcipitia &c.]* "But every thing in him (his whole
character) tended downward to (con-
tained elements of) destruction."

⁷ *Liberas ædes.]* "A house ex-
clusively to themselves."

⁸ *Omnes forte militabant.]* "All
happened to be in the army;" and
therefore it excited no suspicion that
they should have accompanied the
king.

⁹ *Via angustæ.]* The town of
Leontini (now Lentini, originally
Leætrygona) is peculiarly situated,

lying immediately to the east of a range of hills. The road mentioned here was the main street, which was closely overhung by cliffs on each side. On one side stood a row of houses sheltered by the precipice, and overlooking the river (Lissus) which flowed eastward to the sea through a narrow defile between the town and the hills. The inhabitants of this place were the people who induced the Athenians, through the agency of their distinguished citizen Gorgias, to undertake their fatal expedition to Syracuse.

¹⁰ *Per causam aliquam.]* "That
he should, under some pretext, stop
the way of the guard behind him."

¹¹ *Jam haud dubie obstantem.]*
"Who was now unquestionably (now
ascertained to be) the obstacle."

U. C. 539. pars in forum ad multitudinem lætam libertate, pars Syracusas pergunt, ad præoccupanda Andranodori regiorumque aliorum consilia. Incerto rerum statu, Ap. Claudius, bellum oriens ex propinquo quum cerneret, senatum literis certiore fecit, Siciliam Carthaginiensi populo et Hannibali conciliari: ipse adversus Syracusana consilia, provinciam, regnique fines² omnia convertit præsidia.

8. Exitu anni ejus, Q. Fabius ex auctoritate senatus Puteolos³, per bellum cœptum frequentari emporium, communii, præsidiumque imposuit. Inde Romam comitiorum causa veniens, in eum, quem primum diem⁴ comitiale habuit, comitia edixit; atque ex itinere præter urbem⁵ in campum descendit. Eo die quum sors prærogativæ Aniensi⁶ juniorum exisset, eaque T. Otacilium, M. Æmilium Regillum consules diceret, tum Q. Fabius, silentio facto, tali oratione est usus: 'Si aut pacem in Italia, aut bellum cum eo hoste haberemus, in quo negligentiae⁷ laxior locus esset, qui vestris studiis, quæ in campum ad mandados, quibus velitis, honores afferitis, moram ullam offerret, is mihi parum meminisse videretur vestræ libertatis. Sed quum in hoc bello⁸, in hoc hoste, nunquam ab ullo duce sine ingenti nostra clade erratum sit, eadem vos cura, qua in aciem armati descenditis, inire suffragium ad creandos consules decet, et sibi sic quemque dicere: Hannibali imperatori parem consulem nomino. Hoc anno ad Capuam Jubellio Taureæ Campano summo equiti provocanti summus Romanus eques Asellus Claudius est oppositus.

² *Provinciam, regnique fines.*] To make this intelligible, we must understand an omission of *ad* and read *provinciæ*, i. e. concentrated all his means of defence on the frontier line, which separated the Roman province from the kingdom of Syracuse, and was laid down after the cession of the island to the Romans in the first Punic war. Doering suggests *omni confirmat præsidio*, which is a considerable improvement. As the text stands, the only possible construction is an apposition of the last accus. to the two preceding.

³ *Puteolos.*] This town (now Puzzoli, originally Dicæarchia) commanded the small bay lying between it and Baiae, and when communication over land became difficult, naturally rose to some importance as a dépôt. It continued to be the great provision port down to the

time of the Emperor Claudius, who restored Ostia, in order to shorten the transit by land.

⁴ *In eum, quem primum diem &c.*] "For the first available public day," i. e. without waiting for the usual interval of three weeks (*trinum nundinum*) after the proclamation.

⁵ *Præter urbem.*] "Passing by (not entering) the city."

⁶ *Sors prærogativæ Aniensi &c.*] "The lot of precedence fell on the century of Juniors of the tribe A."

⁷ *In quo negligentiae &c.*] "In whose case there might be a freer license for neglect."

⁸ *Sed quum in hoc bello, &c.*] "But since, in the present war and with our present enemy, no mistake has been ever made without serious loss on our side, it becomes a duty to vote for the election of consuls with the same circumspection," &c.

'Adversus Gallum, quondam provocantem⁹ in ponte Anienis, U. C. 539.
 'T. Manlium, fidentem et animo et viribus, misere majores^{A. C. 915.}
 'nostri. Ob eandem causam¹ haud multis annis post fuisse
 'non negaverim, cur M. Valerio non diffideretur, adversus
 'similiter provocantem arma capienti Gallum ad certamen.
 'Quemadmodum pedites equitesque optamus, ut validiores,
 'si minus, ut pares hosti habeamus; ita duci hostium
 'parem imperatorem quæramus. Quum, qui est summus²
 'in civitate dux, eum legerimus; tamen repente lectus, in
 'annum creatus, adversus veterem ac perpetuum imperato-
 'rem comparabitur, nullis neque temporis, neque juris in-
 'clusum angustiis, quo minus ita omnia gerat administretque,
 'ut tempora postulabunt belli: nobis autem in apparatu
 'ipso, ac tantum inchoantibus res, annus circumagitur.
 'Quoniam, quales viros creare vos consules deceat, satis est
 'dictum; restat, ut pauca de iis, in quos prærogativæ
 'favor inclinavit, dicam. M. Æmilius Regillus flamen est
 'Quirinalis³, quem neque mittere ab sacris, neque retinere
 'possumus, ut non deum aut belli deseramus curam. Ota-
 'cilius sororis meæ filiam uxorem atque ex ea liberos habet.
 'Ceterum non ea vestra in me⁴ majoresque meos merita
 'sunt, ut non potiorem privatis necessitudinibus rempubli-
 'cam habeam. Quilibet nautarum vectorumque⁵ tranquillo
 'mari gubernare potest: ubi sæva orta tempestas est, ac
 'turbato mari rapitur vento navis, tum viro et gubernatore
 'opus est. Non tranquillo navigamus, sed jam aliquot pro-
 'cellis submersi pæne sumus. Itaque, quis ad gubernacula
 'sedeat, summa cura providendum ac præcavendum vobis

⁹ *Adversus Gallum, quondam provocantem &c.]* "To meet the Gaul, who once delivered his challenge on the bridge of the Anio," &c. (l. vii. c. 20.) This combat, in which the cognomen *Torquatus* originated, and another in the same war, which gave rise to that of *Corvinus*, are compared by Dr. Arnold (ch. 27.) to the legendary account of the battle of Otterburne, known as "*Chevy Chace.*"'

¹ *Ob eandem causam &c.]* "I cannot deny that it was for the same cause that, not many years after, confidence was reposed in M. Valerius, when taking arms for a combat," &c.

² *Quum, qui est summus &c.]* Even though we choose the most accomplished general in the nation; still chosen on the instant, and ap-

pointed but for a year, he will be pitted against an established and permanent commander, restricted by no limits of time or limitations of authority from conducting and arranging every thing," &c.

³ *M. Æmilius Regillus flamen est Quirinalis.]* This same person, or a namesake, is mentioned below (l. xxix. c. ii. 38.) as being down to that time, *flamen Martialis*. This must be an oversight of the historian, if there were not two of the same name.

⁴ *Non ea vestra in me &c.]* "Your favours to me and my ancestors have not been so slight," &c.

⁵ *Nautarum vectorumque.]* "Any sailor or commander." A *vector* (properly) was the proprietor of the cargo, and traded in his own ship.

U.C. 539. 'est. In minore te experti, T. Otacili, re sumus: haud
 A.C. 215. 'sane, cur ad majora tibi fidamus, documenti⁶ quicquam de-
 'disti. Classem hoc anno, cui tu præfusti, trium rerum
 'causa paravimus: ut Africæ oram popularetur; ut tuta
 'nobis Italæ litora essent; ante omnia ne supplementum
 'cum stipendio commeatuque ab Carthagine Hannibali
 'transportaretur. Create consulem T. Otacilium, non dico,
 'si omnia hæc, sed si aliquid eorum reipublicæ præstitit.
 'Sin autem, te classem obtinente, etiam, velut pacato mari,
 'quælibet⁷ Hannibali tuta atque integra ab domo venerunt;
 'si ora Italæ infestior hoc anno, quam Africæ, fuit: quid
 'dicere potes, cur te potissimum ducem Hannibali hosti op-
 'ponant? Si consul essem, dictatorem dicendum exemplo
 'majorum nostrorum censeremus: nec tu id indignari
 'posses, aliquem in civitate Romana meliorem bello haberet,
 'quam te. Magis nullius interest⁸, quam tua, T. Otacili,
 'non imponi cervicibus tuis onus, sub quo concidas. Ego
 'magnopere suadeo, eodem animo, quo, si stantibus vobis
 'in aciem armatis repente diligendi duo imperatores essent,
 'quorum ductu atque auspicio dimicaretis, hodie quoque
 'consules creetis: quibus sacramento liberi nostri dicant,
 'ad quorum edictum convenient, sub quorum tutela atque
 'cura militent. Lacus Trasimenus et Cannæ⁹ tristia ad
 'recordationem exempla, sed ad præcavendum simile utili
 'documento sunt. Præco, Aniensem juniorum in suffra-
 'gium revoca.'

9. Quum T. Otacilius ferociter, eum continuare consulatum velle, vociferaretur atque obstreperet, lictores ad eum accedere consul jussit: et, quia in urbem non inierat, protinus in campum ex itinere profectus, admonuit, cum securibus sibi fasces præferri. Iterum prærogativa suffragium init; creatique in ea consules Q. Fabius Maximus quartum, M. Marcellus tertium. Eosdem consules ceteræ centuriæ sine variatione ulla dixerunt. Et prætor unus refectus Q. Fulvius Flaccus: novi alii creati, T. Otacilius Crassus iterum, Q. Fabius consulis filius, qui tum aediles curulis erat, P. Cornelius Lentulus. Comitiis prætorum perfectis, se-

⁶ *Haud sanè—documenti &c.]* to remember, but they are useful
 " You have not certainly given any warnings, to guard against their re-
 security."

⁷ *Etiam—quælibet &c.]* " Every coincidence, that this same T. Otacilius
 thing actually, as though the sea was, on a second occasion, dis-
 were open."

⁸ *Magis nullius interest &c.]* " There is no man whom it concerns
 more than yourself," &c.

⁹ *Trasimenus et Cannæ &c.]* " Tr. and C. are instances painful

to remember, but they are useful
 warnings, to guard against their re-
 occurrence." It is a curious coin-
 cidence, that this same T. Otacilius
 was, on a second occasion, dis-
 pointed of the consulship, after being
 similarly nominated, in consequence
 of the refusal of Manlius Torquatus,
 with whom he was named. See l.
 xxvi. 22.

natusconsultum factum est, 'ut Q. Fulvio extra ordinem ^{U. C. 539.} urbana provincia' esset: isque potissimum, consulibus ad bellum profectis, urbi præcesset.' Aquæ magnæ¹ bis eo anno fuerunt: Tiberisque agros inundavit cum magna strage tectorum, pecorumque et hominum pernicie.

Quinto anno secundi Punici belli, Q. Fabius Maximus ^{U. C. 540.} quartum, M. Claudius Marcellus tertium, consulatum in- ^{A. C. 214.} eentes, plus solito converterant in se civitatis animos. Multis enim annis tale consulum par non fuerat. Referebant senes², sic Maximum Rullum cum P. Decio ad bellum Gallicum, sic postea Papirium Carviliumque adversus Samnites Bruttiosque, et Lucanum cum Tarentio populum, consules declaratos. Absens Marcellus consul creatus, quum ad exercitum esset; præsenti Fabio, atque ipso conitia habente, consulatus continuatus. Tempus ac necessitas belli, ac discrimen sumimæ rerum faciebant, ne quis aut in exemplum exquireret³, aut suspectum cupiditatis imperii consulem haberet. Quin laudabant potius magnitudinem animi, quod, quum summo imperatore esse opus reipublicæ sciret, seque eum haud dubie esse, minoris invidiam suam, si qua ex re oriretur, quam utilitatem reipublicæ, fecisset.

Quo die magistratum inierunt consules, senatus in Capitolio est habitus; decretumque omnium primum, ut consules sortirentur, compararente inter se, uter censoribus creandis comitia haberet, priusquam ad exercitum proficeretur. Prorogatum deinde imperium omnibus, qui ad exercitus erant, jussique in provinciis manere, Ti. Gracchus Luceræ, ubi cum volonum exercitu erat, C. Terentius Varro in agro Piceno, M'. Pomponius in Gallico: et prætoribus prioris anni pro prætore Q. Mucius obtineret Sardiniam, M. Valerius ad Brundisium oræ maritimæ, intentus adversus omnes motus Philippi Macedonum regis, præcesset. P. Cornelio Lentulo prætori Sicilia⁴ decreta provincia; T. Otacilio classis eadem, quam adversus Carthaginenses priore anno habuisset.

Prodigia eo anno multa nuntiata sunt. Quæ quo magis credebant simplices ac religiosi homines, eo plura nuntia-

¹ *Urbana provincia.*] "The Home department."

mentioned in the text happened rather more than a century previously.

² *Aquæ magnæ.*] "Heavy falls of rain," "floods."

³ *In exemplum exquireret.*] "Raise a question as to precedent."

⁴ *Referebant senes &c.*] "The elders were calling to mind," &c. The Samnite war, which had been preceded immediately by the great Gallic invasion, began in the year U. C. 411; so that both the events

⁵ *Cornelio Lentulo prætori Siciliæ.*] We read, however, (c. 27. below,) that App. Claudius still retained his command in Sicily.

U.C. 540. bantur: Lanuvii in æde intus Sospitæ Junonis corvos
 A.C. 214. nidum fecisse; in Apulia palmam viridem arsisse: Mantuæ stagnum effusum Mincio⁶ amni cruentum visum: et Calibus creta, et Romæ in foro boario sanguine pluisse: et in vico Insteio⁷ fontem sub terra tanta vi aquarum fluxisse, ut series doliaque, quæ in eo loco erant, provoluta velut impetus torrentis tulerit: tacta de cœlo atrium publicum in Capitolio⁸, ædem in campo Vulcani, arcem in Sabinis publicamque viam, murum ac portam Gabiis. Jam alia vulgata miracula erant: hastam Martis Prænestiæ sua sponte promotam: bovem in Sicilia locutum: infantem in utero matris in Marrucinis⁹, ‘Io triumphe!’ clamasse: ex muliere Spoleti virum factum: Hadriæ¹⁰ aram in cœlo, speciesque hominum circum eam, cum candida veste, visas esse. Quin Romæ quoque in ipsa urbe, secundum apum examen¹¹ in foro visum, affirmantes quidam, legiones se armatas in Janiculo videre, concitaverunt civitatem ad arma: qui tum in Janiculo essent, negarunt, quemquam ibi, præter assuetos collis ejus cultores, apparuisse. Hæc prodigia hostiis majoribus procurata sunt ex haruspicum responso: et supplicatio omnibus deis, quorum pulvinaria Romæ essent, indicta est.

11. Perpetratis, quæ ad pacem deum pertinebant, de republiça belloque gerendo, et quantum copiarum, et ubi quæque essent, consules ad senatum retulerunt. Duodeviginti legionibus bellum geri placuit: binas consules sibi sumere: binis Galliam, Siciliamque, ac Sardiniam obtineri: duabusque Q. Fabium prætorem Apuliæ, duabus volonum Ti.

⁶ *Stagnum effusum Mincio.*] “The lake formed by the floods of the Mincius.”

⁷ *In vico Insteio.*] For this name, Crevier reads *Istrico*, but observes, that neither occurs any where else. In each of the 14 arrondissemens of Augustus were 22 *vici*, consisting each of about 230 houses.

⁸ *Atrium publicum in Capitolio.*] The numerous and repeatedly decorated and enriched buildings on the Capitol have disappeared ever since their final destruction by Genseric; and even the old name has become scarcely recognizable in the barbarous corruption *Campidoglio*.

⁹ *In Marrucinis.*] A district of Picenum.

¹⁰ *Hadriæ.*] One of the Etruscan towns, from which the Mare Superum took its name. The phenomenon

described here was the *mirage* or *fata morgana*, of very frequent occurrence in southern Italy and Sicily, especially about the Faro, or Strait of Messina. “In the early dawn of a Sicilian morning,” writes one of our popular authors, “the shepherds and watchers will sometimes, on the coast of the Messinese Strait, behold, in the clear unclouded blue of the sky, a splendid but delusive pageant. Towers and castles, domes and palaces, festivals and processions, arranged armies and contending hosts, pass for a moment in brilliant confusion, and then fade away, as if the scenes of another world were, for some special purpose, conjured up for a moment, and then withdrawn for ever.”

¹¹ *Secundum apum examen &c.*
 “After the appearance of,” &c.

Gracchum circa Luceriam præesse: singulas C. Terentio U.C. 540. proconsuli ad Picenum, et M. Valerio ad classem circa A.C. 214. Brundisium relinqu, et duas urbi præsidio esse. Hic ut numerus legionum expleretur, sex novæ legiones erant scribendæ. Eas primo quoque tempore consules scribere jussi, et classem parare: ut cum iis navibus, quæ pro Calabriæ litoribus³ in statione essent, centum quinquaginta longarum navium classis eo anno expleretur. Delectu habito et centum navibus novis deductis, Q. Fabius comitia censoribus creandis habuit. Creati M. Atilius Regulus et P. Furius Philus.

Quum increbesceret rumor, bellum in Sicilia esse, T. Otacilius eo cum classe proficisci jussus est. Quum deessent nautæ, consules ex senatusconsulto edixerunt, 'ut, qui, ' L. Æmilio, C. Flaminio censoribus, millibus æris quinquaginta⁴ ipse aut pater ejus census fuisse, usque ad centum millia, aut cui postea res tanta esset facta, nautam unum cum sex mensium stipendio daret: qui supra centum millia, usque ad trecenta millia, tres nautas cum stipendio annuo: qui supra trecenta millia, usque ad decies æris⁵, quinque nautas: qui supra decies, septem: senatores octo nautas cum annuo stipendio darent.' Ex hoc edicto dati nautæ⁶, armati instructique ab dominis, cum triginta dierum coctis cibariis naves concenderunt. Tum primum est factum, ut classis Romana sociis navalibus privata impensa paratis compleretur⁷.

Hic major solito apparatus præcipue conterruit Campanos, ne ab obsidione Capuæ bellum ejus anni Romani inciperent. Itaque legatos ad Hannibalem oratum miserunt, ut Capuam exercitum admoveret: 'ad eam oppugnandam novos exercitus scribi Romæ; nec ullius urbis 'defectioni magis infensos eorum animos esse.' Id quia tam trepidi nuntiabant, maturandum Hannibal ratus, ne prævenirent Romani, prefectus Arpis, ad Tifata in veteribus castris super Capuam consedit. Inde, Numidis Hispanisque ad præsidium simul castrorum⁸, simul Capuæ relictis, cum

12.

³ Quæ pro Calabriæ litoribus.] i. e. The fleet of fifty ships commanded, the year before, by Val. Flaccus. (l. xxxii. c. 38.)

⁴ Millibus æris L.] i. e. 50,000 asses, ten of which were equal to a *denarius* (drachma) = about seven pence and three-fourths of our money.

⁵ Decies æris.] i. e. With the usual ellipsis, decies centena millia æris. This arrangement constituted

a property tax on a sliding scale, the most equitable of all systems of taxation.

⁶ Dati nautæ.] All these were, of course, slaves. (See l. xxvi. c. 36.)

⁷ Classis—oompleretur.] "The fleet was manned." Compare the Greek phrases, πληροῦν and πλήρωμα.

⁸ Ad præsidium simul castrorum, &c.] "To protect at the same time the camp and Capua."

U.C. 540. cetero exercitu ad lacum Averni⁹ per speciem sacrificandi,
 A.C. 214. re ipsa, ut tentaret Puteolos, quodque ibi præsidii erat,
 descendit. Maximus, postquam Hannibalem Arpis profectum,
 et regredi in Campaniam, allatum est, nec die nec
 nocte intermisso itinere, ad exercitum redit: et Ti. Grac-
 chum ab Luceria Beneventum copias admovere, Q. Fabium
 prætorem (is filius consulis erat) Luceriam Gracchus suc-
 cedere jubet. In Siciliam eodem tempore duo prætores pro-
 fecti, P. Cornelius ad exercitum, Otacilius, qui maritimæ
 oræ reique navalii præsisset; et ceteri in suas quiske provincias profecti: et, quibus prorogatum imperium erat, eas-
 dem, quas priore anno, regiones obtinuerunt.

13. Ad Hannibalem, quum ad lacum Averni esset, quinque nobiles juvenes ab Tarento venerunt, partim ad Trasimenum lacum, partim ad Cannas capti, dimissique domos cum eadem comitate, qua usus adversus omnes Romanorum socios Poenus fuerat. Ii, 'memores beneficiorum¹ ejus per-
 pulisse magnam partem se juventutis Tarentinæ,' referunt,
 'ut Hannibalis amicitiam ac societatem, quam populi Ro-
 mani, malling; legatosque ab suis missos rogare² Hanni-
 balem, ut exercitum proprius Tarentum admoveat. Si
 signa ejus, si castra conspecta a Tarento³ sint, haud ullam
 intercessuram moram, quin urbs dedatur. In potestate
 juniorum plebem, in manu plebis rem Tarentinam esse.
 Hannibal collaudatos eos, oneratosque ingentibus promissis,
 domum ad copta maturanda redire jubet: se in tempore
 affuturum esse. Hac cum spe dimissi Tarentini. Ipsum
 ingens cupidio incesserat Tarenti potiundi. Urbem esse
 videbat, quum opulentarum nobilemque, tum maritimam, et
 in Macedoniam opportune versam⁴: regemque Philippum
 hunc portum, si transiret in Italiam, quum Brundisium Ro-
 mani haberent, petiturum. Sacro inde perpetrato, ad quod

⁹ *Ad Lacum Averni.*] "That crater of an old volcano," writes Dr. Arnold, "where the soil seemed to breathe fire, while the unbroken rim of its basin was covered with the uncleared masses of the native woods, was the scene of a thousand mysterious stories, and one of the spots where the lower world most nearly approached the light of day, and where offerings to the dead were most acceptable." Ceremonies of this gloomy and mystic character formed a principal element in the religion of the Carthaginians; and were, on this occasion, undertaken by Hannibal most probably to mask

his design of attacking Puteoli, which had become so useful and important to the Romans.

¹ *Memores beneficiorum.*] "Through gratitude for his generosity."

² *Legatosque ab suis missos ro-
gare.*] "They were sent as ambas-
sadors (deputed) by their friends to
ask him."

³ *Si castra conspecta a Tarento &c.*] "As soon as his camp should be within view of Tarentum."

⁴ *In Macedoniam opportune ver-
sam.*] It was also very conveniently
situated for communication with
Carthage.

reverat, et, dum ibi moratur, pervastato agro Cumano usque ad Miseni promontorium, Puteolos repente agmen convertit, ad opprimendum praesidium Romanum. Sex millia iomium erant, et locus munimento quoque, non naturali modo, tutus. Triduum ibi moratus Poenus, ab omni parte intentato praesidio, deinde, ut nihil procedebat, ad populandum agrum Neapolitanum, magis ira quam potiundae urbis pe, processit. Adventu ejus in propinquum agrum^s Nolana nota est plebs, jam diu aversa ab Romanis et infesta senatui suo. Itaque legati ad arcessendum Hannibalem, cum haud dubio promisso tradendae urbis, venerunt. Praevenit incepsum eorum Marcellus consul, a primoribus accitus. Die uno Suessulam a Calibus, quum Vulturnus amnis trajicientem moratus esset, contenderat. Inde proxima nocte sex millia peditum, equitesque trecentos, qui praesidio senatui essent, Nolam intromisit: et, uti a consule omnia impigre facta sunt ad praecoccupandum Nolam, ita Hannibal tempus terebat; bis jam ante nequicquam tentata re, segnior ad credendum Nolanis factus.

Iisdem diebus et Q. Fabius consul ad Casilinum tentandum, quod praesidio Punico tenebatur, venit; et ad Benventum, velut ex composito, parte altera Hanno ex Bruttiis cum magna peditum equitumque manu, altera Ti. Gracchus ab Luceria accessit: qui primo oppidum intravit. Deinde, ut Hannonem tria millia ferme ab urbe ad Calorem fluvium castra posuisse, et inde agrum populari audivit, et ipse, egressus moenibus, mille ferme passus ab hoste castra locat, ibique concionem militum habuit. Legiones magna ex parte volonum habebat, qui jam alterum annum^t libertatem tacite mererii, quam postulare palam, maluerant. Senserat tamen hibernis egrediens murmur in agmine esse quærentium, 'en unquam liberi militaturi essent?' scripseratque senatui, non tam quid desiderarent, quam quid meruissent: 'bona fortique opera eorum se ad eam diem usum: neque 'ad exemplum' justi militis quicquam iis, praeter libertatem, 'deesse.' De eo permisum ipsi erat, faceret, quod e republica duceret esse. Itaque prius, quam cum hoste manum consereret, pronuntiat, 'tempus venisse iis libertatis, quam 'diu sperassent, potiundæ. Postero die signis collatis 'dimicaturum puro ac patenti campo, ubi sine ullo insidiarum metu vera virtute geri res posset. Qui caput hostis

14.

^s *Adventu ejus in propinquum agrum.*] "By his arrival in the adjacent territory of Nola, the populace of Nola, long alienated from the Romans, &c. were roused to activity."

^t *Qui jam alterum annum, &c.*] "Who had chosen rather to earn

their liberty by another year's (i.e. the past year's) uncomplaining service, than demand it openly."

⁷ *Neque ad exemplum, &c.*] "And to be specimens (to attain the standard) of regular soldiers, they wanted nothing but," &c.

U.C. 540. 'retulisset, eum se extemplo liberum jussurum esse: qui
 A.C. 214. 'loco cessisset, in eum servili suppicio⁸ animadversurum.
 'Suam cuique fortunam in manu esse: libertatis auctorem
 'iis non se fore solum, sed consulem M. Marcellum et uni-
 'versos Patres; quos, consultos ab se de libertate eorum,
 'sibi permisisse.' Literas inde consulis ac senatusconsultum
 recitavit. Ad quæ clamor cum ingenti assensu est sub-
 latus. Pugnam poscebant, signumque ut daret extemplo,
 ferociter instabant. Gracchus, præcio in posterum diem
 pronuntiato, concionem dimisit. Milites læti, præcipue
 quibus merces⁹ navatae in unum diem operæ libertas futura
 15. erat, armis expediendis quod reliquum consumunt. Postero-
 die, ubi signa cœperunt canere, primi omnium parati in-
 structique ad prætorium conveniunt. Sole orto, Gracchus
 in aciem copias educit: nec hostes moram dimicandi fecer-
 runt. Decem et septem millia peditum erant, maxima ex
 parte Brutii ac Lucani: equites mille ducenti; inter quos
 pauci admodum Italici, ceteri Numidæ fere omnes Mauri-
 que. Pugnatum est et acriter, et diu. Quattuor horis
 neutro inclinata est pugna: nec alia magis Romanum¹ im-
 pediebat res, quam capita hostium pretia libertati facta.
 Nam ut quisque hostem impigre occiderat, primum capite
 ægre inter turbam tumultumque abscidendo² tempus terebat:
 deinde, occupata dextra tenendo caput, fortissimus quisque
 pugnator esse desierat: segnibus ac timidis tradita pugna
 erat. Quod ubi tribuni militum Graccho nuntiaverunt,
 'neminein stantem iam vulnerari hostem, carnificari jacentes,
 'et in dextris militum pro gladiis humana capita esse.' sig-
 num dari propere jussit, 'projicerent capita, invaderentque
 'hostem. Claram satis et insignem virtutem esse: nec
 'dubiam libertatem futuram strenuis viris.' Tum redin-
 grata pugna est, et eques etiam in hostem emissus. Quibus
 quum impigre Numidæ occurrisserint, nec segnior equitum,
 quam peditum, pugna esset, iterum in dubium adducta res;
 quum utrimque duces, Romanus Brutium Lucanumque,
 toties a majoribus suis victos subactosque; Poenus mancipia
 Romana et ex ergastulo militem verbis obtereret. Postremo
 16. pronuntiat Gracchus, 'esse nihil, quod de libertate spera-
 'rent³, nisi eo die fusi fugatique hostes essent.' Ea demum

⁸ *Servili suppicio.*] Such as could not by law be inflicted on a free man.

⁹ *Præcipue quibus merces, &c.*] "Those especially whom freedom was to repay for one day's service."

¹ *Nec alia magis Romanum, &c.*] "But no circumstances proved a greater hindrance to the Romans than making the enemies' heads," &c.

² *Abscidendo.*] This verb must be distinguished, though not differing very essentially in sense, from *abscidere*, which has a long penult. in the perf. and in the supine.

³ *Esse nihil, quod—sperarent, &c.*] "There were no hopes to be entertained of liberty."

vox⁴ ita animos accendit, atque renovato clamore, velut alii U. C. 540.
repente facti, tanta vi se in hostem intulerunt, ut sustineri A. C. 214.
ultra non possent. Primo antesignani Pœnorum, deinde
signa perturbata, postremo tota impulsa acies; inde haud
dubie terga data, ruuntque fugientes in castra, adeo pavidi
trepidique, ut ne in portis quidem aut vallo quisquam re-
stiterit, ac prope continent agmine Romani insecuti, novum
de integro pœnulum inclusi hostium vallo ediderint. Ibi
sicut pugna impeditior in angustiis, ita cædes atrocior fuit:
et adjuvare captivi, qui, rapto inter tumultum ferro, conglo-
bati et ab tergo ceciderunt Pœnos, et fugam impedierunt.
Itaque minus duo millia hominum ex tanto exercitu, et ea
major pars equitum⁵, cum ipso duce effugerunt: alii omnes
cæsi aut capti. Capta et signa duodequadraginta. Ex
victoribus duo millia ferme cecidere. Præda omnis (præ-
terquam hominum captorum) militi concessa est: et pecus
exceptum est, quod intra dies triginta domini cognovis-
sissent.

Quum præda onusti in castra redissent, quattuor millia
ferme volonum militum, qui pugnaverant segnius, nec in
castra irruperant simul, metu pœnæ collem haud procul
castris cuperunt. Postero die per tribunos militum inde
deducti, concione militum advocata a Graccho, superven-
iunt. Ubi quum proconsul veteres milites primum, prout
eiususque virtus atque opera in ea pugna fuerat, militaribus
donis donasset, tunc, quod ad volones attineret, ‘omnes,’
ait, ‘malle laudatos a se, dignos indignosque, quam quem-
‘quam eo die castigatum esse. Quod bonum, faustum,
‘felixque reipublicæ ipsisque esset, omnes eos liberos esse
‘jubere⁶.’ Ad quam vocem quum clamor ingenti alacritate
sublatus esset, ac nunc complexi inter se gratulantesque,
nunc manus ad cœlum tollentes, bona omnia populo Ro-
mano Gracchoque ipsi precarentur; tum Gracchus: ‘Pri-

⁴ *Ea demum vox, &c.]* “This declaration, especially, so kindled up their enthusiasm, and such was the impetuosity with which they renewed the war-cry and charged the enemy, as if they had suddenly become different men, that they could be no longer resisted.”

⁵ *Et ea major pars equitum.]* “And of these the greater portion were cavalry.” This can scarcely have been literally true; for in the preceding chapter, but 1200 cavalry are said to have been engaged—except it means, that very few or none of them fell. The idea which the

historian most probably intended to convey is, that more of the cavalry, in proportion to their relative numbers, escaped; or, that they had taken flight directly from the field without delaying in the camp.

⁶ *Omnes eos liberos esse jubere.]* “The whole scene,” says Dr. Arnold, “delighted the generous and kind nature of Gracchus. To set free the slave, and to relieve the poor, were hereditary virtues in his family: to him not less than to his unfortunate descendants, beneficence seemed the highest glory.”

U. C. 540. 'usquam omnes jure libertatis æquassem,' inquit, 'nemis
A. C. 214. 'nem nota strenui aut ignavi militis notasse volui. Nunc,
 'exsoluta jam fide publica, ne discriminem omne virtutis
 'ignaviæque pereat, nomina eorum, qui, detrectatae pugnæ
 'memores, secessionem paullo ante fecerunt, referri ad
 'me jubebo: citatosque singulos jurejurando adigam, nisi
 'queis morbus causa erit, non aliter, quam stantes⁷, cibum
 'potionemque, quoad stipendia facient, capturos esse.
 'Hanc multam ita æquo animo feretis, si reputabitis, nulla
 'ignaviæ nota leviore vos designari potuisse.' Signum
 deinde colligendi vasa dedit: militesque prædam portantes
 agentesque, per lasciviam ac jocum, ita ludibundi Bene-
 ventum rediere, ut ab epulis per celebrem⁸ festumque diem
 actis, non ex acie, reverti viderentur. Beneventani omnes
 turba effusa quum obviam ad portas exissent, complecti
 milites, gratulari, vocare in hospitium. Apparata convivia
 omnibus in propatulo ædium⁹ fuerant: ad ea invitabant,
 Gracchumque orabant, ut epulari permetteret militibus.
 Et Gracchus ita permisit, in publico epularentur omnes.
 Ante suas quibusque fores prolata omnia. Pileati¹, aut
 lana alba velatis capitibus volones epulati sunt; alii accu-
 bantes, alii stantes, qui simul ministrabant vescebanturque.
 Digna res visa, ut simulacrum celebrati ejus diei Gracchus,
 postquam Romam rediit, pingi juberet in æde Libertatis,
 quam pater ejus in Aventino ex multaticia pecunia faci-
 endam curavit dedicavitque.

17. Dum hæc ad Beneventum geruntur, Hannibal, depopu-
 latus agrum Neapolitanum, ad Nolam castra movet. Quem
 ubi adventare consul sensit, Pomponio prætore cum eo
 exercitu, qui super Suessulam in castris erat, accito, ire
 obviam hosti parat, nec moram dimicandi facere. C. Clau-
 dium Neronem² cum robore equitum silentio noctis per
 aversam maxime ab hoste portam emittit: circumvectum-
 que occulite subsequi sensim agmen hostium jubet, et, quum
 coortum prælrium videret, ab tergo se objicere³. Id errore
 viarum, an exiguitate temporis, Nero exsequi non potuerit,
 incertum est. Absente eo quum prælium commissum

⁷ *Non aliter, quam stantes.*] Must relate especially to dinner, for the ancients generally breakfasted standing.

⁸ *Ut ab epulis per celebrem, &c.*] "That they looked like men returning from a revel upon some festive and holy day."

⁹ *In propatulo ædium.*] "In the open courts of the houses (atria)." *In publico*, below, signifies, "in the street."

¹ *Pileati.*] The Roman cap of liberty was white.

² *C. Claudium Neronem.*] The same Nero who had been condemned *et consulatu*, after the Illyrian war, when Paulus Æmilius was acquitted, and who afterwards in conjunction with M. Livius, defeated Hasdrubal on the Metaurus.

³ *Ab tergo se objicere.*] "To shut them in on the rear."

esset, superior quidem haud dubie Romanus erat; sed, ^{U.C. 540.} quia equites non affuere in tempore, ratio compositæ rei⁵ ^{A.C. 214.} turbata est. Non ausus insequi cedentes Marcellus, vin- centibus suis signum receptui dedit. Plus tamen duo millia hostium eo die cæsa traduntur: Romani minus quadringentis. Solis fere occasu Nero, diem noctemque nequicquam fatigatis equis hominibusque, ne viso quidem hoste rediens, adeo graviter est⁶ ab consule increpitus, ut per eum stetisse diceret, quo minus accepta ad Cannæ redderetur hosti clades. Postero die Romanus in aciem descendit: Poenus tacita etiam confessione victus⁷, castris se tenuit. Tertio die silentio noctis, omissa spe Nolæ potiundæ, rei nunquam prospere tentatæ, Tarentum ad certiorem spem proditionis profiscitur.

Nec minore animo res Romana domi, quam militiæ, gerebatur. Censores, vacui ab operum⁸ locandorum cura, propter inopiam ærarii, ad mores hominum regendos animum adverterunt, castigandaque vitia⁹, quæ, velut diutinis morbis ægra corpora ex se gignunt, nata bello erant. Primum eos citaverunt, qui post Cannensem pugnam rempublicam deseruisse, Italiaque excessisse velle¹ dicebantur. Princeps eorum L. Cæcilius Metellus quæstor tum forte erat. Jusso deinde eo ceterisque ejusdem noxæ reis causam dicere, quum purgari nequissent², pronuntiarunt, verba orationemque³ eos adversus rempublicam habuisse, quo conjuratio deserendæ Italæ causa fieret. Secundum eos citati nimis callidi exsolvendi jurisjurandi interpretes⁴; qui captivorum, ex itinere regressi clam in castra Hannibalis,

18.

⁵ *Ratio compositæ rei &c.*] "The plan of the arrangement was disconcerted (defeated)."

⁶ *Adeo graviter est &c.*] "Was so severely reprimanded by the consul, that he said it was his fault that the blow inflicted at Cannæ had not been paid back." Nero atoned for this mismanagement afterwards by his forced march from Brutii, to take part in the battle of the Metaurus.

⁷ *Tacitū — confessione victus.*] "With a virtual admission of defeat."

⁸ *Vacui ab operum &c.*] "Relieved from the duty of accepting contracts."

⁹ *Castigandaque vitia.*] "And the suppression of those excesses that had sprung from the war, like the maladies that bodies, affected

by chronic diseases, generate."

¹ *Excessisse velle.*] The general rule for the tenses of the infinitive would perhaps lead us to expect here *excedere voluisse*; but the peculiar sense of *excessisse*, ("to have left," i. e. "to be out of,") justifies the sequence of the verbs as they stand; sc. "they were represented as wishing (at that time) to be out of (to be after leaving) Italy."

² *Quum purgari* (mid. verb) *nequissent.*] "As they could not clear themselves (prove their innocence)."

³ *Verba orationemque &c.*] "Uttered words and speeches against the state." *Oratio*, in a special sense, signifies "the style, or tone, or tendency," of spoken words.

⁴ *Nimis callidi — interpretes.*] "Too ingenious casuists."

U.C. 540. solutum, quod juraverant⁵, reddituros, rebantur. His superioribusque illis equi adempti⁶, qui publicum equum habebant: tribuque moti, ærarii omnes facti⁷. Neque senatus modo aut equestri ordine regendo cura se censorum tenuit. Nomina omnium ex juniorum tabulis excerpserunt, qui quadriennio non militassent, quibus neque vacatio justa⁸ militiae, neque morbus causa fuisse. Et ea supra duo millia nominum in ærarios relata, tribuque omnes moti. Additumque inerti censoriae notæ⁹ triste senatusconsultum: ut ii omnes, quos censores notassent, pedibus mererent, mitterenturque in Siciliam ad Cannensis exercitus reliquias, cui militum generi non prius, quam pulsus Italia hostis esset, finitum stipendiiorum tempus erat.

Quum censores, ob inopiam ærarii, se jam locationibus abstinerent ædium sacrarum tuendarum, curuliumque equorum¹ præbendorum, ac similiūm his rerum; convenere ad eos frequentes, qui hastæ hujus generis² assueverant: hortatique censores, 'ut omnia perinde agerent, locarent, 'ac si pecunia in ærario esset. Neminem, nisi bello confecto, pecuniam ab ærario petiturum esse.' Convenere deinde domini eorum, quos T. Sempronius ad Beneventum manu emiserat: arcessitosque se ab triumviris mensariis esse dixerunt, ut pretia servorum acciperent: ceterum non ante, quam bello confecto, accepturos esse. Quum hæc inclinatio animorum plebis ad sustinendam inopiam ærarii fieret; pecuniæ quoque pupillares primo, deinde viduarum, cœptæ conferri: nusquam eas tutius sanctiusque deponere creditibus, qui deferebant, quam in publica fide. Inde, si quid emptum paratumque pupillis ac viduis foret, a quæstore perscribatur³. Manavit ea privatorum be-

⁵ *Solutum quod juraverant &c.*] "Thought they had fulfilled their sworn promise to return."

⁶ *Equi adempti.*] This amounted to degradation from the equestrian rank, like the punishment in later times, of striking off the gold spurs of a knight.

⁷ *Ærarii omnes facti.*] "Were all fined," lit. "made debtors," sc. to the Exchequer.

⁸ *Vacatio justa.*] "Legitimate exemption."

⁹ *Inerti censoriae notæ.*] "Inoperative (nominal) stigma of the censors." *Truci* has been suggested, as a more probable reading, for *inerti*; because the penalties imposed by the censors were sufficiently actual and severe; as the

loss of rank (*diminutio capitii*) was far from being a merely formal or nominal punishment.

¹ *Curuliumque equorum.*] sc. Quadrigalium; the horses that drew the chariots in the public games, or, the cars of the curule magistrates.

² *Hastæ hujus generis.*] "This sort of competition."

³ *A quæstore perscribatur.*] Perscribere signifies to pay money not actually in hand, but by a draft, or bill of exchange. "Consequently, whatever was purchased or provided for minors and widows, was paid by bills drawn on the quæstors." These were evidently on the principle of our exchequer bills, with the difference, that they

nigritas⁴ ex urbe etiam in castra, ut non eques, non U.C. 540. centurio stipendum acciperent, mercenariumque increpantes A.C. 214. vocarent, qui accepisset.

Q. Fabius consul ad Casilinum castra habebat, quod duum millium Campanorum, et septingentorum militum Hannibal tenebatur præsidio. Præterat Statius Metius, missus ab Cn. Magio Atellano: qui eo anno Medixtuticus erat, servitiaque et plebem promiscue armabat, ut castra Romana invaderet, intento consule ad Casilinum oppugnandum. Nihil eorum Fabium fefellit. Itaque Nolam ad collegam mittit, 'altero exercitu, dum Casilinum oppugnatur, opus esse, qui Campanis opponatur. Vel ipse, 'relicto Nolæ præsidio modico, veniret: vel, si eum Nola teneret, et necdum securæ res ab Hannibale essent, se 'Ti. Gracchum proconsulem a Benevento acciturum.' Hoc nuntio Marcellus, duobus militum millibus Nolæ in præsidio relictis, cum cetero exercitu Casilinum venit, aduentuque ejus Campani, jam moventes sese, quieverunt. Ita a duobus consulibus Casilinum oppugnari coeptum. Ubi quum multa, succedentes temere mœnibus, Romani milites acciperent vulnera, neque satis inceptis succederet⁵; Fabius, omittendam rem parvam ac juxta magnis difficultem, abscedendumque inde censebat, quum res majores instantent. Marcellus, 'multa magnis ducibus sicut non aggredienda, 'ita semel aggressis non dimittenda esse,' dicendo, 'quia 'magna famæ momenta in utramque partem fierent,' tenuit, ne irrito incepto abiretur. Vineæ inde omniaque alia operum machinationumque genera quum admovearentur, Campanique Fabium orarent, ut abire Capuam tuto liceret; paucis egressis, Marcellus portam, qua egrediebantur, occupavit, cædesque promiscue⁶ omnium circa portam primo,

bore no interest, and were intended to be eventually 'taken up.'

⁴ *Benignitas.*] "Liberality, munificence."

⁵ *Neque satis inceptis succederet &c.*] "And, as the success of the undertaking was not satisfactory, Fabius was beginning to think of abandoning an enterprise, which though trifling was as difficult as if it had been important, and retiring from the scene. But Marcellus, representing that there were many attempts that, though they should not be essayed by great commanders, ought not, however, to be abandoned when once begun—because the results were powerful influences on both aspects of character—succeeded

in effecting that the attempt should not be given up as hopeless."

⁶ *Cædesque promiscue.*] It is fortunately but seldom that the histories of nations, affecting to be civilized, or indeed of any nations, contain instances of this cruel and unprincipled treachery. Hannibal had certainly provoked it more than once, but no provocation justifies dishonourable retaliation. Retribution should be open and candid. The record of a similar act is one of those blots that stain the chivalrous character of Richard Cœur de Lion. After the capture of *Acre* (Ptolemais), he massacred in cold blood 2000 of the brave defenders of the garrison, though negotiations for

U. C. 540. deinde, irruptione facta, etiam in urbe fieri cœpta est.
 A. C. 214. Quinquaginta fere primo egressi Campanorum, quum ad Fabium configissent, præsidio ejus Capuam per venerunt. Casilinum, inter colloquia⁷ cunctationemque potentium fidem, per occasionem captum est. Captivi, quique Campanorum, quique Hannibalis militum erant, Romam missi, atque ibi in carcere inclusi sunt: oppidanorum turba per finitimos populos in custodiam divisa.

20. Quibus diebus a Casilino, re bene gesta, recessum est, iis Gracchus in Lucanis aliquot cohortes, in ea regione conscriptas, cum præfecto sociorum in agros hostium prædatum misit. Eos effuse palatos Hanno adortus, haud multo minorem, quam ad Beneventum acceperat, reddidit hosti cladem, atque in Bruttios raptim, ne Gracchus assequeretur, concessit. Consules, Marcellus retro, unde venerat, Nolam redit; Fabius in Samnum ad populandos agros recipiendasque armis, quæ defecerant, urbes processit. Caudinus Samnis gravius devastatus; perusti late agri, prædæ pecudum hominumque actæ. Oppida vi capta, Compulteria, Telesia, Compsa, Melæ, Fulfulæ et Orbitanium. Ex Lucanis Blandæ: Apulorum Æcæ oppugnatæ. Millia hostium in his urbibus viginti quinque capta, aut occisa: et recepti perfugæ trecenti septuaginta; quos quum Romanum misisset consul, virgis in comitio cæsi omnes, ac de saxo dejecti. Hæc a Q. Fabio intra paucos dies gesta. Marcellum ab gerundis rebus valetudo adversa Nolæ tenuit. Et a prætore Q. Fabio, cui circa Luceriam provincia erat, Accua oppidum per eos dies vi captum: stativaque ad Ardoneas communita.

Dum hæc aliis locis⁸ ab Romanis geruntur, jam Tarentum per venerat Hannibal⁹, cum maxima omnium, quacunque ierat, clade. In Tarentino demum agro pacatum incedere agmen cœpit. Nihil ibi violatum, neque usquam via excessum est: apparebatque, non id modestia militum aut ducis, nisi ad conciliandos¹ Tarentinorum animos, fieri.

their ransom were actually in progress. After that day, Saladeen, who had always treated his prisoners with the kindness and courtesy of a noble mind, never spared a Christian.

⁷ *Casilinum, inter colloquia &c.]* “During the negotiations and delay of their appeals to protection, Casilinum was taken by surprise.”

⁸ *Aliis locis.]* (i. e. alii atque aliis,) “in several places.”

⁹ *Jam Tarentum per venerat Hannibal.]* It appears that Hannibal’s

devastating march, from Tifata to the south, had been altogether unmolested; and that Gracchus had purposely kept out of his way. He did not of course desolate the lands of his allies; but the Latin colony of Venusia, and the territories which the Romans had taken from the Samnites and Lucanians, and were now occupied by Publicani, must have suffered severely.

¹ *Nisi ad conciliandos.]* “But merely to conciliate,” &c. *Nisi* has not in itself this adversative sense:

Ceterum quum propemodo muris accessisset², nullo ad con- U. C. 540.
spectum primi agminis, ut rebatur, motu facto, castra ab A. C. 214.
urbe ferme passus mille locat. Tarenti, triduo ante, quam
Hannibal ad moenia accederet, a M. Valerio proprætore,
qui classi ad Brundisium præerat, missus M. Livius, pri-
more juventute³ conscripta, dispositisque ad omnes portas,
cirque muros, qua res postulabat, stationibus, die ac nocte
plurimum intentus, neque hostibus, neque dubiis sociis loci
quicquam præbuit ad tentandum. Quare diebus aliquot
frustra ibi absumptis, Hannibal, quum eorum nemo, qui ad
lacum Averni adissent, aut ipsi venirent, aut nuntium lite-
rasve mitterent, vana promissa se temere secutum cernens,
castra inde movit. Tum quoque, intacto agro Tarentino,
quanquam simulata lenitas⁴ nihildum profuerat, tamen spe
labefactandæ fidei haud absistens, Salapiam⁵ ut venit, fru-
mentum ex agris Metapontino atque Heracleensi⁶ (jam
media ætas exacta erat, et hibernis placebat locus) com-
portat. Præ datum inde Numidæ Maurique per Sallentini-
num agrum proximosque Apuliæ saltus dimissi: unde ce-
teræ prædæ haud multum, equorum greges maxime
abacti; e quibus ad quattuor millia domanda equitibus
divisa.

Romani, quum bellum nequaquam contemnendum in
Sicilia oriretur, morsque tyranni⁷ duces magis impigros de-

21.

but the phrase implies an ellipsis, Apulia, near Cannæ and the Aufidus.
sc. *ne o* nisi &c.

² *Muris accessisset.*] *Successisset* would perhaps be the more appropriate phrase in connection with *propemodo*.

³ *Primore juventute.*] i. e. primoribus juventutis. The whole of this intricate sentence may be thus translated. "At Tarentum, three days before Hannibal's approach to the walls, M. Livius, having been sent by M. Valerius, who was in command of the fleet at Brundisium, enrolling the young nobles, posting sentries at all the gates and along the walls where circumstances required them, and exerting the utmost vigilance by day and night, afforded no opportunity of attack, either to the enemy, or to his wavering allies."

⁴ *Simulata lenitas &c.*] "His affectation (show) of indulgence had not yet produced any favourable result."

⁵ *Salapiam.*] (Now *Salpe*,) in

Apulia, near Cannæ and the Aufidus.
⁶ *Metapontino atque Heracleensi.*] In Lucania on the Tarentine gulf. Metapontum stood at the mouth of the river Casuentum (now *Basiento*), where an interview took place during the civil war between Antony and Octavian. All that now remains of Metapontum are a few (16) columns of coarse marble. The plain belonging to the city extended twenty-five miles, then level and fertile, now only a marsh. Heraclea was a colony from Tarentum, and stood between the rivers Aciris and Siris (now the *Agri* and *Sinno*). It was there that the deputies from the several Greek cities in Italy, forming an assembly like the Panionion of the Asiatic colonies, used to meet.

⁷ *Morsque tyranni &c.*] "And as the king's death had rather given the Syracusans energetic leaders than changed their policy or sentiments."

U.C. 540. disset Syracusanis, quam causam aut animos mutasset, M.
 A.C. 214. Marcello alteri consulum eam provinciam decernunt. Secundum Hieronymi cædem⁸ primo tumultuatum in Leontinis apud milites fuerat, vociferatumque ferociter, parentandum regi sanguine conjuratorum esse. Deinde libertatis restitutæ⁹ dulce auditu nomen crebro usurpatum, spes facta ex pecunia regia largitionis, militiæque fungendæ potioribus ducibus, et relata tyranni fœda scelera fœdioresque libidines, adeo mutavere animos, ut insepultum jacere corpus paullo ante desiderati regis paterentur. Quum ceteri ex conjuratis ad exercitum obtainendum¹ remansissent, Theodotus et Sosis regiis equis, quanto maximo cursu poterant, ut ignaros omnium regios opprimerent, Syracusas² contendunt. Ceterum prævenerat non fama solum, (qua nihil in talibus rebus est celerius) sed nuntius etiam ex regiis servis.

⁸ Secundum Hieronymi cædem.] “In the first instance, a commotion had taken place among the troops in Leontini, after the assassination of Hieronymus, and angry exclamations were heard, that the king’s death must be expiated,” &c.

⁹ Deinde libertatis restitutæ &c.] “Afterwards, the frequent mention of reviving liberty, so welcome to the ear, the awakened hope of gain, and of serving under more competent leaders,” &c. Gronovius and Drakenborch suggest *potioris* as an improvement; i. e. *spes facta ducibus militiæ potioris*; but the former reading agrees more closely with the context.

¹ Ad exercitum obtainendum &c.] “Remained with the army, to keep it in their power.”

² Syracusas.] In order to understand the following chapters, it will be necessary to acquire a correct idea of the topography of Syracuse. The best description perhaps in existence is that by Cicero, in one of the speeches against Verres. (See in Verr. iv. 52.) Of the four divisions mentioned in that description, Tyche and Neapolis had been added subsequently to the Athenian invasion; so that the dimensions of the original city were but little more extensive than those of its restoration on a comparatively small scale by Augustus. The two harbours, which are very disproportionate in size, would form one, but

for the projection of the island, Nasos, or Ortigia (now Siracusa). The smaller (*Porto Piccolo*) lying to the east of that partition, is said to have been originally paved (artificially) with marble; and the larger lying to the west of the island, is bounded on the other side by the promontory Plemmyrium, (*Massa Oliveri*), from which a chain extended across its mouth. It was of course round those harbours and on the island that the city originally grew, spreading itself inland afterwards, as wealth and population increased, until it filled a circumference of 22 miles. Acradina, the original citadel, was the quarter of the town nearest to the island, connected with it by a bridge, and lying round the promontory on the east of the small harbour. Immediately behind Acradina stood Neapolis and Epipole, and inside these and Tyche, the fortress of Euryalus, or Euryalus, (as all these Greek names are Doric,) now called the Belvedere. Inland from the centre of the great harbour, and considerably to the S. W. of the upper part of the city, stood the temple of Jupiter Olympius. Of this there are now standing but the broken shafts of two fluted Doric columns 6½ feet in diameter, which are a conspicuous object as seen from outside the harbour, and are now used as a sea-mark to guide mariners in through the narrow mouth between the Nasos and Plemmyrium.

Itaque Andranodus et Insulam, et arcem, et alia, quæ U.C. 540.
poterat, quæque opportuna erant, præsidiis firmarati. Hex. A.C. 214.
apyllo Theodotus ac Sosis post solis occasum jam obscura
luce inventi³, quum cruentam regiam vestem atque insigne
capitis ostentarent, travecti per Tycham, simul ad liberta-
tem, simul ad arma vocantes, in Achradinam convenire
jubent. Multitudo pars⁴ procurrit in vias, pars in vestibulis
stat, pars ex tectis fenestrisque prospectant, et, quid rei sit,
rogitant. Omnia luminibus collucent, strepitique vario
complentur. Armati locis patentibus congregantur: in-
erimes ex Olympii Jovis templo spolia Gallorum Illyriorum-
que, dono data Hieroni a populo Romano, fixaque ab eo,
detrahunt, precantes Jovem, ut volens propitius præbeat
sacra arma, pro patria, pro deum delubris, pro libertate sese
armantibus. Hæc quoque multitudo, stationibus per prin-
cipes regionum⁵ urbis dispositis, adjungitur. In Insula⁶
inter cetera Andranodus præsidiis firmat horrea publica.
Locus, saxo quadrato sæptus, atque arcis in modum emuni-
tus, capitur ab juventute, quæ præsidio ejus loci attributa
erat, mittuntque nuntios in Achradinam, horrea frumen-
tumque in senatus potestate esse.

Luce prima populus omnis armatus inermisque in Achra-
dinam ad curiam convenit. Ibi pro Concordiæ ara, quæ
in eo sita loco erat, ex principibus unus nomine Polyænus
concionem et liberam et moderatam habuit: 'Servitudinis
'indignitatisque' homines expertos, aduersus notum malum

22.

³ *Hexapyllo—invecti.*] This was a strong work on the northern angle of the city, commanding the regular entrance from the land side. It was, apparently, so called from the number of barriers that must be passed before the lines could be fully entered.

⁴ *Multitudo pars &c.*] "Of the multitude, some rushed out into the streets, some stood in the doorways; others looked down from the house-tops and windows, and anxiously inquired what was the matter."

⁵ *Principes regionum.*] sc. præ-
cipuas regiones.

⁶ *In Insula &c.*] The island, as it commanded the entrance to the harbour and was so accessible from the sea, had been always very strongly fortified; and even during the reign of Hiero, its strength had been considerably improved. It was there that the celebrated temple of Minerva stood, and still stands, hav-

ing been converted, in the 12th century, into a Christian Church, and being now the Cathedral of Syracuse. Athenæus mentions that a tower was erected over the portico of that temple, on which was always suspended a burnished shield; and that mariners leaving the harbour used to cast their offerings into the sea, as soon as the horizon hid that glittering object from their view.

⁷ *Servitudinis indignitatisque &c.*] "That a people who had felt slavery and its degradations, had risen in anger against a notorious abuse." It has been suggested that this is apparently contradicted in the next sentence, which represents them as being personally unacquainted with those indignities; and that the text would be improved by reading *expertes* ("strangers to"); but there is really no contradiction between the two statements, as they may be said to feel now

U. C. 540. ' irritatos esse. Discordia civilis quas importet clades, au-
 A. C. 214. ' disse magis a patribus Syracusanos, quam ipsos vidisse.
 ' Arma quod impigre ceperint, laudare : magis laudaturum,
 ' si non utantur, nisi ultima necessitate coacti. In præsentia
 ' legatos ad Andranodorum mitti placere, qui denuntient,
 ' ut⁸ in potestate senatus ac populi sit : portas Insulæ pate-
 ' faciat, reddat præsidium. Si tutelam alieni regni⁹ suum
 ' regnum velit facere, eundem se censere¹, multo acrius ab
 ' Andranodoro, quam ab Hieronymo, repeti libertatem.
 Ab hac concione legati missi sunt. Senatus inde haberi
 cœptus est : quod sicut, regnante² Hierone, manserat publicum
 consilium, ita post mortem ejus, ante eam diem,
 nulla de re neque convocati, neque consulti fuerant. Ut
 ventum ad Andranodorum est, ipsum quidem movebat et
 civium consensus, et quum aliæ occupatæ urbis partes,
 tum³ pars Insulæ munitissima velut prodita atque alienata.
 Sed evocatum eum ab legatis Damarata uxor, filia Hieronis,
 inflata adhuc regiis animis⁴ ac muliebri spiritu, admonet
 sœpe usurpatæ Dionysii tyranni vocis : qua, ' pedibus tra-
 ' ctum, non insidentem equo, relinquere tyrannidem,' dixerit,
 ' debere. Facile esse momento, quo quis velit, cedere pos-
 ' sessione magnæ fortunæ : facere et parare eam difficile
 ' atque arduum esse. Paullum sumeret spatii ad consul-
 ' tandum ab legatis. Eo uteretur ad arcessendos ex Leon-
 ' tinis milites : quibus si pecuniam regiam pollicitus esset,
 ' omnia in potestate ejus futura.' Hæc muliebria consilia
 Andranodorus neque tota aspernatus est, neque extemplo
 accepit : tutiorem ad opes affectandas ratus esse viam, si in

what they had never known before. For the unusual and apparently un-classical phrase *servitudinis*, some commentators would substitute *servitutis*. Another emendation also has been suggested by the irregular syntax of *expertos* with a genitive; sc. *serviis tedium indignitatisque*; but Virgil (e. g. *expertos belli*) and Livy frequently connect this participle, and *insuetus*, *insolitus*, &c. with a genitive.

⁸ *Qui denuntient, ut &c.*] "To warn (or, to summon) him to submit to the senate."

⁹ *Tutelam alieni regni &c.*] "To turn a regency into a monarchy."

¹ *Eundem se censere &c.*] "That even he (i. e. he who was advocating gentle measures) was of opinion," &c. i. e. he thought nevertheless.

² *Quod sicut, regnante &c.*] "For

this, although it had continued, during Hiero's reign, to be the national council, had not, however, since his death until that day, been ever convened," &c.

³ *Et quum aliæ occupatæ &c.*—
tum.] "The occupation of other quarters of the city, as well as the loss and transfer of that of the island, which might be regarded as the strongest."

⁴ *Instata adhuc regiis animis &c.]*
 "Intoxicated still by despotic sentiments and feminine pride, called him away from the deputation, and reminded him of the often-repeated maxim of Dionysius," &c. The words here quoted, however, were rather addressed—at least in the first instance—by Philistus to Dionysius, than used by the king himself.

præsentia temporis cessisset. Itaque legatos renuntiare U. C. 840.
 jussit, futurum se in senatus ac populi potestate. Postero A. C. 214.
 die luce prima, patefactis Insulæ portis⁵, in forum Achradina
 venit. Ibi in aram Concordiæ, ex qua pridie Polyænus
 concionatus erat, escendit: orationemque eam orsus
 est, qua primum cunctationis suæ veniam petivit. 'Se
 'enim clausas habuisse portas⁶, non separantem suas res a
 'publicis, sed strictis semel gladiis, timentem qui finis cæ-
 'dibus esset futurus: utrum, quod satis libertati foret, con-
 'tenti nece tyranni essent, an, quicunque aut propinquitate,
 'aut affinitate, aut aliquibus ministeriis regiam contigissent',
 'alienæ culpæ rei trucidarentur. Postquam animadvertisit,
 'eos, qui liberassent patriam, servare etiam liberatam velle,
 'atque undique consuli in medium⁷, non dubitasse, quin et
 'corpus suum, et cetera omnia, quæ suæ fidei tutelæque⁸
 'essent, quoniam eum, qui mandasset, suus furor absump-
 'sisset, patriæ restitueret.' Conversus deinde ad inter-
 fectores tyranni, ac nomine appellans Theodotum ac Sosim:
 'Facinus,' inquit, 'memorabile fecistis. Sed, mihi credite,
 'inchoata vestra gloria, nondum perfecta, est; periculum
 'que ingens manet, nisi paci et concordiæ consulitis, ne
 'libera efferatur⁹ respublica.'

Post hanc orationem claves portarum pecuniaque regiæ
 ante pedes eorum posuit. Atque illo quidem die dimissi
 ex concione læti, circa omnia fana deum supplicaverunt
 cum conjugibus ac liberis: postero die comitia prætoribus
 creandis habita. Creatus in primis Andranodus; ceteri
 magna ex parte interfectores tyranni: duos etiam absentes,
 Sopatrum ac Dinomenem, fecerunt. Qui, auditis quæ
 Syracusis acta erant, pecuniam regiam, quæ in Leontinis
 erat, Syracusas devectam, quæstoribus ad id ipsum creatis
 tradiderunt: et ea, quæ in Insula erat et Achradina, tra-
 dita est; murique ea pars, quæ ab cetera urbe nimis firmo
 munimento intersæpiebat Insulam, consensu omnium de-
 jecta est. Secutæ et ceteræ res² hanc inclinationem ani-
 morum ad libertatem.

Hippocrates atque Epicydes, audita morte tyranni, quam
 Hippocrates, etiam nuntio imperfecto, celare voluerat, de-

⁵ *Patefactis Insulæ portis.*] These were the works commanding the bridge which connected the Nasos with the Acradina.

⁶ *Clausas habuisse portas.*] "Had been keeping the gates closed," &c.

⁷ *Regum contigissent.*] "Had been connected with the Court."

⁸ *Undique consuli in medium.*] "The measures of all parties were

directed to the general welfare."

⁹ *Suæ fidei tutelæque.*] "Had been in his care and keeping."

¹ *Libera efferatur.*] "May be transported (intoxicated) by liberty."

² *Secutæ et ceteræ res &c.*] "Other events also occurred in accordance with this disposition in favour of liberty."

U.C. 540. serti a militibus, quia id tutissimum ex præsentibus³ videbatur, Syracusas rediere. Ubi ne suspecti⁴ obversarentur, tanquam novandi res aliquam occasionem quærentes, prætores primum, dein per eos senatum adeunt. 'Ab Hannibale se missos' prædicant 'ad Hieronymum, tanquam amicum ac socium. Paruisse imperio ejus, cuius imperator⁵ suus voluerit. Velle ad Hannibalem redire. Ceterum, quum iter tutum non sit, vagantibus passim per totam Siciliam Romanis armis, petere, ut præsidii dent aliquid, quo Locros in Italiam perducantur. Gratiam magnam eos parva opera⁶ apud Hannibalem inituros. Facile res impetrata: abire enim duces regios, quum peritos militiæ, tum egentes eosdem atque audaces, cupiebant: sed, quod volebant, non, quam maturato⁷ opus erat, naviter expediebant. Interim juvenes militares et assuetti militibus, nunc apud eos ipsos, nunc apud transfugas⁸, quorum maxima pars ex navalibus sociis Romanorum erat, nunc etiam apud infimæ plebis homines, crimina serebant⁹ in senatum optimatesque: 'id moliri clam eos atque struere, ut Syracusæ per speciem reconciliatæ societatis in ditione Romanorum sint; dein factio et pauci auctores foederis renovati dominentur.'

24. His audiendis¹ credendisque opportuna multitudo, major in dies, Syracusas confluerebat: nec Epicydi solum spem novandarum rerum, sed Andranodoro etiam, præbebat. Qui, fessus tandem uxoris vocibus, monentis, 'Nunc illud esse tempus² occupandi res, dum turbata omnia nova atque incondita libertate essent, dum regiis stipendiis pastus obversaretur miles, dum ab Hannibale missi duces

³ *Tutissimum ex præsentibus.*] "The safest of all practicable courses, (the safest course under the circumstances.)"

⁴ *Ubi ne suspecti.*] "And, lest their appearance there (or presence) might be suspected."

⁵ *Paruisse imperio ejus, cuius imperio ut parenter imperator &c.*] "They had obeyed his orders whom their master wished them to obey."

⁶ *Gratiam magnam—parvæ operæ &c.*] "By a slight service they would confer a great obligation," &c.

⁷ *Non, quam maturato &c.*] "They were not active in executing what they desired with the necessary expedition."

⁸ *Apud transfugas.*] These were

most likely to listen favourably to their representations; because, if they fell into the hands of the Romans, their lives would be forfeit'd.

⁹ *Crimina serebant.*] "Insinuated charges."

¹ *His audiendis &c.*] "A multitude, favourably disposed to hear and believe all this, was increasing every day, and flocking into Syracuse."

² *Nunc illud esse tempus &c.*] "Now was the fortunate (critical) moment for seizing on the government, while all was in the confusion of new and unorganized liberty, while troops maintained by the king's money were on the spot; and while the commanders sent by Hannibal," &c. &c.

'assuetti militibus juvare possent incepta,' cum Themisto³, U. C. 540. cui Gelonis filia nupta, rem consociatam paucos post dies A. C. 214. Aristoni cuidam tragicō actori, cui et alia arcana committere assuerat, incaute aperit. Huic et genus et fortuna honesta erant; nec ars, quia nihil tale apud Græcos⁴ pudori est, ea deformabat. Itaque, fidem potiorem ratus⁵, quam patriæ debebat, indicium ad prætores defert. Qui, ubi rem haud vanam esse certis indicii compererunt, consultis senioribus, et auctoritate eorum præsidio ad fores posito, ingressos curiam Themistum atque Andranodorum interfecerunt: et, quum tumultus ab re in speciem atrociore⁶, causam aliis ignorantibus, ortus esset, silentio tandem facto, indicem in curiam introduxerunt. Qui quum ordine omnia edocuisset, et principium conjurationis⁷ factum ab Harmoniæ Gelonis filiæ nuptiis, quibus Themisto juncta esset; Afrorum Hispanorumque auxiliares instructos ad cædem prætorum principumque aliorum; bonaque eorum prædæ futura interfectoribus pronuntiatum; jam mercenariorum manum assuetam imperiis Andranodori paratam fuisse ad Insulam rursus occupandam; singula deinde, quæ per quosque⁸ agerentur, totamque viris armisque instructam conjurationem ante oculos posuisset; senatui quidem tam jure cæsi, quam Hieronymus, videbantur. Ante curiam⁹ variæ atque incertæ rerum multitudinis clamor erat: quam, ferociter minitantem in vestibulo curiæ, corpora conjurorum eo metu compresserunt, ut silentes integrum plebem in concionem sequerentur. Sopatro mandatum ab senatu

³ *Cum Themisto &c.]* "Imprudently revealed to the tragic actor Ariston &c. the arrangement he had made with Themistus, to whom Gelon's daughter had been married."

⁴ *Quia nihil tale apud Græcos &c.]* Among the æsthetic Greeks, an artist of any description occupied a much higher social rank than any modern community has ever accorded to the possessors of those great natural gifts. Actors were not unfrequently the representatives of the Athenian government at foreign courts.

⁵ *Fidem, potiorem ratus &c.]* "Regarding the allegiance he owed his country as the stronger obligation."

⁶ *Ab re in speciem atrociore &c.]* "By an act apparently more criminal than it was, as the rest were not aware of its meaning."

⁷ *Principium conjurationis &c.]* "The origin of the conspiracy dating from the marriage of H." &c.

⁸ *Singula—quæ per quosque &c.]* "Then, the details of all that was to be done and by whom, and the organization of the whole conspiracy with arms and men," &c.

⁹ *Ante curiam &c.]* "In front of the house, an outcry arose among the fickle and uninformed populace; but, while they threatened loudly at the doors, the view of the conspirators' bodies so subdued them, that they quietly followed the sensible (moderate) part of the people," &c.

The curia stood at one (the narrower) end of the Forum vetus. The space in front was called the *comitium*, and between these stood the *rostra*, from which popular assemblies were addressed."

U. C. 840. et ab collegis, ut verba faceret. Is, tanquam reos¹ ageret,
 A. C. 214. ab anteacta vita orsus, quæcunque post Hieronis mortem
 25. scelestæ atque impie facta essent, Andranodorum ac The-
 mistum arguit fecisse. 'Quid enim sua sponte² fecisse Hie-
 ronymum puerum, ac vixdum pubescentem facere potu-
 isse? Tutores ac magistros ejus sub aliena invidia regnasse.
 ' Itaque aut ante Hieronymum, aut certe cum Hieronymo
 ' perire eos debuisse. At illos, debitos jam morti destina-
 tosque, alia nova scelera post mortem tyranni molitos:
 ' palam primo, quum clausis Andranodorus Insulæ portis
 ' hereditatem regni creverit³, quæque procurator tenuerat⁴,
 ' pro domino possederit; proditus deinde ab iis, qui in
 ' Insula erant, circumcessus ab universa civitate, quæ
 ' Achradinam tenuerit, nequicquam palam atque aperte
 ' petitum regnum, clam et dolo affectare conatus sit, et ne
 ' beneficio quidem atque honore⁵ potuerit vinci, quum inter
 ' liberatores patriæ insidiator ipse libertatis creatus esset
 ' prætor. Sed animos iis regios regias conjuges fecisse,
 ' alteri Hieronis, alteri Gelonis, filias nuptas.' Sub hanc
 vocem ex omnibus partibus concionis clamor oritur, nullam
 earum vivere debere, nec quemquam superesse tyrannorum
 stirpis. Hæc natura multitudinis est⁶; aut servit humiliter,
 aut superbe dominatur: libertatem, quæ media est, nec
 spernere modice, nec habere sciunt: et non ferme desunt
 irarum indulgentes ministri, qui avidos atque intemperantes
 plebeiorum animos ad sanguinem et cædes irritent. Sicut
 tum extemplo prætores rogationem promulgarunt: accep-
 taque pæne prius, quam promulgata, est, ut omnis regia
 stirps interficeretur: missique a prætoribus Damaratam

¹ Is, tanquam reos &c.] "This man, as if arraigning criminals, began from a former period of their lives, and accused Andranodorus," &c.

² Quid enim sud sponte &c.] "What had the boy Hieronymus done of himself? What could he have done? &c. It was his guardians and governors who had been reigning in the unpopular name of another."

³ Hereditatem regni creverit.] Hæreditatem cernere is one of the law phrases for taking possession of an inheritance.

⁴ Quæque procurator tenuerat &c.] "And appropriated as an owner what he had held as an agent."

⁵ Ne beneficio quidem atque ho-

nore &c.] "And could not be won over even by kindness and promotion, though," &c.

⁶ Hæc natura multitudinis est &c.] The truth of this maxim is attested by the events of every political revolution in history even to the present time. The bloody Saturnalia that have inaugurated every revival of liberty, from the expulsion of the Peisistratida to the French Revolution, prove that the general mass of mankind are still far below that elevation of sentiment, and that comprehensive generosity, to which philosophers believe they may eventually attain; and that they are still, if judged by their actions during occasional intermissions of restraint, either slaves, or tyrants, or both.

Hieronis, et Harmoniam Gelonis filias, conjuges Andranon- U.C. 540.
dori et Themisti, interfecerunt. A.C. 214.

Heraclea erat filia Hieronis, uxor Zoippi; qui, legatus 26.
ab Hieronymo ad regem Ptolemæum missus, voluntarium

Ch. xxvi. This chapter is one of the most favourable specimens of Livy's power in pathetic description. Though such passages must lose considerably in any translation from any language, a view of so remarkable an episode in the nearest English may supply some hints to the learner. "Heraclea was the daughter of Hiero and the wife of Zoippus, who had been sent on an embassy by Hieronymus to Ptolemy, and consigned himself to a voluntary exile. When she knew that they were on their way to her also, she fled to the private altar of the House-Gods, accompanied by her two maiden daughters, with their hair unbound, and other emblems of mourning; and further adjured them, by the memories of her father Hiero, and her brother Gelon alternately, not to suffer her who was innocent to perish in a flame of obloquy kindled by Hieronymus. She owed nothing to his reign but a husband's banishment. Her condition had not been as her sister's, while Hieronymus lived; nor, since his death, was her case the same. Why need she observe, that had the designs of Andranodus succeeded, the other would share a husband's throne, and she must live in slavery with all the rest? If one were to tell Zoippus that Hieronymus had fallen and Syracuse was free, who could doubt that he would immediately take ship and return to his country?—How delusive were men's hopes! In his emancipated country, his wife and daughters were in danger of their lives! and how could they endanger liberty and law? What danger to any from her, alone and almost a widow, and her daughters living the life of orphans?—It may be said, that although no danger was apprehended from them, still the royal family were detested. Then, let them transport them away from Syracuse and Sicily, and order them

to be conveyed to Alexandria—a wife to her husband, his daughters to a father!—With ears and hearts unheeding, she perceived some of them drawing their swords, to save the unavailing loss of time. Then, ceasing her supplications for herself, she proceeded to entreat them at least to spare her children, at an age to which even exasperated enemies shew mercy; lest, in punishing tyranny, they should imitate the crimes which they abhorred. While thus addressing them, they forced her from the sanctuary, and put her to death, and then rushed upon the girls, who were sprinkled with their mother's blood; but these, distracted by fear and grief, and impelled by a sort of frenzy, ran from the sanctuary with such impetuosity, that, if an escape into the streets had been possible, they would have agitated the whole city. Even as it was (*tum quoque*), within the limited space of the house, and amid so many armed men, they passed for some time unwounded, and disengaged themselves from their grasp, though so many and so strong were the hands to be eluded. At last, mortally wounded, after flooding all the house with their blood, they fell and expired; and the massacre so pitiable in itself, was rendered more pitiable still by the circumstance, that a message arrived soon after—as their hearts had been moved to mercy—that they may not be put to death. Then, from pity arose a feeling of indignation, that the punishment had been so hasty, and no room left for second thought, or forbearance."

This is one of the remarkable instances in history of the cruel and unreasoning fanaticism of a democracy intoxicated by the sudden possession of absolute power, confounding the innocent and inoffensive with the guilty, and indemnifying itself for its customary servility by merci-

U. C. 540. conciverat exsiliū. Ea quum ad se quoque veniri præscisset, in sacrarium ad penates confugit, cum duabus filiis virginibus, resolutis crinibus, miserabilique alio habitu: et ad ea addidit preces, nunc per memoriam Hieronis patris, Gelonisque fratris; 'ne se innoxiam invidia Hieronymi 'conflagrare sinerent. Nihil se ex regno illius, præter ex-siliū viri, habere: neque fortunam suam eandem vivo 'Hieronymo fuisse, quam sororis; neque interfecto eo 'causam eandem esse. Quid? quod, si Andranodoro consilia processissent, illa cum viro fuerit regnatura; sibi cum ceteris serviendum. Si quis Zoippo nuntiet, interfectum 'Hieronymum, ac liberatas Syracusas, cui dubium esse, 'quin extemplo consensurus sit navim, atque in patriam 'rediturus? Quantum spes hominum falli! In liberata 'patria conjugem ejus ac liberos de vita dimicare; quid 'obstantes libertati, aut legibus? Quod ab se cuiquam 'periculum, a sola ac prope vidua, et puellis in orbitate de-gentibus, esse? At enim periculi quidem nihil ab se timeri: invisam tamen regiam stirpem esse. Ablegarent 'ergo procul ab Syracusis Siciliaque, et asportari Alexandriam juberent, ad virum uxorem, ad patrem filias.' Aversis auribus animisque, casse ne tempus tereretur, ferrum quosdam expedientes cernebat. Tum, omissis pro se precibus, 'puellis ut saltem parcerent,' orare institit: 'a qua ætate etiam hostes iratos abstinere; ne, tyrannos ulciscendo, quæ odissent, scelera ipsi imitarentur.' Inter hæc abstractam a penetralibus jugulant: in virgines deinde, respersas matris cruento, impetum faciunt. Quæ, alienata mente simul luctu metuque, velut captæ furore, eo cursu se ex sacrario proripuerunt, ut, si effugium patuisset in publicum, impleturæ urbem tumultu fuerint. Tum quoque haud magno ædium spatio, inter medios tot armatos, aliquoties integro corpore evaserunt: tenantibusque, quum tot ac tam validæ eluctandæ manus essent, sese eripuerunt: tandem, vulneribus confessæ, quum omnia replescent sanguine, exanimes corruerunt; cædemque per se miserabilem miserabiliorum casus fecit, quod paullo post nuntius venit, mutatis repente ad misericordiam animis, ne interficerentur. Ira deinde ex misericordia orta, quod adeo festinatum ad supplicium, neque locus pœnitendi, aut regressus ab ira relictus esset. Itaque fremere multitudo, et in locum Andranodori ac Themisti (nam ambo prætores fuerant) comitia poscere: quæ nequaquam ex sententia prætorum futura essent.

less barbarity. A very close parallel may be traced in the proposition of one of the French revolutionaries, *Barére*, that all the descendants of the house of Capet should be exterminated.

Statutus est comitiis dies: quo, necopinantibus omnibus, U. C. 540.
 inus ex ultima turba Epicydem nominavit, tum inde alias⁶ A. C. 214.
 Hippocratem. Crebriores deinde eae voces, et cum haud
 lubio assensu multitudinis esse. Et erat confusa concio,
 non populari modo, sed militari quoque turba, magna ex
 parte etiam⁷ perfugis, qui omnia novare cupiebant, per-
 nixtis. Prætores dissimulare primo, et trahenda re esse:
 postremo victi consensu, et seditionem metuentes, pronun-
 ciant eos prætores. Nec illi primo statim⁸ creati nudare,
 quid vellent: quanquam ægre ferebant, et de indutiis
 dierum decem legatos isse ad Ap. Claudium, et, impetratis
 iis, alios, qui de fœdere antiquo renovando agerent, missos.
 Ad Murgantiam⁹ tum classem navium centum Romanus
 habebat, quonam evaderent motus ex cædibus tyrannorum
 orti Syracusis, quoque eos ageret nova atque insolita libertas,
 operiens. Per eosdem dies quum ad Marcellum, veni-
 entem in Siciliam, legati Syracusani missi ab Appio essent,
 auditis conditionibus pacis, Marcellus, posse rem convenire¹⁰
 ratus, et ipse legatos Syracusas, qui coram cum prætoribus
 de renovando fœdere agerent¹¹, misit. Et jam ibi¹² nequa-
 quam eadem quies et tranquillitas erat. Postquam Pu-
 nicanam classem accessisse Pachynum allatum est, dempto
 timore Hippocrates et Epicydes, nunc apud mercenarios
 milites, nunc apud transfugas, prodi Romano Syracusas,
 criminabantur. Ut vero Appius naves ad ostium portus,
 quo aliæ partis¹³ hominibus animus accederet, in statione
 habere cœpit, ingens in speciem¹⁴ criminibus vanis acces-
 serat fides: ac primo etiam tumultuose decurrerat multi-
 tudo ad prohibendos, si in terram egrederentur.

In hac turbatione rerum in concionem vocari placuit.
 Ubi quum alii alio tenderent¹⁵, nec procul seditione res esset,
 Apollonides principum unus orationem salutarem, ut in tali
 tempore, habuit: 'Nec spem salutis, nec perniciem propi-

28.

⁸ *Tum inde alias.*] "Followed by another in the same direction."

⁹ *Magnâ ex parte etiam, &c.*] "As the deserters who were anxious for a total revolution, formed a principal ingredient."

¹⁰ *Nec illi primo statim, &c.*] "They did not, however, immediately on their election," &c.

¹¹ *Murgantiam.*] This town (also called *Morgantum*) stood at the mouth of the river Simæthus (now the *Giaretta*), commanding a view of the wide and level *piana di Catania*; about thirty miles north from Syracuse.

¹² *Posse rem convenire.*] "That an arrangement might be effected."

¹³ *Qui coram—agerent.*] "To negotiate in person," &c.

¹⁴ *Et jam ibi, &c.*] "By this time, indeed, there was no longer," &c.

¹⁵ *Aliæ partis.*] "Of the opposite faction." This form of genitive is once or twice used by Cicero.

⁷ *Ingens in speciem, &c.*] "An apparently strong confirmation was given to," &c.

⁸ *Quum alii alio tenderent.*] "When different parties maintained different views."

U. C. 540. ' orem unquam civitati ulli fuisse. Si enim⁹ uno animo
 A. C. 214. ' omnes vel ad Romanos, vel ad Carthaginenses inclinent,
 ' nullius civitatis statum fortunatiorem beatioremve fore.
 ' Si alii alio trahant res¹, non inter Poenos Romanosque bel-
 ' lum atrocius fore, quam inter ipsos Syracusanos: quum
 ' intra eosdem muros pars utraque suos exercitus, sua arma,
 ' suos habitura sit duces. Itaque, ut omnes idem sentiant,
 ' summa vi agendum esse: utra societas sit utilior, eam
 ' longe minorem ac levioris momenti² consultationem esse.
 ' Sed tamen³ Hieronis potius, quam Hieronymi, auctoritatem
 ' sequendam in sociis legendis, vel quinquaginta annis feli-
 ' citer expertam amicitiam nunc incognitæ, quondam infi-
 ' deli, præferendam. Esse etiam momenti aliquid ad con-
 ' silium, quod Carthaginensibus ita pax negari possit, ut
 ' non utique in præsentia⁴ bellum cum iis geratur: cum
 ' Romanis extemplo 'aut pacem, aut bellum habendum.
 Quo minus cupiditatis⁵ ac studii visa est oratio habere, eo
 plus auctoritatis habuit. Adjectum est prætoribus ac de-
 lectis senatorum militare etiam consilium: jussi et duces
 ordinum præfectique auxiliorum simul consulere. Quum
 sæpe acta res esset magnis certaminibus, postremo, quia
 belli cum Romanis gerendi ratio nulla apparebat, pacem
 fieri placuit, mittique cum iis⁶ legatos ad rem confir-
 mandam.

29. Dies haud ita multi intercesserunt, quum ex Leontinis
 legati, præsidium finibus suis orantes, venerunt; quæ
 legatio peropportuna visa ad multitudinem inconditam⁷ ac
 tumultuosam exonerandam, ducesque ejus ablegandos. Hippocrates prætor ducere eo tranfugas jussus: seuti
 multi ex mercenariis auxiliis quattuor millia armatorum
 effecerunt. Et mittentibus et missis ea læta expeditio

⁹ *Si enim &c.]* "If, for instance," &c.

¹ *Si alii alio trahant res.]* "If the several parties pulled different ways."

² *Longè minorem ac levioris mo-
 menti &c.]* "Was a much smaller and less important question."

³ *Sed tamen &c.]* Still, the au-
 thority of Hiero, rather than of Hieronymus, deserved to be followed in the choice of allies; or, (*i. e.* to put the case in other words,) an alliance tried with happy results for fifty years ought to be preferred to one now unknown, and once in-
 sincere." *Vel* might be also taken in close connection with *quinqua-
 ginta*, to signify, "even fifty"—"full

fifty." Some editors read *et* for *vel*.

⁴ *Non utique in præsentia.]* "It was also a consideration of some influence on the decision, that a peace might be refused to the Carthaginians in such a manner that war need not be, actually at present (exactly just then) waged with them; while, with the Romans," &c.

⁵ *Quo minus cupiditatis &c.]* "The less of passion and partiality," &c.

⁶ *Cum iis.]* To be taken after *confirmandam*.

⁷ *Ad multitudinem inconditam &c.]* "To get rid of a disorderly and noisy rabble, and send their leaders out of the way."

fuit⁴. Nam et illis, quod jam diu cupiebant, novandi res ^{U. C. 540.} occasio data est; et hi, sentinam quandam urbis rati exhaustam, lætabantur. Ceterum levaverunt modo in præsentia ^{A. C. 214.} *velut* corpus ægrum, quo mox in graviorem⁵ morbum recideret. Hippocrates enim finitima provinciæ Romanæ primo furtivis excursionibus vastare coepit: deinde, quum ad tuendos sociorum agros missum ab Appio præsidium esset, omnibus copiis impetum in oppositam stationem cum cæde multorum fecit. Quæ quum essent nuntiata Marcello, legatos extemplo Syracusas misit, qui pacis fidem ruptam esse dicerent: nec belli defuturam unquam causam, nisi Hippocrates atque Epicydes non ab Syracusis modo, sed tota procul Sicilia, ablegarentur. Epicydes, ne aut reus⁶ criminis absentis fratris præsens esset, aut deesset pro parte sua concitando bello, prefectus et ipse in Leontinos, quia satis eos adversus populum Romanum concitatos cernebat, avertere etiam ab Syracusis⁷ coepit. ‘Nam ita eos⁸ pacem pepigisse cum Romanis, ut, quicunque populi sub regibus fuissent, et suæ ditionis essent; nec jam libertate contentos esse, nisi etiam regnent ac dominantur. Re-nuntiandum igitur iis esse, Leontinos quoque æquum censere liberos esse; vel quod in solo urbis suæ tyrannus ceciderit, vel quod ibi primum conclamatum ad libertatem, relictisque regiis ducibus Syracusas sit concursum. Itaque

⁴ *Ea lata expeditio fuit &c.*] “Such an expedition was hailed with joy by the senders and those sent; because to the latter was opened an opportunity for the change which they had been long desiring; while the former rejoiced in the belief that the refuse of the city—so to speak—was drained away.”

⁵ *Quo mox in graviorem &c.*] “Only that it should soon relapse into a more dangerous distemper.”

⁶ *Ne aut reus &c.*] “Lest, by remaining on the spot, he should be held accountable for, &c. or, be wanting, on his own part, to the provocation of a war.”

⁷ *Avertere etiam ab Syracusis.*] “To alienate them from Syracuse also.”

⁸ *Nam ita eos &c.*] “Because they (the Syracusans) had negotiated a peace with the Romans on the understanding that all such nations as had been under the monarchy, should continue subject to them (the Syracusans), &c. They

must therefore (i. e. the Syracusans still) be informed that the Leontini also considered it but fair that they should be free, either because &c. &c. That clause therefore, (i. e. relating to the subjection of the other cities to Syracuse) must be struck out of the treaty; or an alliance on such terms (*legem eam fæderis*, i. e. fædus iis legibus) must not be accepted,” (i. e. an alliance on other terms, or, no alliance at all.)

It would appear that Leontini was at this time the refuge of the popular party; as Samos was when the 400 seized the government of Athens. Accordingly Hippocrates and Epicydes now regarded their followers as the representatives of the Syracusan people, on the same principle, though with rather less justice, as Thrasybulus and Thrasylus considered themselves and the Athenian fleet the people of Athens, during the usurpation of the oligarchy at home.

U.C. 540. 'aut eximendum id de foedere esse, aut legem eam foederis
 A.C. 214. 'non accipiendam.' Facile multitudini persuasum: legatisque Syracusanorum, et de cæde stationis Romanæ querentibus, et Hippocratem atque Epicydem abire seu Locros, seu quo alio mallent, dummodo Sicilia cederent, jubentibus, ferozier responsum est: 'Neque mandasse sese Syracusanis, ut pacem pro se cum Romanis facerent: neque teneri alienis foederibus.' Hæc ad Romanos Syracusani detulerunt, abnuentes, 'Leontinos in sua potestate esse. ' Itaque integro secum foedere⁴ bellum Romanos cum iis gesturos. Neque sese defuturos ei bello; ita ut in potestate redacti suæ rursus ditionis essent, sicut pax convenisset.'

30. Marcellus cum omni exercitu profectus in Leontinos, Appio quoque accito, ut altera parte aggredieretur, tanto ardore militum⁵ est usus ab ira inter conditiones pacis interfectæ stationis, ut primo impetu urbem expugnarent. Hippocrates atque Epicydes, postquam capi muros refringique portas videre, in arcem sese cum paucis recepere. Inde clam nocte Herbessum⁶ perfugiunt. Syracusanis, octo milium armatorum agmine profectis domo, ad Mylam flumen⁷ nuntius occurrit, captam urbem esse; cetera falsa mixta veris ferens: cædem promiscuam militum atque oppidanorum factam, nec quemquam puberem arbitrari superesse: direptam urbem: bona locupletium donata. Ad nuntium tam atrocem constitit agmen; concitatisque omnibus, duces, (erant autem Sosis ac Dinomenes) quid agerent, consultabant. Terroris speciem haud vanam⁸ mendacio præbuerant verberati ac securi percussi transfugæ ad duo millia hominum. Ceterum Leontinorum militumque aliorum nemo, post captam urbem, violatus fuerat: suaque omnia iis, nisi quæ primus tumultus captæ urbis absumperat, restituebantur. Nec ut Leontinos irent, proditos ad cædem commilitones querentes, perPELLi potuere, nec ut eodem loco certiore nuntium exspectarent. Quum ad defectionem inclinatos animos cernerent prætores, sed eum motum haud diurnum fore, si duces amentiæ sublati essent; exercitum ducunt Megaram: ipsi cum paucis

⁴ *Integro secum fædere.*] "The Romans might wage war on them (the Leontini) without any infraction of the treaty with themselves (the Syracusans); and that they would not fail to aid in such war, provided that," &c.

⁵ *Tanto ardore militum, &c.*] "Found such alacrity among the soldiers."

⁶ *Herbessum.*] An inconsiderable

village lying between Leontini and Syracuse.

⁷ *Mylam flumen.*] One of the streams running into the bay of Megara.

⁸ *Terroris speciem haud vanam, &c.*] "The scourging and beheading of the deserters, to the number of 2000, lent a frightful character of reality to the falsehood."

equitibus Herbessum proficiscuntur, spe, territis omnibus, U. C. 540. per proditionem urbis potiundæ. Quod ubi frustra iis fuit A. C. 214. incepsum, vi agendum rati, postero die Megaris castra movent, ut Herbessum omnibus copiis oppugnarent. Hippocrates et Epicydes, non tam tutum prima specie¹, quam unum, spe undique abscisa, consilium, esse rati, ut se militibus permetterent, et assuetis magna ex parte sibi, et tum fama cædis commilitonum accensis, obviam agmini procedunt. Prima forte signa² sexcentorum Cretensium erant, qui apud Hieronymum meruerant sub iis, et Hannibalis beneficium habebant³, capti ad Trasimenum inter Romanorum auxilia, dimissique. Quos ubi ex signis armorumque habitu cognovere Hippocrates atque Epicydes, ramos oleæ ac velamenta alia supplicum porrigentes, orare, 'ut recipi- rent sese, receptosque tutarentur, neu proderent Syracusaniis, a quibus mox ipsi trucidandi populo Romano dede- rentur. Enimvero⁴, conclamant, 'bonum ut animum haberent: omnem se cum illis fortunam subituros.' Inter hoc colloquium signa constiterant, tenebaturque agmen: necdum, quæ moræ causa foret, pervenerat ad duces. Postquam Hippocratem atque Epicydem adesse⁵ pervasit rumor, fremitusque toto agmine erat haud dubie approban- tium adventum eorum; extempsit prætores citatis equis ad prima signa perrexerunt, 'Qui mos ille, quæ licentia Cretensium esset,' rogantes, 'colloquia serendi cum hoste, injussuque prætorum miscendi eos agmini suo⁶?' Compre- hendi injicique catenas jusserunt Hippocrati. Ad quam vocem tantus extempsit primum a Cretensibus clamor est ortus, deinde exceptus ab aliis, ut facile, si ultra tenderent,

31.

¹ *Non tam tutum primæ specie, &c.]* "Believing that it would be not so much, at first sight, a safe (an apparently safe) expedient, but the only possible one after the removal of all other hope, to give themselves up to the soldiers," &c.

² *Prima—signa, &c.]* "The van- guard happened to consist of," &c.

³ *Hannibalis beneficium habebant.]* "Were enjoying the clemency of Hannibal."

⁴ *Enimvero, &c.]* "Of course, they unanimously exclaimed," &c. This conjunction is not always directly translateable, and must in many instances be represented by a strong emphasis upon the word or phrase connected with it. Here it is to be joined not with *conclamant*

but with *habeant*.

⁵ *Hippocratem atque Epicydem adesse.]* Some commentators propose to substitute *esse* (sc. causam esse) for *adesse*. Observe the emphasis; "that it was H. and E."

⁶ *Miscendi eos agmini suo.]* "Ad- mitting them into their ranks." Al- though the first arrival of these two men in Syracuse may be regarded as the commencement of the series of events that led to the destruction of the city: the occurrences of this day in particular must be recognised as the proximate cause. Had the Syracusan army but obeyed their leaders, and gone forward to Leon- tini, it is nearly certain that no sub- sequent *causus belli* would have arisen between Rome and Syracuse.

U. C. 540. appareret⁶, iis timendum esse. Solliciti incertique rerum
 A. C. 214. suarum Megaram, unde profecti erant, referri signa jubent,
 nuntiosque de statu præsenti Syracusas mittunt. Fraudem
 quoque Hippocrates addit, inclinati ad omnem suspicionem
 animis: et, Cretensium quibusdam ad itinera insidenda'
 missis, velut interceptas literas, quas ipse composuerat, re-
 citat: 'Prætores Syracusani consuli Marcello.' Secundum
 salutem, ut assolet, scriptum erat: 'Recte eum atque ordine⁸
 fecisse, quod in Leontinis nulli pepercisset. Sed omnium
 mercenariorum militum⁹ eandem esse causam, nec unquam
 Syracusas quieturas, donec quicquam externorum auxilio-
 rum, aut in urbe, aut in exercitu suo, esset. Itaque daret
 operam, ut eos, qui cum suis prætoribus castra ad Mega-
 ram haberent, in suam potestatem redigeret, ac supplicio
 eorum liberaret tandem Syracusas.' Hæc quum recitata
 essent, cum tanto clamore ad arma discursum est, ut præ-
 tores inter tumultum pavidi abequitaverint Syracusas. Et
 ne fuga quidem eorum seditio compressa est, impetusque in
 Syracusanos milites fiebant: nec ab ullo temperatum foret,
 ni Epicydes atque Hippocrates iræ multitudinis obviam is-
 sent: non a misericordia¹ aut humano consilio, sed ne spem
 reditus præciderent sibi, et quum ipsos simul milites fidos
 haberent, simul obsides; tum cognatos quoque eorum at-
 que amicos tanto merito primum, dein pignore sibi concili-
 aren: expertique, quam vana aut levi aura mobile vulgus
 esset, militem nacti ex eo numero, qui in Leontinis circum-
 sessi erant, subornant, ut Syracusas perferret nuntium con-
 venientem iis, quæ ad Mylam falso nuntiata erant; aucto-
 remque se exhibendo, ac velut visa, quæ dubia erant, nar-
 rando, concitaret iras hominum. Huic non apud vulgum
 modo fides fuit, sed senatum quoque in curiam introductus
 movit. Haud vani² quidam homines palam ferre, 'perbene
 'detectam in Leontinis esse avaritiam et crudelitatem Ro-

32.

⁶ *Ut facile—appareret.*] "That it was clearly evident," &c.

⁷ *Ad itinera insidenda, &c.*] "To occupy the roads."

⁸ *Rectè—atque ordine.*] "Regularly and constitutionally." This was a conventional phrase applied to all measures attended with proper and legal formalities. See Sallust, Catiline, ch. 51.

⁹ *Mercenariorum militum.*] This part of the fabrication was of course designed to enlist the sympathies and justify the conduct of the Cretans.

¹ *Non a misericordia, &c.*] "Not

through compassion or any feeling of humanity, but in order that they might not intercept their own prospect of returning, and (as they regarded the soldiers as at the same time friends and hostages) that they might also conciliate their (that is, the soldiers') relatives and friends, first by so important a service, and, secondly, by holding a security; and, because they knew also from experience, by how imaginary and slight an impulse a multitude is liable to be influenced." Three motives are here enumerated.

² *Haud vani.*] "Not credulously disposed."

'manorum. Eadem, si intrassent Syracusas, aut foediora ^{U. C. 540.} ^{A. C. 214.} 'etiam, quo majus ibi avaritiæ præmium esset, facturos 'fuisse.' Itaque claudendas cuncti portas, et custodiendam urbem censere. Sed non ab iisdem³ omnes timere, nec eosdem odisse: ad militare⁴ genus omne partemque magnam plebis invisum esse nomen Romanum. Prætores optimatumque pauci, quanquam inflammati⁵ vano nuntio erant, tamen ad proprius præsentiusque malum cautiores esse. Et jam ad Hexapylum erant Hippocrates atque Epicydes: serebanturque colloquia per propinquos popularium⁶, qui in exercitu erant, ut portas aperirent, sinerentque communem patriam defendi ab impetu Romanorum. Jam, unis foribus Hexapyli apertis, cœpti erant recipi, quum prætores intervenierunt. Et primo imperio minisque⁷, deinde auctoritate, deterrendo, postremo, ut omnia vana erant, obliti majestatis, precibus agebant, ne proderent patriam tyranni ante satellitibus, et tum corruptoribus exercitus. Sed surdæ ad hæc omnia aures concitatæ multitudinis erant, nec minore intus vi, quam foris, portæ effringebantur: effractisque omnibus, totum Hexapylo agmen⁸ receptum est. Prætores in Achradinam cum juventute popularium confugiunt: mercenarii milites perfugæque, et quicquid regiorum militum Syracusis erat, agmen hostium augent. Ita Achradina quoque primo impetu capitur, prætorumque, nisi qui inter tumultum effugerunt, omnes interficiuntur. Nox cædibus finem fecit. Postero die servi ad pileum vocati, et carcere vinci emissi: confusaque hæc omnis multitudo Hippocratem atque Epicydem creant prætores: Syracusæque, quum breve tempus libertas⁹ affulisset, in antiquam servitutem reciderunt.

Hæc nuntiata quum essent Romanis, ex Leontinis mota sunt extemplo castra ad Syracusas. Et ab Appio legati per portum missi forte in quinqueremi erant. Præmissa qua-

33.

³ *Sed non ab iisdem &c.]* "They did not, however, all fear or hate the same parties."

⁴ *Ad (apud) militare &c.]* "With all the military body," &c.

⁵ *Quanquam inflammati &c.]* "Though exasperated by the false report, were more disposed to guard against a nearer and more immediate danger."

⁶ *Per propinquos popularium &c.]* The former of these words is the antecedent to *qui*: sc. "those friends of the national (patriotic) party who were in the army."

⁷ *Et primo imperio minisque &c.]*

"At first by deterring them by means of commands, threats, and personal influence; and at length when all proved useless, forgetting their dignity, they sought to work upon them by entreaties." The cases immediately following *agebant* are *deterrendo* and *precibus*.

⁸ *Totum Hexapylo agmen.]* Some commentators read *totum in Hexapylo*, which is an improvement.

⁹ *Quum breve tempus libertas.]* "After liberty had dawned upon it for a moment." (After a passing gleam of the light of liberty.)

U. C. 540. driremis, quum intrasset fauces portus, capitur: legati s̄egre
 A. C. 314. effugerunt. Et jam non modo¹ pacis, sed ne belli quidem
 jura relicta erant: quum Romanus exercitus ad Olympium
 (Jovis id templum est) mille et quingentis passibus ab urbe
 castra posuit. Inde quoque legatos præmitti placuit: quibus,
 ne intrarent urbem, extra portam Hippocrates atque
 Epicydes obviam cum suis processerunt. Romanus orator
 'non bellum se Syracusanis, sed opem auxiliumque affer',
 ait, 'et iis, qui, ex media cæde elapsi, perfugerint ad se, et
 'iis, qui, metu oppressi, foediorem, non exsilio solum, sed
 'etiam morte, servitutem patientur. Nec cædem nefandam
 'sociorum inultam Romanos passuros. Itaque si iis, qui ad
 'se perfugerint, tutus in patriam reditus pateret, cædis
 'auctores dedantur, et libertas legesque Syracusanis restitu-
 'antur, nihil armis opus esse. Si ea non fiant, quicunque
 'in mora sit, bello persecuturos.' Ad ea Epicydes, 'Si qua
 'ad se mandata² haberent, responsum iis,' ait, 'se daturos
 'fuisse: quum in eorum, ad quos venerint, manu res Syra-
 'cusana esset, tum reverterentur. Si bello lacessant, ipsa
 're intellecturos, nequaquam idem esse Syracusas ac Leon-
 'tinos oppugnare.' Ita legatis relictis, portas clausit. Inde
 terra marique simul cœptæ oppugnari Syracusæ: terra ab
 Hexapyllo, mari ab Achradina, cuius murus fluctu alluitur.
 Et, quia, sicut Leontinos terrore ac primo impetu ceperant,
 non diffidebant, vastam disjectamque spatio urbem³ parte
 aliqua se invasuros, omnem apparatum oppugnandarum
 urbium muris admoverunt.

34. Et habuisset tanto impetu⁴ cœpta res fortunam, nisi unus
 homo Syracusis ea tempestate fuisse. Archimedes is erat,
 unicus spectator cœli⁵ siderumque; mirabilior tamen

¹ *Et jam non modo &c.*] "By this time, indeed, all conventional forms, not of peace only, but even of war, had been abandoned."

² *Si qua ad se mandata.*] "If they brought any message for them (sc. Hippocr. and Epicyd.) they would have given them an answer; and that as soon as the Syracusan government should be in the hands of that party to whom they came, they might come again."

³ *Vastam disjectamque spatio urbem.*] A reference to a map will show that the ground-plan of Syracuse resembled a long irregular triangle; the base of which was the sea-wall of Acradina, and the apex the fortress of Euryalus. This was the third siege of Syracuse; it had

been previously invested by the Athenians and Carthaginians.

⁴ *Et habuisset tanto impetu &c.*] "And indeed the enterprise so vigorously commenced would have been successful; but for the presence of one man, at that time, in Syracuse."

⁵ *Unicus spectator cœli &c.*] "Preeminent as an observer (a reader) of the sky and stars; still more distinguished as an inventor and contriver of military engines and operations; so that, with slight exertion on his part, he frustrated all that the enemy did with considerable trouble. The wall, running over undulating hills—generally high ground and difficult of access, sometimes low and approachable from the flat valleys—he furnished with

inventor ac machinator bellicorum tormentorum operumque, U. C. 540.
 quibus ea, quæ hostes ingenti mole agerent, ipse perlevi A. C. 214.
 momento ludificaretur. Murum per inæquales ductum
 colles, (pleraque alta et difficilia aditu, summissa quædam,
 et quæ planis vallibus adiri possent) ut cuique aptum visum
 est loco, ita omni genere tormentorum instruxit. Achra-
 dinæ murum, qui, ut ante dictum est, mari alluitur, ex
 quinqueremibus Marcellus oppugnabat. Ex ceteris navibus
 sagittarii funditoresque, et velites etiam, quorum telum in-
 habile⁶ ad remittendum imperitis est, vix quemquam sine
 vulnere consistere in muro patiebantur. Hi, quia⁷ spatio
 missilibus opus est, procul muro tenebant naves. Junctæ
 aliæ binæ ad quinqueremes⁸, demptis interioribus remis, ut
 latus lateri applicaretur, quum exteriore ordine remorum
 velut una navis⁹ agerentur, turres contabulatas machinamen-
 taque alia quatiendis muris¹ portabant. Adversus hunc na-
 valem apparatus Archimedes variæ magnitudinis tormenta
 in muris disposuit. In eas, quæ procul erant, naves saxa
 ingenti pondere emittebat: propiores levioribus, eoque
 magis crebris, petebat telis: postremo, ut sui vulnere intacti
 tela in hostem ingererent, murum ab imo ad summum² cre-
 bris cubitalibus fere cavis aperuit; per quæ cava pars
 sagittis, pars scorpionibus modicis ex occulto petebant ho-
 stem. Quæ proprius quædam subibant naves³ quo interi-

engines of all sorts, as they seemed to suit the several localities." The wall mentioned here was that enclosing the city on the eastern side, and erected by the elder Dionysius. Diodorus says (xiv. 18.) that it was completed in twenty days to the length of thirty stadiæ (4½ miles) by the incessant labour of more than 60,000 men. Plutarch speaks of Archimedes as having devoted himself almost exclusively to pure and mixed mathematics, and says that his military engines were merely the toys of his idle hours. The circumstances of the discovery of his tomb by Cicero are, of course, too well known to need repetition.

⁶ *Quorum telum inhabile &c.*] "Whose weapons were inconvenient for the unpractised to throw back."

⁷ *Hi, quia &c.*] "These anchored at a distance from the wall, because missiles require a flight."

⁸ *Junctæ aliæ binæ ad quinqueremes.*] "Two others lashed to each of the quinqueremes;" so is to make one float of three ships.

If, with some commentators, we omit *ad*, we must translate "others lashed together two by two (by twos, in pairs)." Polybius mentions eight as the number of galleys thus lashed together. It will, of course, be perceived, that the contrivance resembled that of our modern pontoons. The machine thus constructed was technically called a *Sambuca*.

⁹ *Velut una navis.*] Or, in some editions, *velut naves*, "as so many single ships."

¹ *Quatiendis muris.*] "For loosening the walls."

² *Murum ab imo ad summum &c.*] He pierced the wall, from the base to the summit, with numerous loop-holes about a cubit long.

³ *Quæ proprius—subibant naves &c.*] "Such of the galleys as came nearer, in order to be inside the range of the engines, an iron grapple attached to a strong chain from a lever projecting over these, after taking hold on the prow, brought back to the ground by a heavy counterpoise of lead, used

U.C. 540. *ores ictibus tormentorum essent, in eas tollenone super*
 A.C. 214. *murum eminente ferrea manus firmæ catenæ illigata quum*
injecta proræ esset, gravi libramento plumbi recellente ad
solum, suspensa prora, navim in puppim statuebat: dein,
remissa⁴ subito, velut ex muro cadentem navim cum ingenti
trepidatione nautarum ita undæ affligebat, ut, etiamsi recta
reciderat, aliquantum aquæ acciperet. Ita maritima op-
pugnatio est elusa, omnisque vis est eo versa, ut totis viribus
terra aggredierentur. Sed ea quoque pars eodem omni
apparatu tormentorum instructa erat, Hieronis impensis
curaque per multos annos, Archimedis unica arte. Natura

to set the galley on the stern by elevating the prow." In this complicated sentence—if its present form be genuine—we have three ablatives abs.; and the only possible nom. to *statuebat* is *manus*.

⁴ *Dein, remissa &c.]* "And then, being suddenly let fall, dashed the galley upon the water, to the great consternation of the crew, in such a manner that, even though it fell in its proper position, it must ship a quantity of water."

Livy makes no mention of a legend, to which subsequent historians make several allusions. Zonaras, writing in the 12th century, says, that "Archimedes, catching the sun's rays on a mirror, by the thickness (i. e. the convexity) and polish of which they were concentrated, kindled a flame in the air, and projected it with full force on the ships anchored within a certain range." Tzetzes also, who lived about the same time, says, that "when the Roman galleys were within bow-shot of the walls, Archimedes employed a sort of hexagonal speculum, with other smaller reflectors of twenty-four facettes each, set at proper distances, and moved on hinges and metal plates. The large reflector was so placed opposite the sun, that its plane was bisected by the meridian of summer and winter: and a great fire was kindled which consumed the Roman fleet." *A propos* of these statements, it is recorded, that a mathematician of the sixth century, named Proclus, at the siege of Constantinople, set the Thracian fleet on fire by means of brass reflectors. These feats of science

were pronounced impossible by philosophers, until their practicability was demonstrated by the experiments of Buffon. (Transactions of Academy of Paris, 1747.) On this subject Gibbon says; "A tradition has prevailed, that the Roman fleet was reduced to ashes in the port of Syracuse by the burning glasses of Archimedes; and it is asserted, that a similar expedient was employed by Proclus to destroy the Gothic vessels in the harbour of Constantinople. A machine was fixed on the walls of the city, consisting of a hexagon mirror of polished brass, with many smaller and moveable polygons to receive and reflect the rays of the meridian sun; and a consuming flame was darted to a distance of 200 feet. The truth of these two extraordinary facts is invalidated by the silence of the most authentic historians;" (i. e. of Polybius and Livy in the former case, and of Marcellinus in the latter;) "yet, the admirable experiments of a French philosopher have demonstrated the possibility of such a mirror." All this notwithstanding, the existence of the tradition coupled with our present knowledge of the possibility of the fact, would seem to verify the remark of Schlegel, that "the great progress and the discoveries of which philosophy occasionally boasts, are no more than discoveries that had been already made by others, hundreds and thousands of years before, in other forms and other languages." It is recorded, that, when Famagusta was besieged by the Turks in 1571, an Italian, named Maggi, defended it in the same way.

etiam juvabat loci, quod saxum, cui imposita muri funda- U.C. 540.
A.C. 214.
menta sunt, magna ex parte ita proclive est, ut non solum missa tormento, sed etiam quæ pondere suo provoluta essent, graviter in hostem inciderent. Eadem causa ad subeundum arduum aditum instabilemque ingressum præbebat. Ita, consilio habito, quum omnis conatus⁵ ludibrio esset, absistere oppugnatione, atque obsidendo tantum arcerere terra marique commeatibus hostem placuit.

Interim Marcellus, cum tertia fere parte exercitus ad recipiendas urbes profectus, quæ in motu rerum ad Carthaginenses defecerant, Helorum⁶ atque Herbessum, dederuntibus ipsis, recipit. Megara⁷ vi capta diruit ac diripuit ad reliquorum, ac maxime Syracusanorum, terrorem. Per idem fere tempus et Himilco, qui ad Pachyni promontorium classem diu tenuerat, ad Heracleam⁸, quam vocant Minoam, quinque et viginti millia peditum, tria equitum, duodecim elephantos exposuit: nequaquam cum quantis copiis⁹ ante tenuerat ad Pachynum classem. Sed, postquam ab Hippocrate occupatae Syracusæ erant, profectus Carthaginem, adjutusque ibi et ab legatis Hippocratis, literisque Hannibal, qui venisse tempus aiebat Siciliæ per summum decus repetendæ, et ipse haud vanus præsens monitor¹ facile perpulerat, ut, quantæ maximæ possent, peditum equitumque copiæ in Siciliam trajicerentur. Adveniens Heracleam, intra paucos dies inde Agrigentum recipit: aliarumque civitatum, quæ partis Carthaginensium erant, adeo accessæ sunt spes ad pellendos Sicilia Romanos, ut postremo etiam, qui obsidebantur Syracusis, animos sustulerint; et, parte copiarum satis defendi urbem posse rati, ita inter se munera belli partiti sint, ut Epicydes præsisset custodiæ urbis, Hippocrates, Himilconi conjunctus, bellum adversus consulem Romanum gereret. Cum decem millibus peditum, quingentis equitibus nocte per intermissa custodiis loca profectus, castra circa Acrillas urbem ponebat. Munitibus supervenit Marcellus, ab Agrigento² jam occupato,

⁵ *Quum omnis conatus &c.]* "As &c.] "A force by no means equal every attempt proved a failure."

⁶ *Helorum.]* The ruins of this town, on the river from which it took its name, are now called *muri ucoi*. They stand a short way inland from Cape Passaro.

⁷ *Megara.]* Livy writes this name both singular and plural. The latter is the original form.

⁸ *Heracleam.]* Stood on the coast between Agrigentum (Girgenti) and Selinus.

⁹ *Nequaquam cum quantis copiis*

35.

&c.] "A force by no means equal to (i. e. much larger than) that with which," &c.

¹ *Ipse haud vanus præsens monitor.]* "By his own personal and impressive advice."

² *Ab Agrigento &c.]* "On his way back from Agrigentum which was now occupied, after being disappointed in a hasty march thither to anticipate the enemy." The present city of Girgenti stands on the height known as the *Monte Camico*, which formed the citadel

U. C. 540. quum frustra eo prævenire hostem festinans tetendisset,
 A. C. 214. rediens; nihil minus ratus, quam illo tempore ac loco Syracusanum sibi exercitum obviam fore; sed tamen metu Himilconis Pœnorumque, ut quibus nequaquam iis copiis, quas habebat, par esset, quam poterat maxime intentus, 36. atque agmine ad omnes casus composito ibat. Forte ea cura, quæ erat adversus Pœnos præparata, adversus Siculos usui fuit. Castris ponendis incompositos ac dispersos nactus eos et plerosque inermes, quod peditum fuit, circumvenit: eques, levi certamine inito, cum Hippocrate Acras³ perfugit.

Ea pugna deficiente ab Romanis⁴ quum cohibusset Siculos, Marcellus Syracusas rediit: et post paucos dies Himilco, adjuncto Hippocrate, ad flumen Anapum⁵, octo ferme inde millia, castra posuit. Sub idem fere tempus et naves longæ quinque et quinquaginta Carthaginiensium cum Bomilcare classis præfecto in magnum portum Syracusas ex alto decurrere; et Romana item classis, triginta quinqueremes, legionem primam Panormi exposuere; versumque ab Italia bellum⁶ (adeo uterque populus in Siciliam intentus) fuisse videri poterat. Legionem Romanam, quæ exposita Panormi erat, venientem Syracusas, prædæ haud dubie sibi futuram Himilco ratus, via decipitur. Mediteraneo namque Pœnus itinere⁷ duxit; legio maritimis locis, classe prosequente, ad Ap. Claudiū, Pachynum cum parte copiarum obviam progressum, pervenit. Nec diutius Pœni⁸

of the ancient Agrigentum; about four miles from the sea, and between the rivers Acras and Hypsa, (now, the *Drago* and *San Blazio*.) This eminence commands a view of the extensive ruins of the temples, palaces, and fortifications of the original city, and is approached by the steep and tortuous path-way which Dædalus is said to have excavated in the solid rock for Cocalus, and which Diodorus describes as being “tam arctum et flexuosum aditum, ut a trium aut quatuor hominum præsidio defendi posset.” The plain on the east of the city, lying between the ruins of the old Greek town and the sea, where the Romans encamped, still bears the name *Campo Romano*.

³ *Acras.*] Now called *Palazzolo*, was near the S. E. Promontory, and of course not far from Syracuse.

⁴ *Deficiente ab Romanis &c.*] “Checked the revolt of the Sicilians

from the Romans.”

⁵ *Flumen Anapum.*] Now the *Anapo*, flowing by Syracuse.

⁶ *Versumque ab Italid bellum &c.*] “And the scene of war might be supposed to have been transferred from ‘Italy,’ &c. The last active operations in Italy were the defeat of Hanno by Gracchus on the Calor, and Hannibal’s unsuccessful attempt upon Nola, after which he had left Campania for Tarentum. The reinforcements mentioned here had embarked at Ostia; because Hannibal commanded the usual line of communication through Lucania to Rhegium and across the strait.

⁷ *Mediterraneo—itinere.*] “By an inland route.”

⁸ *Nec diutius Pœni &c.—et—et.*] “The Carthaginians, however, delayed no longer at Syracuse; in the first place Bomilcar &c.—Himilco also,” &c.

ad Syracusas morati sunt. Et Bomilcar, simul parum fidens U. C. 540.
navibus suis, dupli facile numero⁹ classem habentibus Ro- A. C. 214.
manis, simul inutili mora cernens nihil aliud ab suis quam
inopiam aggravari sociorum, velis in altum datis, in Africam
transmisit: et Himilco, secutus nequicquam Marcellum
Syracusas, si qua, priusquam majoribus copiis jungeretur,
occasio pugnandi esset, postquam ea nulla contigerat,
tutumque ad Syracusas et munimento et viribus hostem
cernebat, ne frustra assidendo spectandoque obsidionem
sociorum tempus tereret, castra inde movit; ut, quoconque
vocasset defectionis ab Romanis spes, admoveret exercitum,
ac præsens suas res foventibus¹ adderet animos. Murgantia
primum, prodiit ab ipsis præsidio Romano, recepit;
ubi frumenti magna vis commeatusque omnis generis con-
vecti erant Romanis.

Ad hanc defectionem ericti sunt et aliarum civitatum
animi: præsidiaque Romana aut pellebantur arcibus, aut
prodita per fraudem opprimebantur. Henna, excelsa loco²
ac prærupto undique sita, quum loco inexpugnabilis erat,
tum præsidium in arce validum, præfectumque præsidii
haud sane opportunum insidiantibus³ habebat. L. Pinarius
erat vir acer, et qui plus in eo, ne posset⁴ decipi, quam in
fide Siculorum, reponeret: et tum intenderant eum ad
cavendi omnia curam tot auditæ prodiciones defectionesque
urbium, et clades præsidiorum. Itaque nocte dieque juxta
parata instructaque omnia custodiis ac vigiliis erant: nec
ab armis aut loco suo miles abscedebat. Quod ubi Hen-
nensium principes, jam pacti cum Himilcone de proditione
præsidii, animadverterunt, nulli occasiōni fraudis⁵ Romanum
patere, palam rentur agendum. 'Urbem arcemque suæ
'potestatis,' aiunt, 'debere esse, si liberi in societatem, non
'servi in custodiam, traditi essent Romanis. Itaque claves

⁹ *Duplici facile numero &c.]* "A fleet of fully double the number." The Roman fleet consisted of 100 galleys, in which are to be included the thirty just mentioned.

¹ *Præsens suas res foventibus &c.]* "And encourage his partizans by his presence."

² *Henna, excelsa loco &c.]* This once consecrated and consequently very wealthy city has almost entirely disappeared. Its modern representative (*Castro Giovanni*) is a miserable village. The site however is still impregnable, standing at an elevation of 4000 feet above the sea-level, and supplying, on the platform where the city stood, several springs

of fresh water. Henna was as nearly as possible the central point of the island, and is spoken of by ancient writers as the *umbilicus Siciliae*.

³ *Haud sanè opportunum insidiantibus.]* "Not very accessible to traitors."

⁴ *Qui plus in eo, ne posset &c.]* "Who relied more upon that quality, as a security against deception, than on the sincerity, &c. And just then, the news of so many surrenders and revolts of cities had awakened him to the duty of," &c.

⁵ *Nulli occasiōni fraudis &c.]* "The Roman would expose himself to no opportunity of treachery."

U.C. 540. 'portarum reddi sibi' æquum censem. 'Bonis sociis fidem
 A.C. 214. 'suam' maximum vinculum esse: et ita sibi populum Ro-
 'manum senatumque gratias habiturum, si volentes, ac non
 'coacti, mansissent in amicitia.' Ad ea Romanus, 'Se in
 'præsidio impositum esse,' dicere, 'ab imperatore suo:
 'clavesque portarum et custodiam arcis ab eo accepisse,
 'quæ nec suo nec Hennensium arbitrio haberet, sed ejus,
 'qui commisisset. Præsidio decedere apud Romanos ca-
 'pitale esse: et nece liberorum etiam suorum' eam legem
 'parentes sanxisse. Consulem Marcellum haud procul
 'esse: ad eum mitterent legatos, cuius juris atque arbitrii
 'esset.' Se vero negare illi missuros: testarique, si verbis
 nihil agerent, vindictam aliquam libertatis⁸ suæ quæsituros.
 Tum Pinarius: 'At illi⁹, si ad consulem gravarentur mittere,
 'sibi saltem darent populi concilium: ut sciretur, utrum
 'paucorum ea denuntiata¹⁰, an universæ civitatis, essent.
 Consensu in posterum diem concio edicitur.

38. Postquam ab eo colloquio in arcem sese recepit, conve-
 catis militibus, 'Credo ego vos audisse, milites,' inquit,
 'quemadmodum præsidia Romana ab Siculis circumventa
 'et oppressa sint per hos dies. Eam vos fraudem, deum
 'primo benignitate, dein vestra ipsi virtute, dies noctesque
 'perstando ac pervigilando in armis, vitastis. Utinam reli-
 'quum tempus² nec patiendo infanda, nec faciendo, traduci
 'possit! Hæc occulta in fraude³ cautio est, qua usi adhuc
 'sumus: cui quoniam parum succedit, aperte ac propalam
 'claves portarum reposcunt; quas simul tradiderimus,
 'Carthaginiensium extemplo Henna erit, fœdusque hic
 'trucidabimur, quam Murgantiae præsidium interfectum
 'est. Noctem unam ægre ad consultandum sumpsi, qua
 'vos certiores periculi instantis facerem. Orta luce con-
 'cionem habituri sunt ad criminandum me concitandumque
 'in vos populum. Itaque crastino die, aut vestro, aut
 'Hennensium⁴ sanguine Henna inundabitur. Nec præoc-
 'cupati⁵ spem ullam, nec occupantes periculi quicquam ha-

⁶ Bonis sociis fidem suam.] "To
 sincere allies their own sense of
 honour was the strongest obliga-
 tion."

⁷ Nece liberorum—suorum.] sc.
 Manlius Torquatus.

⁸ Vindictam aliquam libertatis.]
 "Some means of asserting," &c.

⁹ At illi.] "Let them, then,
 (let them, at least.)"

¹⁰ Ea denuntiata.] "Those remon-
 strances."

² Utinam reliquum tempus.] "I
 wish it were possible that the time
 to come might pass without," &c.

³ Hæc occulta in fraude &c.]
 "The precautions which we have
 hitherto adopted are for (have been
 designed to oppose) secret treachery;
 and since this (sc. occulta frus)
 has not been successful."

⁴ Aut vestro, aut Hennensium.]
 The massacre of the Hennenses was
 evidently a last and desperate re-
 source: in addition to its necessity
 as a measure of self-defence, it was
 provoked and justified by the betrayal
 of the Roman garrison at Murgantia.

⁵ Nec præoccupati &c.] "You
 have neither any hope if anticipated,

'bebitis. Qui prior strinxerit ferrum, ejus victoria erit. U.C. 540.
 'Intenti ergo omnes armatique signum exspectabitis. Ego ^{A.C. 214.}
 'in concione ero: et tempus, quoad omnia instructa sint,
 'loquendo, altercandoque traham. Quum toga signum
 'dedero, tum mihi undique clamore sublato turbam invadite⁶,
 'ac sternite omnia ferro: et cavete, quisquam supersit, a
 'quibus aut vis, aut fraus timeri possit. Vos, Ceres mater
 'ac Proserpina, precor, ceteri superi infernique dii, qui
 'hanc urbem, hos sacratos lacus lucosque colitis, ut ita nobis
 'volentes propitii adsit, si vitandæ, non ferendæ, fraudis
 'causa hoc consilii capimus. Pluribus vos, milites, hortarer,
 'si cum armatis dimicatio futura esset. Inermes, incautos
 'ad satietatem trucidabitis. Et consulis castra in propinquuo
 'sunt, ne quid ab Himilcone et Carthaginiensibus timeri
 'possit.'

Ab hac adhortatione dimissi corpora curant. Postero die alii aliis locis, ad obsidenda itinera claudendosque oppositi exitus, pars maxima super theatrum *circae*⁷, assueti et ante spectaculis concionum, consistunt. Productus ad populum a magistratibus præfectus Romanus, quum consulis ea de re jus ac potestatem esse, non suam, et pleraque eadem, quæ pridie, dixisset; primo sensim, ac plures, reddere claves, dein jam una voce id omnes juberent, cunctantique ac differenti ferociter minitarentur, nec viderentur ultra vim ultimam dilaturi; tum præfectus toga signum, ut convenerat, dedit: militesque intenti dudum ac parati, alii superne in aversam concionem clamore sublato decurrunt⁸, alii ad exitus theatri conferti obsistunt. Cæduntur Hennenses cavae inclusi, coacervanturque⁹, non cæde solum, sed etiam fuga; quum alii super aliorum capita ruerent, atque integri sauciis, vivi mortuis incidentes, cumularentur. Inde passim discurritur¹, et urbis captæ modo fugaque et cædes omnia tenet: nihilo remissiore militum ira, quod turbam inermem cædebant, quam si periculum par et ardor certaminis eos irritaret. Ita Henna, aut malo, aut necessario² facinore retenta.

39.

nor any danger if you are the first to strike."

⁶ *Tum mihi—invadite.*] "Then let me see you fall upon," &c.

⁷ *Theatrum circae.*] All vestiges of ancient buildings have disappeared, except a castle supposed to be of Roman origin, and used in modern times as a prison. Of the great temple of Ceres, there now remains but one large square stone, supposed to have been a portion of the altar. (Russel's *Tour*, ch. 13.)

⁸ *Superne in aversam concionem—decurrunt.*] "Ran down to attack the assembly from above and from behind."

⁹ *Coacervanturque, &c.*] "Crushed together not merely by the deadly assault, but by their efforts to escape."

¹ *Inde passim discurritur.*] "Then (or thence) a general dispersion ensued."

² *Henna, aut malo, aut necessario, &c.*] "Henna was saved by a

U.C. 540. **A.C. 214.** **Marcellus** nec factum improbavit, et prædam Hennensium militibus concessit, ratus, timore deterritos temperaturos proditionibus præsidiorum Siculos. Atque ea clades, ut urbis in media Sicilia sitæ, claræque vel ob insignem munimento naturali locum, vel ob sacrata omnia vestigiis raptæ quondam Proserpinæ, prope uno die omnem Siciliam pervasit. Et quia cæde infanda rebantur, non hominum tantum, sed etiam deorum sedem violatam esse, tum vero, qui etiam ante dubii fuerant, defecere ad Poenos. Hippocrates inde Murgantiam, Himilco Agrigentum sese recepit: quum acciti a proditoribus nequicquam ad Hennam exercitum admovissent. Marcellus retro in Leontinos redit: frumentoque et commeatibus aliis in castra convectis, præsidio modico ibi relicto, ad Syracusas obsidendas venit. Inde Ap. Claudio Romam ad consulatum petendum misso, T. Quinctium Crispinum⁶ in ejus locum classi castrisque præficit veteribus. Ipse hibernacula quinque millia passuum Hexapylō⁷ (Leonta vocant locum) communiiit, ædificavitque. Hæc in Sicilia usque ad principium hiemis⁸ gesta.

40. Eadem æstate et cum Philippo rege, quod jam ante suspectum fuerat, motum bellum est. Legati ab Orico ad M. Valerium prætorem⁶ venerunt, præsidentem⁷ classi Brundisio Calabriæque circa litoribus, nuntiantes, Philippum primum Apolloniam⁸ tentasse, lembis biremibus centum viginti flumine adverso⁹ subvectum: deinde, ut ea res tar-

deed either criminal or inevitable;” i. e. which, if not recognised as inevitable, must be considered criminal.

⁶ *T. Quinctium Crispinum.*] This name occurs below (l. xxv. c. 18.) as that of an officer commanding in Campania; and again (c. 26.) as commanding this camp in Sicily. There must have been either two men of the same name, or an error of the historian.

⁷ *Quinque millia passuum Hexapylō, &c.*] Marcellus chose this position, in order to keep open his communication with Leontini.

⁸ *Ad principium hiemis.*] Crevier suspects that Livy has condensed the events of two years into one. The chronology of these operations in Sicily is rather confused all through the narrative; for instance, it is almost impossible to ascertain at what particular time Marcellus left Italy, and how long exactly the siege of Syracuse continued.

⁶ *Valerium prætorem.*] i. e. prætorem. He had been Prætor the year before.

⁷ *Præsidentem, &c.*] “Commanding Brundusium and the adjacent coast of Calabria by sea.”

⁸ *Apolloniam.*] This was the most distinguished of the many towns bearing the same name. It was originally a Corinthian colony, and eminent as a seat of learning. Octavian was sent by Julius Cæsar to pursue his studies at Apollonia, when the latter was setting out on his expedition to the East. This and the other places mentioned in this chapter were afterwards the scene of important operations in the wars of the first triumvirate. Oricum was the nearest point of the eastern coast to Brundusium; though the usual port of arrival was Dyrrachium, (now Durazzo, and originally Epidamnum.)

⁹ *Flumine adverso.*] sc. the river Aous or Eas.

dior spe fuerit, ad Oricum clam nocte exercitum admovisse: U. C. 540. eamque urbem, sitam in plano, neque mœnibus, neque viris atque armis validam, primo impetu oppressam esse. Hæc nuntiantes orabant, ut opem ferret, hostemque haud dubium Romanis¹ terra aut maritimis viribus arceret; qui ob nullam aliam causam, nisi quod imminerent Italiæ, penterentur. M. Valerius, præsidio loci ejus relicto P. Valerio legato, cum classe instructa parataque, et, quod longæ naves militum capere non poterant, in onerarias impositis, altero die Oricum pervenit: urbemque eam, levi tenente præsidio, quod recedens inde reliquerat Philippus, haud magno certamine recepit. Legati eo ab Apollonia venerunt, nuntiantes, in obsidione sese, quod deficere ab Romanis nollent, esse: neque sustinere ultra vim Macedonum posse, nisi præsidium mittatur Romanum. Facturum se, quæ vellent, pollicitus, duo millia delectorum militum navibus longis mittit ad ostium fluminis, cum præfecto socium, Q. Nævio Crista, viro impigro et perito militiæ. Is, expositis in terram militibus, navibusque Oricum retro, unde venerat, ad ceteram classem remissis, milites procul a flumine per viam minime ab regiis obsessam duxit, et nocte, ita ut nemo hostium sentiret, urbem est ingressus. Die insequenti quiere, dum præfectus juventutem Apolloniatum, armaque et urbis vires inspiceret. Ubi ea visa inspectaque² satis animorum fecere, simulque ab exploratoribus comperit, quanta socordia ac negligentia apud hostes esset; silentio noctis ab urbe sine ullo tumultu egressus, castra hostium adeo neglecta atque aperta intravit, ut satis constaret, prius mille hominum vallum intrasse, quam quisquam sentiret: ac, si cæde abstinuissent, pervenire ab tabernaculum regium potuisse. Cædes proximorum portæ excitavit hostes. Inde tantus terror pavorque omnes occupavit, ut non modo aliis quisquam³ arma caperet, aut castris pellere hostem conaretur; sed etiam ipse rex, sicut somno excitus erat, prope seminodus fugiens, militi quoque, nedum regi, vix decoro habitu, ad flumen navesque perfugerit. Eodem et alia turba effusa est. Paullo minus tria millia militum in castris aut capta, aut occisa: plus tamen hominum aliquanto captum, quam cæsum, est. Castris direptis, Apolloniæ catapultas, bal-

¹ *Hostemque haud dubium Romanis, &c.*] "And repel on land or sea (by armies or fleets) an undisguised enemy to the Romans." Some commentators prefer to read *urbibus arceret*, *quæ*, omit *aut*, and join *terræ* to *hostem*, sc. "And repel from the sea-coast towns an enemy certain to be formidable to the Ro-

mans on land." If we retain the text above, we shall translate *qui*, &c. thus: "As they (the petitioners) were attacked only because they were," &c.

² *Ea visa inspectaque.*] "A review and inspection of these."

³ *Alius quisquam.*] "Nobody else."

U. C. 540. listas, tormentaque alia, quæ oppugnandæ urbi compara-
 A. C. 214. rata erant, ad tuenda mœnia, si quando similis fortuna venisset, Apolloniam devexere: cetera omnis præda cas-
 trorum Romanis concessa est. Hæc quum Oricum essent nuntiata, M. Valerius classem extemplo ad ostium fluminis duxit, ne navibus capessere fugam rex posset. Itaque Philippus, neque terrestri, neque navali certamine satis fore parem se fidens, subductis aut incensis navibus, terra Mæ-
 doniam petiit, magna ex parte inermi exercitu spoliatoque. Romana classis cum M. Valerio Orici hibernavit.

41. Eodem anno⁴ in Hispania varie res gestæ. Nam, prius quam Romani amnem Iberum transirent, ingentes copias Hispanorum Mago et Hasdrubal fuderunt: defecissetque ab Romanis ulterior Hispania, ni P. Cornelius, raptim tra-
 ducto exercitu Iberum, dubiis sociorum animis in tempore advenisset⁵. Primo ad Castrum Album⁶ (locus est insignis cæde magni Hamilcaris) castra Romani habuere. Arx erat munita, et convexerant ante frumentum⁷. Tamen, quia omnia circa hostium plena erant, agmenque Romanum impune incursatum⁸ ab equitibus hostium fuerat, et ad duo millia, aut moratorum aut palantium per agros, interfecta, cessere inde Romani propius pacata loca, et ad montem Victoriæ castra communivere. Eo Cn. Scipio cum omnibus copiis, et Hasdrubal Gisgonis filius, tertius Carthaginensis dux, cum exercitu justo advenit: contraque castra Romana trans fluvium omnes conserdere. P. Scipio, cum expeditis clam profectus ad loca circa visenda, haud fecellit hostes: oppressissentque eum in patentibus campis, ni tumulum in propinquo cepisset. Ibi quoque circumcessus adventu fratris obsidione eximitur. Castulo urbs Hispaniæ valida ac nobilis, et adeo conjuncta societate Poenis, ut uxor inde Hannibali esset, ad Romanos defecit. Carthaginenses Illiturgin oppugnare adorti, quia præsidium ibi Romanum erat: videbanturque inopia eum locum maxime expugnaturi⁹. Cn. Scipio, ut sociis præsidioque ferret opem, cum legione expedita profectus, inter bina castra¹ cum magna

⁴ *Eodem anno* [According to Livy's computation, the 8th year of the war. See next chapter.

⁵ *Dubiis sociorum animis in tempore advenisset.*] "Arrived opportunely to support (or confirm) the wavering courage of," &c.

⁶ *Castrum Album.*] This name is not mentioned by other historians. Diodorus Siculus states that Hamilcar Barca was assassinated at a place called ἄκρα λέύκη, built by himself; and it has been accordingly

suggested that Livy most probably wrote *Castrum Album*, and not *alum*, which some editions read.

⁷ *Conveverant—frumentum.*] sc. Romani.

⁸ *Impune incursatum.*] "At-
tacked without retaliation."

⁹ *Maxime expugnaturi.*] "On the point of storming—certain of storming."

¹ *Inter bina castra.*] Mago and Hasdrubal had encamped sepa-
rately.

cæde hostium urbem est ingressus, et postero die eruptione U. C. 540. æque felici pugnavit. Supra duodecim millia hominum cæsa duobus præliis: plus mille capti, cum sex et triginta militaribus signis. Ita ab Illiturgi recessum est. Bigerra inde urbs (socia et hæc Romanorum erat) a Carthaginensibus oppugnari coepta est. Eam obsidionem sine certamine adveniens Cn. Scipio solvit. Ad Mundam⁴ exinde castra Punica mota: et Romani eo confestim secuti sunt. Ibi signis collatis pugnatum per quattuor ferme horas: egregieque vincentibus Romanis signum receptui est datum, quod Cn. Scipionis femur tragula confixum erat: pavorque circa eum ceperat milites, ne mortiferum esset vulnus. Ceterum haud dubium fuit, quin, nisi ea mora intervenisset, castra eo die Punica capi potuerint. Jam non milites solum, sed elephanti etiam usque ad vallum acti erant, superque ipso novem et triginta elephanti pilis confixi. Hoc quoque prælio ad duodecim millia hominum dicuntur cæsa, prope tria capta, cum signis militaribus septem et quinquaginta. Ad Auringen inde urbem Poeni recessere; et, ut territis instaret, secutus Romanus. Ibi iterum Scipio lecticula in aciem illatus confixit: nec dubia victoria fuit: minus tamen dimidio hostium, quam antea, quia pauciores superfuerant, qui pugnarent, occisum. Sed gens nata⁵ instaurandis reparandisque bellis, Magone ad conquisitionem militum a fratre misso⁶, brevi replevit exercitum, animosque ad tentandum de integro certamen fecit. Alii plerique milites⁷, sicut pro parte toties intra paucos dies victa, iisdem animis, quibus prius, eodemque eventu pugnavere. Plus octo millia hominum cæsa: haud multo minus quam mille captum, et signa militaria quinquaginta octo; et spolia plurima Gallica⁸ fuere, aurei torques, armillæque, magnus numerus. Duo etiam insignes reguli Gallorum (Moenicapo et Civis-

42.

⁴ *Mundam.*] It was here, not far from the modern city Cordova, that Cæsar fought his last battle against Labienus and the sons of Pompey, A. U. C. 707. The victory was won almost exclusively by the personal intrepidity of Cæsar; for his veteran troops were now enervated by the long repose that had succeeded to long service. In the evening, the victors encamped behind a *rampart of dead bodies!*

⁵ *Gens nata.*] "A people constitutionally adapted," &c. (Compare *Hispanorum inquieta ingenia* [l. xxii. c. 21.]) Some commentators, with less probability, understand

this as an allusion to the Carthaginians, and the Barcine faction in particular.

⁶ *Fratre misso.*] i. e. Magone misso a fratre Hasdrubale.

⁷ *Alii plerique milites &c.*] "Most of the troops being different men (i. e. a new levy); as they (nevertheless) represented that section which had been so often defeated within a few days, fought with the same spirit (i. e. with the same feeling of inferiority) as before." It will be observed that *alii* and *iisdem* are antithetic.

⁸ *Et spolia plurima Gallica.*] "There were also very many Gallic trophies."

U.C. 540. maro nomina erant) eo prælio ceciderunt: octo elephanti
A.C. 214. capti, tres occisi.

Quum jam res prosperæ⁷ in Hispania essent, verecundia Romanos tandem cepit, Saguntum oppidum, quæ causa belli esset, octavum jam annum sub hostium potestate esse. Itaque id oppidum, vi pulso præsidio Punico, receperunt, cultoribusque antiquis, quos vis reliquerat belli, restituerunt: et Turdetanos, qui contraxerant iis cum Carthaginiensibus bellum⁸, in potestatem redactos sub corona vendiderunt, urbemque eorum delevere.

43. Hæc in Hispania, Q. Fabio, M. Claudio consulibus, gesta. Romæ quum tribuni plebis novi magistratum inissent, ex templo censoribus, P. Furio et M. Atilio, a L. Metello tribuno plebis dies dicta ad populum est. Quæstorem eum proximo anno, adempto equo, tribu moverant, atque æarium fecerant, propter coniurationem deserendæ Italæ ad Cannas factam. Sed novem tribunorum auxilio vetiti causam in magistratu dicere⁹, dimissique fuerant. Ne lustrum perficerent, mors prohibuit¹ P. Furii. M. Atilius magistratu se abdicavit.

Consularia comitia habita a Q. Fabio Maximo consule. Creati consules ambo absentes, Q. Fabius Maximus consulis filius, et Ti. Sempronius Gracchus iterum. Prætores fiunt M. Atilius, et, qui tum ædiles curules erant, P. Sempronius Tuditanus, et Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, et M. Æmilius Lepidus. Ludos scenicos per quatriduum eo anno primum factos ab curulibus ædilibus, memoriæ prodit. Ædilis Tuditanus hic² erat, qui ad Cannas, pavore aliis in tanta clade torpentibus, per medios hostes evasit.

U.C. 541. Comitiis perfectis, auctore Q. Fabio consule, designati
A.C. 213. consules Romam arcessiti magistratum inierunt: senatumque de bello, ac provinciis suis prætorumque, et de exercitibus, quibus quique præcessent, consuluerunt. Itaque provinciæ atque exercitus divisi. Bellum cum Hannibale³

44. consulibus mandatum, et exercituum unus, quem ipse Sempronius habuerat; alter, quem Fabius consul. Eæ binæ

⁷ Quum jam res prosperæ &c.] “To be brought to trial while in office.”
“As success was now reviving in Spain.”

⁸ Qui contraxerant iis cum Carthaginiensibus bellum.] (See l. xxi. c. 6.) A quarrel with the Turdetani

was the pretext under which Hannibal had approached Saguntum; and this people were rather unjustly regarded as the cause of the invasion; and as “having drawn upon them the arms of the Carthaginians.”

⁹ Causam in magistratu dicere.]

¹ Mors prohibuit.] Because the surviving censor could not by law coopt a successor to his deceased colleague.

² Ædilis Tuditanus hic &c.] “The ædile was the same Tuditanus who,” &c.

³ Bellum cum Hannibale.] sc. at Tarentum, or wherever else he might happen to be in the course of the year.

erant legiones⁴. M. Æmilius prætor, cuius peregrina sors U. C. 541. erat, jurisdictione M. Atilio collegæ, prætori urbano, man- A. C. 218. data, Luceriam provinciam haberet, legionesque duas, quibus Q. Fabius, qui tum consul erat, prætor præfuerat. P. Sempronio provincia Ariminum, Cn. Fulvio Suessula, cum binis item legionibus, evenerunt: ut Fulvius urbanas legiones duceret, Tuditanus a M'. Pomponio acciperet. Prorogata imperia provinciæque, M. Claudio Sicilia finibus iis, quibus regnum Hieronis fuisse: Lentulo prætori provincia vetus: T. Otacilio classis. Exercitus nulli additi novi. M. Valerio Græcia Macedoniaque cum legione et classe, quam haberet⁵: Q. Mucio cum vetere exercitu (duæ autem legiones erant) Sardinia: C. Terentio legio una, cui jam præerat, et Picenum. Scribi præterea duæ legiones urbanæ⁶ jussæ, et viginti millia sociorum. His ducibus, his copiis, adversus multa simul, aut mota aut suspecta⁷, bella munierunt Romanum imperium.

Consules, duabus urbanis legionibus scriptis, supplemen-
toque in alias lecto, priusquam ab urbe moverent, prodigia
procurarunt, quæ nuntiata erant. Murus ac portæ tactæ⁸:
et Ariciæ etiam Jovis ædes de cœlo tacta fuerat. Et alia
ludibria oculorum auriumque⁹ credita pro veris. Navium
longarum species in flumine Tarracinæ, quæ nullæ erant¹,
visæ; et in Jovis Vicilini templo, quod in Compsano agro
est, arma concrepusisse: et flumen Amiterni cruentum flux-
isse. His procuratis ex decreto pontificum, profecti con-
sules, Sempronius in Lucanos, in Apuliam Fabius. Pater
filio legatus ad Suessulam in castra venit. Quum obviam
filius progrederetur, lictoresque verecundia majestatis ejus
taciti anteirent², præter undecim fasces equo prævectus
senex, ut consul animadvertere proximum lictorem³ jussit,
et is, ut descenderet ex equo, inclamavit; tum demum de-
siliens, 'Experiri,' inquit, 'volui, fli, satin' scires, consulem
'te esse.'

In ea castra Dasius Altinius Arpinus⁴ clam nocte cum

45.

⁴ *Eæ binæ erant legiones.*] "These consisted of two legions each."

⁵ *Cum legione et classe, quam haberet.*] "With the legion and fleet, which he was to keep."

⁶ *Legiones urbanæ.*] sc. the troops retained at home for the protection of the city.

⁷ *Aut mota aut suspecta.*] "Either in progress or anticipation."

⁸ *Murus ac portæ tactæ.*] Gronovius rejects the participle, and suggests that its place was originally occupied by the name of some

town.

⁹ *Ludibria oculorum auriumque.*]

"Illusive sights and sounds."

¹ *Quæ nullæ erant.*] "Which had no existence."

² *Troiti anteirent.*] i. e. Without commanding him to alight.

³ *Proximum lictorem.*] "The last (or nearest) lictor." Lictors walked in single file in front of the magistrate.

⁴ *Arpinus.*] Observe the distinction between this name and *Arpinas*: the former signifies a native

U.C. 541. *tribus servis venit, promittens, si sibi præmio foret⁶, se Ar-*
 A.C. 213. *pos proditum esse. Quum eam rem ad consilium retu-*
lisset Fabius, aliis 'pro transfuga verberandus necandusque'
videri, 'ancipitis animi communis hostis⁷: qui post Can-
'nensem cladem, tanquam cum fortuna fidem stare oporteret,
'ad Hannibalem discessisset, traxissetque ad defectionem
'Arpos; quumque res Romana contra spem votaque ejus
'velut resurgeret, turpius videatur novam referre proditio-
'nem⁸ proditis olim; qui aliunde stet semper⁹, aliunde sen-
'tiat, infidus socius, vanus hostis; ad Faleriorum Pyrrhive
'proditorem tertium transfugis documentum esset.' *Contra*
ea consulis pater Fabius, 'Temporum oblitos homines in
'medio ardore belli, tanquam in pace, libera de quoque
'arbitria agere¹⁰, aiebat: 'qui, quum illud potius¹¹ agendum
'atque iis cogitandum sit, si qua modo fieri possit ne, qui
'socii a populo Romano desciscant, id non cogitent; docu-
'mentum autem dicant statui oportere, si quis resipiscat, et
'antiquam societatem respiciat. Quod si abire ab Romanis
'liceat, redire ad eos non liceat; cui dubium esse, quin
'brevi deserta ab sociis Romana res foederibus Punicis
'omnia in Italia juncta visura sit? Se tamen non eum esse,
'qui Altinio fidei quicquam censeat habendum, sed medium
'consecuturum¹² consilii viam. Neque eum pro hoste, neque
'pro socio in præsentia habitum, libera custodia¹³ haud pro-
'cul a castris placere in aliqua fida civitate servari per belli
'tempus: perpetrato bello, tum consultandum, utrum de-
'fectio prior plus merita sit poenæ, an hic redditus veniæ.'

of Arpi in Apulia; the latter, a native of Arpinum in *Volsca*s.

⁵ *Si sili præmio foret.*] "If it were made advantageous to himself (worth his while)."

⁶ *Ancipitis animi communis hostis.*] "A common enemy and of undecided views;" i. e. one whom his inconstancy rendered an enemy to both parties alternately.

⁷ *Novam referre proditionem.*] "To repay by a new act of treason those whom he had formerly betrayed."

⁸ *Qui aliunde stet semper &c.*] "Who always stood by one party and sympathized with another, a treacherous ally and an inconstant enemy, should be made a third example to deserters (traitors), in addition to the betrayers of Falerii and of Pyrrhus;" sc. the Faliscan schoolmaster and Nicias (or, Timo-
 chares) the physician.

⁹ *Libera—arbitria agere.*] "Would make free estimates;" i. e. pro liberis arbitris se gerere.

¹⁰ *Qui, quum illud potius &c.*] "Who, when the object of their acts and counsels should be to prevent, if at all possible, the defection of any allies from the Roman people, never had a thought of that duty; but on the contrary required that an example should be made of any who," &c.

¹¹ *Medium consecuturum &c.*] "Would take an intermediate line of policy."

¹² *Libera custodia.*] This was the term employed when either a magistrate or a private surety (*fidejusor*) undertook the custody of a person awaiting a trial, or other final decision. It appears to have been such custody as this to which St. Paul was, on one occasion, consigned. (See *Acta xxviii.*)

Fabio assensum est⁴; catenisque ligatus traditur et ipse et U.C. 541.
comites: et auri satis magnum pondus, quod secum tum A.C. 213.
attulerat, ei servari jussum. Calibus eum interdiu solutum
custodes sequebantur: nocte clausum asservabant. Arpis
domi primum desiderari quærique⁵ est cœptus: dein fama,
per totam urbem vulgata, tumultum, ut principe amisso,
fecit: metuque rerum novarum extemplo nuntii ad Hanni-
balem missi. Quibus nequaquam offensus Pœnus, quia et
ipsum, ut ambiguæ fidei virum, suspectum jam pridem
habebat, et causam nactus erat tam ditis hominis bona possi-
dendi vendendique; ceterum ut iræ magis, quam avari-
tia⁶, datum crederent homines, crudelitatem quoque gravi-
tati⁷ addidit, conjugemque ejus ac liberos in castra accitos,
quæstione prius habita⁸, primum de fuga Altinii, dein
quantum auri argenteique domi relictum esset, satis cognitis
omnibus, vivos combussit.

Fabius, ab Suessula profectus, Arpos primum institit
oppugnare. Ubi quum a quingentis fere passibus⁹ castra
posuisset, contemplatus ex propinquo situm urbis mœnia-
que, quæ pars tutissima mœnibus erat, qua maxime neg-
letam custodiam vidi, ea potissimum aggredi statuit.
Comparatis omnibus, quæ ad urbes oppugnandas usui sunt,
centurionum robora¹ ex toto exercitu delegit, tribunosque
viros fortes iis præfecit, et milites sexcentos, quantum satis
visum est, attribuit: eosque, ubi quartæ vigiliæ signum
cecinisset, ad eum locum scalis jussit ferre. Porta ibi hu-
milis et angusta erat, via infrequenti per desertam partem
urbis: eam portam scalis prius transgressos ad murum
pergere², et ex interiore parte vi claustra refringere jubet,
et tenentes partem urbis cornu signum dare, ut ceteræ
copiæ admoverentur: parata omnia atque instructa sese

46.

⁴ *Fabio assensum est.*] “The vote (the decision) was with Fa-
bini.”

⁵ *Desiderari quærique.*] “To be missed and sought for, (enquired
after.”

⁶ *Ut iræ magis, quam avaritiae
&c.*] “To encourage the belief that
it was resentment rather than ra-
pacity that was gratified.”

⁷ *Crudelitatem — gravitati &c.]*
“Added an impressive formality to
his cruelty.” Gronovius substitutes
crudelitatem rapacitati or *aviditati*;
but neither of these datives expresses
the same idea as *avaritiae*; and the
first is scarcely classical.

⁸ *Quæstione — habita.*] sc. By tor-
ture.

⁹ *A quingentis — passibus.]* “At
a distance of half a mile,” lit.
“after 500 paces.” This use of *a*,
as it is not directly translateable, is
essentially idiomatic, and may be
occasionally employed with very
good effect in composition.

¹ *Centurionum robora.]* “Picked
men of the centurions.”

² *Eam portam scalis prius trans-
gressos ad murum pergere.]* It is
evident that in order to extract any
meaning from these words, we must
remove the prep. *ad* and place it
before *eam portam*. They were, in
the first instance, to scale the wall,
and then to break away the fasten-
ings of the gate on the inside.

U.C. 541. habiturum. Ea impigre facta: et, quod impedimentum
A.C. 213. agentibus fore videbatur, id maxime³ ad fallendum adjuvit.

47. Imber, ab nocte media coortus, custodes vigilesque, dilapsos
e stationibus, suffugere in tecta coegit: sonituque primo
largioris procellæ strepitum molientium portam exaudiri
prohibuit; lentior deinde æqualiorque⁴ accidens auribus
magnam partem hominum sopivit. Postquam portam te-
nuerunt, cornicines in via paribus intervallis dispositos
canere jubent, ut consulem excirent. Id ubi factum ex
composito est, signa efferri consul jubet, ac paullo ante
lucem per effractam portam urbem ingreditur. Tum de-
num⁵ hostes excitati sunt, jam et imbre conquiescente, et
propinqua luce. Præsidium in urbe erat Hannibalis,
quinque millia ferme armatorum: et ipse Arpini tria millia
hominum armabant⁶. Eos primos Poeni, ne quid ab tergo⁷
fraudis esset, hosti opposuerunt. Pugnatum primo in te-
nebris angustisque viis est. Quum Romani non vias tan-
tum, sed tecta etiam proxima portæ, occupassent, ne peti
superne ac vulnerari possent: cogniti inter se quidam Ar-
pinique et Romani; atque inde colloquia copta fieri, per-
cunctantibus Romanis, quid sibi vellent Arpini? quam ob
noxiam Romanorum, quod aut meritum⁸ Poenorum, pro
alienigenis ac barbaris, Italici adversus veteres socios Ro-
manos bellum gererent, et vectigalem ac stipendiariam⁹
Italiam Africæ facerent? Arpinis purgantibus¹, ignaros
omnium se venum a principibus datos Poeno, captos op-
pressosque a paucis esse. Initio orto, plures cum pluribus²
colloqui. Postremo prætor Arpinus ab suis ad consulem

³ *Quod impedimentum &c. id maxime &c.]* "What seemed likely to prove a hindrance to their proceedings, was that which aided them most." To those who have read the history of the Peninsular war, the thunder-storm that came on during the storming of San Sebastian will at once occur as a parallel.

⁴ *Lentior deinde æqualiorque &c.]* "Afterwards, falling more softly and monotonously on the ear," &c.

⁵ *Tum denum.]* "It was only (not until) then, that the enemy," &c.

⁶ *Tria millia hominum armabant.]* "Had three thousand men under arms." Observe the force of the imperf. lit. "were keeping armed."

⁷ *Ne quid ab tergo &c.]* "To prevent any danger (or, treachery)

on the rear." i.e. Lest there might be any danger in allowing them to form the rear.

⁸ *Noram—meritum.]* It will be observed that the prep. *ob* governs both these cases: some editors repeat the prep. and change *aut* to *autem*.

⁹ *Vectigalem ac stipendiariam.]* The difference between these adjectives is, that the former implies the payment of a fixed sum (a tribute): the latter, of an *ad-valorem* tax.

¹ *Arpinis purgantibus, &c.]* "While the Arpini pleaded (urged as an excuse) that they had been sold," &c.

² *Plures cum pluribus &c.]* "Numbers on both sides began to converse," i.e. the number on both sides began to increase.

deductus; fideque data inter signa aciesque, Arpini re- U.C. 541.
pente pro Romanis adversus Carthaginensem arma ver- A.C. 213.
terunt. Hispani quoque, paullo minus mille homines,
nihil præterea cum consule pacti, quam ut sine fraude
Punicum emitteretur præsidium, ad consulem transtule-
runt signa. Carthaginiensibus portæ patefactæ³, emissique
cum fide incolumes ad Hannibalem Salapiam venerunt.
Arpi sine clade ullius, præterquam unius⁴ veteris proditoris,
novi perfugæ, restituti ad Romanos. Hispanis duplia
cibaria⁵ dari jussa: operaque eorum forti ac fideli persæpe
respublica usa est.

Quum consul alter in Apulia, alter in Lucanis esset;
equites centum duodecim nobiles Campani, per speciem
prædandi ex hostium agro, permisso magistratum ab
Capua profecti, ad castra Romana, quæ super Suessulam
erant, venerunt. Stationi militum, qui essent, dixerunt;
colloqui sese cum prætore velle. Cn. Fulvius castris
præerat: cui ubi nuntiatum est, decem ex eo numero
jussis inernibus deduci ad se, ubi, quæ postularent, au-
divit, (nihil autem aliud petebant, quam ut, Capua recepta,
bona sibi restituerentur) in fidem omnes accepti⁶. Et ab
altero prætore Sempronio Tuditano oppidum Aternum
expugnatum. Amplius septem millia hominum capta, et
æris argentique signati aliquantum. Romæ foedum in-
cendium per duas noctes ac diem unum tenuit: solo
æquata omnia inter Salinas ac portam Carmentalem cum
Æquimælio Jugarioque⁷ vico. In templis Fortunæ ac
matris Matutæ et Spei extra portam late vagatus ignis
sacra profanaque multa absumpsit.

Eodem anno P. et Cn. Cornelii, quum in Hispania res
prosperæ essent, multosque et veteres reciperent socios, et
novos adjicerent, in Africam quoque spem extenderunt.
Syphax erat rex Numidarum⁸, subito Carthaginiensibus
hostis factus. Ad eum centuriones tres legatos miserunt,
qui cum eo amicitiam societatemque facerent; et pollice-

48.

³ *Portæ patefactæ.*] "The gates were thrown open for the Carthaginians, and they were all honourably suffered to depart, and made their way safely to Hannibal at Salapia." (Now *Salpe*, on the Aufidus, and not far from Cannæ.) It was said, by the Romans, that Hannibal was induced to spend the winter in Salapia, by the attractions of a lady, who became celebrated for her influence over him.

⁴ *Præterquam unius.*] sc. Dasius Altinius.

⁵ *Duplicia cibaria.*] As being the usual allowance to veterans (duplicarii).

⁶ *In fidem—accepti.*] "Admitted to confidence," (taken under protection.)

⁷ *Æquimælio Jugarioque.*] The former name indicates the site of the house of Sp. Mælius, which was razed (æquata); and the latter that of the temple of Juno Juga.

⁸ *Rex Numidarum.*] More properly of the Massæyleæ. Massinissa was king of the Massylæ.

U.C. 541. rentur, si perseveraret urgere bello Carthaginienses, gratam
 A.C. 213. eam rem fore senatui populoque Romano, et annisuros, ut
 in tempore, et bene cumulatam gratiam referant. Grata
 ea legatio barbaro fuit: collocutusque cum legatis de
 ratione belli gerundi, ut veterum militum verba audivit,
 quam multarum rerum ipse ignarus esset, ex comparatione
 tam ordinatae discipline, animum advertit⁹. Tum, primum
 ut pro bonis¹ ac fidelibus sociis facerent, oravit, 'ut duo le-
 gationem referrent ad imperatores suos; unus apud sese
 'magister rei militaris remaneret. Rudem ad pedestria
 'bella Numidarum gentem esse, equis tantum habilem².
 'Ita jam inde a principiis gentis majores suos bella gessisse,
 'ita se a pueris insuetos. Sed habere hostem pedestri
 'fidentem Marte: cui si æquari robore virium velit³, et
 'sibi pedites comparandos esse; et ad id multitudine ho-
 'minum regnum abundare: sed armandi, ornandique, et
 'instruendi eos artem ignorare. Omnia, velut forte con-
 'gregata turba, vasta ac temeraria⁴ esse.' Facturos se in
 præsentia, quod vellet, legati responderunt: fide accepta,
 ut remitteret extemplo eum, si imperatores sui non com-
 probassent factum. Q. Statorio nomen fuit, qui ad regem
 remansit. Cum duobus Romanis reliquis Numida legatos
 in Hispaniam misit ad accipiendam fidem ab imperatoribus
 Romanis. Iisdem mandavit, ut protinus Numidas, qui
 intra præsidia Carthaginiensium auxiliares essent, ad
 transitionem pellicerent. Et Statorius ex multa juventute
 regi pedites conscripsit: ordinatosque proxime morem Ro-
 manum, instruendo et decurrente⁵ signa sequi, et servare
 ordines docuit: et operi aliisque justis militaribus⁶ ita as-
 suefecit, ut brevi rex non equiti magis fideret, quam pediti;
 collatisque æquo campo signis, justo prælio Carthagini-
 ensem hostem superaret. Romanis quoque in Hispania
 legatorum regis adventus magno emolumento fuit. Namque
 ad famam eorum transitions crebræ ab Numidis cœptæ
 fieri. Ita cum Syphace Romanis juncta amicitia est.

Quod ubi Carthaginienses acceperunt, extemplo ad
 Galam, in parte altera Numidiæ (Massyli ea gens vocatur)
 regnante, legatos mittunt. Filium Gala Masinissam ha-
 bebat, septem et decem annos natum, ceterum juvenem ea

⁹ *Quam multarum rerum &c.—*
animum advertit.] "Became aware,
 how much he was ignorant of."

¹ *Pro bonis &c.*] "In the spirit
 of kind and sincere allies."

² *Equis tantum habilem.*] "Ex-
 pert only on horseback."

³ *Si æquari—velit.*] (mid. voice.)
 "If he meant to place himself on

an equality."

⁴ *Vasta ac temeraria.*] "Wild
 and irregular."

⁵ *Instruendo et decurrente.*] "Drill-
 ing and exercising."

⁶ *Aliisque justis militaribus.*
 "Other military duties (departments
 of discipline)."

ndole, ut jam tum appareret, latius regnum opulentiusque, U. C. 541.
quam quod accepisset, facturum. Legati 'quoniam Sy- A. C. 213.
phax se Romanis junxisset, ut potentior societate eorum
adversus reges populosque Africæ esset,' docent; 'melius
fore Galæ quoque, Carthaginiensibus jungi quam primum,
antequam Syphax in Hispaniam, aut Romani in Africam
transeant; opprimi Syphacem', nihil dūm præter nomen
ex foedere Romano habentem, posse.' Facile persuasum
Galæ, filio depositente id bellum, ut exercitum mitteret:
qui, Carthaginiensium legionibus conjunctis, magno prælio
Syphacem devicit. Triginta millia eo prælio hominum
cæsa dicuntur. Syphax cum paucis equitibus in Mauru-
sios ex acie Numidas⁸ (extremi prope Oceanum adversus
Gades colunt) refugit: affluentibusque ad famam ejus undi-
que barbaris, ingentes brevi copias armavit. Cum quibus
antequam in Hispaniam angusto diremptam freto trajiceret,
Massinissa cum victore exercitu advenit: isque ibi cum Sy-
phace ingenti gloria per se, sine ullis Carthaginiensium
opibus, gessit bellum. In Hispania nihil memorabile ges-
tum, præterquam quod Celtiberum juventutem eadem
mercede, qua pacta cum Carthaginiensibus erat, impera-
tores Romani ad se perduxerunt: et nobilissimos Hispanos
supra trecentos in Italiam ad sollicitandos populares, qui
inter auxilia Hannibal erant, miserunt. Id modo ejus
anni in Hispania ad memoriam insigne est, quod merce-
narium militem in castris neminem ante, quam tum Celti-
beros⁹, Romani habuerunt.

⁷ *Opprimi Syphacem &c.*] "That Syphax could be crushed, while he yet enjoyed only the name of an alliance with Rome." It is unnecessary to remark, that Syphax and Massinissa afterwards mutually changed sides: for particulars, see Epilegomena.

⁸ *Maurusios ex acie Numidas.*] The latter of these proper names is superfluous. It would appear to have been originally a marginal note,

intended to explain *Maurusios*; but these, however, were not Numidians.

⁹ *Neminem ante, quam tum Celtiberos.*] This was, according to Livy, the first instance of the employment of foreign troops, as a part of the Roman army. Polybius, however, mentions—and so does Zonaras more recently—that some companies of Gauls were incorporated with the Roman troops in the *first* Punic war.

LIBER XXXV.

EPITOME.

P. Cornelius Scipio, postea Africanus, ante annos aedilis factus est. Hannibal urbem Tarentum, praeter arcem, in quam praesidium Romanorum fuderat, per Tarentinos juvenes, qui se noctu venatum ire simulaverant, cepit. Ludi Apollinares ex Marci carminibus, quibus Cannensis clades praedicta fuerat, instituti sunt. A Q. Fulvio et Ap. Claudio consulibus adversus Hannonem Poenorum ducem prospere pugnatum est. Ti. Sempronius Gracchus proconsul, ab hospite suo Lucano in insidias deductus, a Magone imperfectus est. Centenius Penula, qui centurio militaverat, quum petisset a senatu, ut sibi exercitus daretur, pollicitusque esset, si hoc impetrasset, de Hannibale victoriam, octo millibus acceptis, militum duos factus, confixit acie cum Hannibale, et cum exercitu cæsus est. Cn. Fulvius praetor male adversus Hannibalem pugnavit. In quo p�elio hominum sexdecim millia ceciderunt: ipse cum equitibus ducentis effugit. Capua obsessa est a Q. Fulvio et Ap. Claudio consulibus. Claudius Marcellus Syracusas expugnavit anno tertio, et ingentem se virum gessit. In eo tumultu urbis captæ Archimedes, intentus formis, quas in pulvere descriperat, imperfectus est. P. et Cn. Scipiones in Hispania tot tantarumque rerum feliciter gestarum tristem exitum tulerunt; prope cum totis exercitibus cæsi anno octavo, quam in Hispaniam iverant: amissaque ejus provinciæ possessio foret, nisi L. Marcius equitis Romani virtute et industria, contractis exercituum reliquis, ejusdem hortatu, bina castra hostium expugnata essent. Ad triginta septem millia cæsa, ad mille octingentos triginta capti, præda ingens parta. Dux Marcius appellatus est.

U.C. 541. DUM hæc in Africa atque in Hispania geruntur, Hannibal in agro Tarentino æstatem consumpsit, spe per prodigionem urbis Tarentinorum potiundæ. Ipsorum interim et Sallentinorum¹ ignobiles urbes ad eum defecerunt. Eodem tempore in Bruttii ex duodecim populis, qui anno priore² ad Poenos desciverant, Consentini et Thurini in fidem populi Romani redierunt. Et plures rediissent, ni

¹ *Ipsorum—Sallentinorum.*] Between these words some commentators suggest the insertion of *et*, which is adopted above: so that the pronoun may refer to the Tarentines. This, however, is unnecessary, as

ipse, in an idiomatic usage, conveys sometimes the sense of “also.”

² *Anno priore.*] The historian should rather have said, *two years previously*. See l. xxiv. 1; and xxiii. 30.

T. Pomponius Veientanus praefectus socium, prosperis ali. U.C. 541.
quot populationibus in agro Bruttio justi ducis speciem ^{A.C. 213.}
nactus³, tumultuario exercitu coacto, cum Hannone conflix-
isset. Magna ibi vis hominum, sed inconditæ turbæ agre-
stium servorumque, cæsa aut capta est: minimumque jac-
turæ fuit, quod praefectus inter ceteros est captus, et tum
temerariæ pugnæ auctor, et ante publicanus, omnibus
malis artibus et reipublicæ et societatibus⁴ infidus damno-
susque. Sempronius consul in Lucanis multa prælia parva,
haud ullum dignum memoratu, fecit: et ignobilia oppida
Lucanorum aliquot expugnavit.

Quo diutius⁵ trahebatur bellum, et variabant secundæ
adversæque res non fortunam magis, quam animos, homi-
num; tanta religio, et ea magna ex parte externa, civitatem
incessit, ut aut homines, aut dii repente alii viderentur
facti. Nec jam in secreto modo atque intra parietes abole-
bantur Romani ritus; sed in publico etiam ac foro Capi-
tolioque mulierum turba erat, nec sacrificantium, nec pre-
cantium deos patrio more. Sacrificuli ac vates ceperant
hominum mentes⁶: quorum numerum auxit rustica plebs,
ex incultis diutino⁷ bello infestisque agris egestate et metu
in urbem compulsa; et quæstus⁸ ex alieno errore facilis,
quem velut ex concessæ artis usu exercebant. Primo se-
cretæ bonorum indignationes exaudiebantur, deinde ad
Pates etiam et ad publicam querimoniam excessit res⁹.
Incusati graviter ab senatu ædiles triumvirque capitales¹,

³ *Justi ducis speciem nactus.*] Having acquired the character of a regular commander."

⁴ *Et reipublicæ et societatibus.*] "Dishonest toward the government and the companies;" i. e. defrauding both the public exchequer, and the joint-stock companies or firms usually formed by the publicani.

⁵ *Quo diutius.*] This comparative not being followed by any formal apodosis, we are at liberty to choose between *et variabant*, &c. and *tanta religio*, as introducing the second clause. The latter is apparently the preferable construction: sc. "the longer the war continued, and the more prosperity and adversity were changing the sentiments as well as the circumstances of the people, the more did superstition—and that principally foreign—pervade the community to such an extent, that," &c.

⁶ *Ceperant hominum mentes.*] "Enslaved the reason (or, capti-

vated the imagination)."

⁷ *Ex incultis diutino, &c.*] The preposition follows *egestate*, which, together with *metu*, follows *compulsa*; sc. "driven into the city by destitution arising from the cessation of cultivation during the long war, and the insecurity of the country; and by their fears."

⁸ *Et quæstus.*] (sc. auxit numerum.)

⁹ *Ad Pates—excessit res.*] "The case forced itself on the notice of the Senate," &c. Similar instances of the morbid influences of long suffering, and anxiety, and terror on the minds of large communities, may be found in the histories of the great plagues of London, Florence, and Constantinople, and amid the horrors of the French Revolution.

¹ *Triumvirque capitales.*] "The three commissioners of criminal law." These officers adjudicated on minor cases, and were subordinate to the

U. C. 541. quod non prohiberent, quum emovere eam multitudinem e
 A. C. 213. foro, ac disjicere apparatus sacrorum conati essent, haud
 procul asfuit, quin violarentur. Ubi potentius jam esse id
 malum² apparuit, quam ut minores per magistratus sedaretur,
 M. Atilio prætori urbis negotium ab senatu datum est,
 ut his religionibus populum liberaret. Is et in concione
 senatusconsultum recitavit, ex edixit, 'Ut, quicunque libros
 'vaticinos precationesve, aut artem sacrificandi conscriptam
 'haberet, eos libros omnes literasque ad se ante Kalendas
 'Apriles deferret: neu quis, in publico sacrove loco, novo
 'aut externo ritu sacrificaret.'

2. Et aliquot publici sacerdotes mortui eo anno sunt: L. Cornelius Lentulus pontifex maximus, et C. Papirius C. F. Maso pontifex, et P. Furius Philus augur, et C. Papirius L. F. Maso decemvir sacrorum. In Lentuli locum M. Cornelius Cethagus, in Papirii Cn. Servilius Cæpio, pontifices suffecti sunt. Augur creatus L. Quinctius Flamininus, decemvir sacrorum L. Cornelius Lentulus.

Comitiorum consularium jam appetebat tempus; sed, quia consules a bello intentos³ avocare non placebat, Ti. Sempronius consul comitiorum causa dictatorem dixit C. Claudius Centhonem: ab eo magister equitum est dictus Q. Fulvius Flaccus. Dictator primo comitiali die creavit consules Q. Fulvium Flaccum, magistrum equitum, et Ap. Claudium Pulchrum, cui Sicilia provincia in prætura fuerat. Tum prætores creati Cn. Fulvius Flaccus, C. Claudius Nero, M. Junius Silanus, P. Cornelius Sulla. Comitiis perfectis, dictator magistratu abiit. Ædilis curulis fuit eo anno cum M. Cornelio Cethego P. Cornelius Scipio, cui post Africano fuit cognomen. Huic petenti ædilitatem quum obsisterent tribuni plebis, negantes rationem ejus habendam esse, quod nondum ad petendum legitima ætas⁴ esset: 'Si me,' inquit, 'omnes Quirites ædilem facere volunt, satis annorum habeo.' Tanto inde favore ad suffragium ferendum in tribus discursum est, ut tribuni repente incepto destiterint. Ædilicia largitio⁵ hæc fuit: ludi Romani pro temporis illius copiis magnifice facti, et diem unum instaurati, et congii olei in vicos singulos dati. L. Villius Tappulus et M. Fundanius Fundulus, ædiles plebeii, aliquot matronas apud populum probri accusarunt: quas-

Prætors, though presiding in a distinct court at the Columna Moenia. Their functions were superseded in a great measure by the *Quæstiones perpetuae*, "the permanent courts," instituted, A. U. C. 608.

² *Potentius—malum, &c.*] "The evil was discovered to be too well

established," &c.

³ *A bello intentos.*] "From the war in which they were engaged."

⁴ *Nondum—legitima ætas.*] Scipio was at this time but twenty-one years of age.

⁵ *Ædilicia largitio.*] "The Ædiles' entertainment."

dam ex iis damnatas in exsiliū egerunt. Ludi plebeii U.C. 541. per biduum instaurati: et Jovis epulum fuit ludorum A.C. 213. causa.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus tertium, Ap. Claudius consulatum 3. ineunt. Et prætores provincias sortiti sunt; P. Cornelius U.C. 542. Sulla urbanam et peregrinam, quæ duorum ante sors fue- A.C. 212. rat, Cn. Fulvius Flaccus Apuliam, C. Claudius Nero Sues- sulam, M. Junius Silanus Tuscos. Consulibus bellum cum Hannibale et binæ legiones decretæ: alter a Q. Fabio superioris anni consule, alter a Fulvio Centumalo acciperet. Prætorum, Fulvii Flacci⁶, quæ Luceriac sub Æmilio præ- tore; Neronis Claudi, quæ in Piceno sub C. Terentio fuissent, legiones essent: supplementum in eas quisque scri- beret sibi. M. Junio in Tuscos legiones urbanæ prioris anni datae. Ti. Sempronio Graccho et P. Sempronio Tuditano imperium provinciacque Lucani et Gallia⁷ cum suis exercitibus prorogatæ: item P. Lentulo, qua vetus provincia in Sicilia esset; M. Marcello Syracusæ, et qua Hieronis regnum fuisset: T. Otacilio classis: Græcia M. Valerio: Sardinia Q. Mucio Scævolæ; Hispaniæ P. et Cn. Cornelii. Ad veteres exercitus duæ urbanæ legiones a consulibus scriptæ, summaque trium et viginti legionum eo anno effecta est.

Delectum consulum M. Postumii Pyrgensis cum magno prope motu rerum factum⁸ impediit. Publicanus erat Po- stumius, qui multis annis parem fraude avaritiaeque neminem in civitate habuerat, præter T. Pomponium Veientanum, quem, populantem temere⁹ agros in Lucanis, ductu Hannoniæ priore anno ceperant Carthaginienses. Hi, quia publi- cum periculum erat¹⁰ a vi tempestatis in iis, quæ portarentur ad exercitus, et ementiti erant falsa naufragia, et ea ipsa, quæ vera renuntiaverant, fraude ipsorum facta erant, non

⁶ *Prætorum, Fulvii Flacci, &c.]* "That the prætors, Fulvius Flac-
cuss should take command of the legions that were in Lucania under
Æmilius; and Nero Cladius of those in Picenum with Terentius,"
&c.

⁷ *Gallia.]* This reading is adopted in preference to the plural form, which appears in other editions; because, as the Romans had not yet advanced into Transalpine Gaul, there was yet but one province of that name.

⁸ *M. Postumii—factum.]* "The conduct (the act, the proceedings) of Posthumius." The frauds of

this man and Pomponius form a strange exception to the public spirit and disinterestedness that characterized the Romans generally throughout the Punic wars. The details resemble rather those of some of the 'jobbing' of our generation, than any thing likely to occur in the 6th century of Rome.

⁹ *Populantem temerè.]* "Boldly (recklessly, indiscriminately) de-
vastating," &c.

¹⁰ *Publicum periculum erat &c.]* "As government was liable (ex-
posed) to the risk of weather," &c.

U. C. 542. casu. In veteres quassasque² naves paucis et parvi pretii
 A. C. 212. rebus impositis, quum mersissent eas in alto, exceptis in
 præparatas scaphas nautis, multiplices fuisse merces emen-
 tiebantur. Ea fraus indicata M. Atilio prætori priore anno
 fuerat, ac per eum ad senatum delata, nec tamen ullo sena-
 tusconsulto notata: quia Patres ordinem publicanorum in
 tali tempore offensum nolebant. Populus severior vindex
 fraudis erat; excitatique tandem duo tribuni plebis Sp. et
 L. Carvili, quum rem invisam infamemque³ cernerent, du-
 centum millium æris multam M. Postumio dixerunt. Cui
 certandæ⁴ quum dies advenisset, conciliumque tam frequens
 plebis adesset, ut multitudinem area Capitolii vix caperet;
 perorata causa, spes una videbatur esse, si C. Servilius Casca
 tribunus plebis, qui propinquus cognatusque Postumio erat,
 prius, quam ad suffragium tribus vocarentur, intercessisset.
 Testibus datis⁵, tribuni populum summoverunt; sitellaque⁶
 allata est, ut sortirentur, ubi Latini⁷ suffragium ferrent. In-
 terim publicani Cascae instare, ut concilio diem eximeret⁸.
 Populus reclamare: et forte in cornu primus⁹ sedebat Casca,
 cui simul metus pudorque animum versabat. Quum in eo
 parum præsidii esset, turbandæ rei causa publicani per
 vacuum in summoto locum¹ cuneo irruperunt, jurgantes simul

² *In veteres quassasque &c.]* “Having freighted old and shattered vessels with a few worthless,” &c.

³ *Rem invisam infamemque]* “That the system was unpopular and notorious.”

⁴ *Cui certandæ &c.]* “And when the day for arguing (pleading in mitigation of) this arrived,” &c. This proceeding was rendered necessary by the fact, that a magistrate had only the power of naming a fine; while it remained for ‘the people’ to confirm and impose it. In this case, it will be perceived, that every expedient possible under the forms of the law was employed by the aristocratic and monied interest to screen the guilty; but that justice eventually triumphed over personal influence and the power of wealth.

⁵ *Testibus datis.]* “When evidence was put in”

⁶ *Sitella.]* “The urn.”

⁷ *Ut sortirentur, ubi Latini &c.]* This reading must be corrupt, for none but Roman citizens could vote in such cases: every citizen was

enrolled in some one of the thirty-five tribes; and the Latins who were citizens of course knew their own tribes, so that there could have been no occasion for any *sor-titio*. The emendation proposed by Gronovius is, *ut sortirentur tribus (sc. que esset prærogativa) ac dein suffragium ferrent.*

⁸ *Ut concilio diem eximeret.]* Either, “to occupy the day of the meeting” (by speaking against time), or, “to intercept the day’s proceedings” (by a *veto*).

⁹ *In cornu primus.]* “Foremost on the tribunal,” the ends of which were called *cornua*.

¹ *Per vacuum in summoto locum.]* “Forced their way in a wedge through the opening into the empty space.” This is the sense that can with the least violence be extracted from the text as it stands. The phrase *in summoto*, however, can scarcely signify “in the place from which others had been removed, (in the place cleared by removal;);” and it is accordingly suggested by Strothius, that we should read *in vacuum*.

cum populo tribunisque. Nec procul dimicatione res erat, U. C. 542. quum Fulvius consul tribunis, 'Nonne videtis,' inquit, 'vos A. C. 212. in ordinem coactos esse, et rem ad seditionem spectare, ni 'propere dimittitis plebis concilium?' Plebe dimissa, se- natus vocatur, et consules referunt de concilio plebis tur- bato vi atque audacia publicanorum. 'M. Furium Camil- lum, cuius exsiliū ruina urbis secuta fuerit, damnari se ab 'iratis civibus passum esse. Decemviros ante eum, quorum 'legibus ad eam diem viverent, multos postea principes civi- 'tatis, judicium de se populi passos. Postumium Pyrgensem 'suffragium populo Romano extorsisse, concilium plebis 'sustulisse, tribunos in ordinem coegisse, contra populum 'Romanum aciem instruxisse, locum occupasse, ut tribunos 'a plebe intercluderet, tribus in suffragium vocari prohibe- 'ret. Nihil aliud a cæde ac dimicatione continuisse ho- 'mines, nisi patientiam magistratum, quod cesserint in 'præsentia furori atque audaciæ paucorum, vincique se ac 'populum Romanum passi sint: et comitia, quæ reus vi 'atque armis prohibiturus erat, ne causa quærentibus dimi- 'cationem daretur, voluntate ipsius sustulerint.' Hæc quum ab optimo quoque pro atrocitate rei³ acta essent, vim- que eam contra rem publicam et perniciose exemplo factam, senatus decesset; confessim Carvili tribuni plebis, omissa multæ certatione, rei capitalis⁴ diem Postumio dixerunt: ac, ni vades daret, prehendi a viatore, atque in carcerem duci jusserunt. Postumius, vadibus datis, non affuit. Tribuni plebem rogaverunt, plebesque ita scivit: 'Si M. Postumius 'ante Kalendas Maias non prodisset, citatusque eo die non 'respondisset, neque excusatus esset, videri eum in exsilio 'esse: bonaqua ejus venire, ipsi aqua et igni placere inter- 'dici⁵.' Singulis deinde eorum, qui turbæ ac tumultus concitatores fuerant, rei capitalis diem dicere, ac vades poscere cœperunt. Primo non dantes, deinde etiam eos,

per summotos locum. This would improve the sentence considerably; but a better emendation would be effected by reading *summotorum*, which is better Latin, and more likely to have been originally written; as the termination *um* was generally elided in MSS.

* *Voluntate ipsius sustulerint.*] i.e. At the pleasure of the accused (*reus*): a better reading would be *voluntate ipsi*, i.e. "had of their own free will (thus uniting *sustulerint* to *cesserint* and *passi sint*) dismissed the assembly (adjourned the court.)"

³ *Pro atrocitate rei.*] "As the

enormity of the case suggested."

⁴ *Rei capitalis.*] "A capital indictment" did not, as in our time, involve the forfeiture of life, which became a question only in aggravated cases of high treason, and even then required a special decree of the Senate. The term *capitalis* merely signifies that the case involved some form of *capitis diminutio*; such as banishment, the penalty inflicted in this instance.

⁵ *Aqua et igni—interdici.*] There was no direct sentence of banishment pronounced by a Roman tribunal.

U.C. 542. qui dare possent, in carcerem conjiciebant: cujus rei peri-
A.C. 212. culum vitantes plerique in exsilio abierunt.

5. Hunc fraus publicanorum, deinde fraudem audacia protegens, exitum habuit⁶. Comitia inde pontifici maximo creando⁷ sunt habita. Ea comitia novus pontifex M. Cornelius Cethegus habuit. Tres ingenti certamine petierunt: Q. Fulvius Flaccus consul, qui et ante bis consul et censor fuerat: et T. Manlius Torquatus, et ipse duobus consulibus et censura insignis: et P. Licinius Crassus, qui et ædilitatem curulem petiturus erat. Hic senes honoratosque juvenis in eo certamine vicit. Ante hunc, intra centum annos et viginti, nemo, præter P. Cornelium Calussam, pontifex maximus creatus fuerat, qui sella curuli non sedisset.

Consules quum ægre delectum conficerent, quod inopia juniorum⁸ non facile in utrumque, ut et novæ urbanæ legiones, et supplementum veteribus scriberetur, sufficiebat; senatus 'absistere eos incepto' vetuit, 'et triumviros binos⁹ 'creari' jussit: 'alteros, qui citra, alteros, qui ultra quaquagessimum lapidem in pagis, forisque¹⁰, et conciliabulis¹¹ omnem copiam ingenuorum inspicerent: et, si qui roboris satis ad ferenda arma habere viderentur, etiam si nondum militari æstate essent, milites ficerent. Tribuni plebis, si iis vide- retur, ad populum ferrent, ut, qui minores septem et decem annis sacramento dixissent, iis perinde stipendia procederent¹², ac si septem et decem annorum, aut majores, milites facti essent.' Ex hoc senatusconsulto creati triumviri bini conquisitionem ingenuorum per agros habuerunt.

Eodem tempore ex Sicilia literæ M. Marcelli de postulatis militum, qui cum P. Lentulo militabant, in senatu recitatae sunt. Cannensis reliquiae cladis hic exercitus erat, relegatus in Siciliam, sicut ante dictum est, ne ante Punici belli finem in Italiam reportaretur. Hi permissu Lentuli primores equitum centurionumque, et robora ex legionibus peditum, legatos in hiberna ad M. Marcellum miserunt, e quibus unus, potestate dicendi facta, 'Consulem,' inquit, 'te, M. Marcellus, in Italiam adissemus, quum primum de

⁶ *Hunc fraus—exitum habuit.*] young men was scarcely sufficient "Such was the end (success, result) for the double purpose of raising of," &c. new legions, and at the same time of recruiting the old."

⁷ *Pontifici maximo creando.*] "Two His successor was not appointed boards of three commissioners each." directly; a new *pontifex* was elected to fill up the *collegium* of eight; and, out of the body thus completed, the *comitia trib.* elected the new *maximus*.

⁸ *Quod inopia juniorum &c.*] "Their length (duration) "Because the diminished supply of service should be counted," &c.

⁹ *Triumviros binos.*] "Market towns."

¹⁰ *Foris.*] "Assize or sessions towns."

¹¹ *Conciliabulis.*] "Their length (duration) of service should be counted," &c.

' nobis, etsi non iniquum, certe triste senatusconsultum fac- U. C. 542.
 ' tum est; nisi hoc sperassemus, in provinciam nos morte A. C. 212.
 ' regum turbatam ad grave bellum adversus Siculos simul
 ' Poenosque mitti: et sanguine nostro vulneribusque nos
 ' senatui satisfacturos esse: sicut patrum memoria, qui capti
 ' a Pyrrho ad Heracleam⁴ erant, adversus Pyrrhum ipsum
 ' pugnantes satisfecerunt. Quanquam quod ob meritum⁵
 ' nostrum succensuistis, Patres conscripti, nobis, aut succen-
 ' setis? Ambo mihi consules et universum senatum⁶ intueri
 ' videor, quum te, M. Marcella, intueor: quem si ad Cannas
 ' consulem habuissemus, melior et reipublica et nostra for-
 ' tuna esset. Sine, quæso, priusquam de conditione nostra
 ' queror, noxam, cuius arguimur, nos purgare. Si non
 ' deum ira, nec fato, cuius lege⁷ immobilis rerum humana-
 ' rum ordo seritur, sed culpa perimus ad Cannas, cuius
 ' tandem ea culpa⁸ fuit? militum, an imperatorum? equi-
 ' dem miles nihil unquam dicam de imperatore meo, cui
 ' præsertim gratias⁹ sciam ab senatu actas, quod non despe-
 ' raverit de republica; cui post fugam ab Cannis per omnes
 ' annos¹ prorogatum imperium. Ceteros item ex reliquis²
 ' cladis ejus, quos tribunos militum habuimus, honores pe-
 ' tere et gerere, et provincias obtinere audivimus. An vobis
 ' vestrisque liberis ignoscitis facile, Patres conscripti, in
 ' hæc vilia capita sævit? Et consuli primoribusque aliis
 ' civitatis fugere, quum spes alia nulla esset, turpe non fuit;
 ' milites utique morituros in aciem misistis? Ad Alliam
 ' prope omnis exercitus fugit: ad Furculas Caudinas, ne
 ' expertus quidem certamen, arma tradidit hosti, ut alias
 ' pudendas clades exercituum taceam: tamen tantum afuit
 ' ab eo, ut³ ulla ignominia iis exercitibus quæreretur,

⁴ *Capti a Pyrrho ad Heracleam.*] It was of this victory, won principally by the dread of his elephants, that Pyrrhus said that another such would ruin him. After that victory he marched upon Rome, as Hannibal afterwards did, and, like him, looked down into the city from the hills, and then retreated.

⁵ *Quanquam quod ob meritum &c.*] "And yet, for what offence on our part," &c.

⁶ *Ambo—consules et—senatum &c.*] This explains the apostrophe to *Patres Conscripti* in the preceding sentence.

⁷ *Cuius lege &c.*] "By whose law the course of human life is irrevocably fixed" (lit. "planted"). The original arrangement of Fate is de-

scribed as a seed from which subsequent events grow up.

⁸ *Cuius tandem ea culpa.*] "Whose fault, we ask, was that?"

⁹ *Cui præsertim gratias &c.*] (resolution of the relative) "Especially when I know that thanks," &c.

¹ *Post fugam ab Cannis per omnes annos.*] "Through every year since the defeat at Cannæ."

² *Ex reliquis.*] "Of the survivors." These were not included in the sentence; of course, because they were generally young patriots. The following sentence describes the invariable policy of an oligarchy.

³ *Tantum afuit ab eo, ut.*] The usual form of this idiom omits *ab*

U. C. 542. 'ut et urbs Roma per eum exercitum, qui ab Allia Veios
 A. C. 212. 'transfugerat, recuperaretur; et Caudinæ legiones, quæ
 'sine armis redierant Romam, armatæ remissæ in Sam-
 'num, eundem illum hostem sub jugum miserint, qui hac
 'sua ignominia lætatus fuerat. Cannensem vero quisquam
 'exercitum fugæ aut pavoris insimulare potest, ubi plus
 'quinquaginta millia hominum ceciderunt? unde consul
 'cum equitibus septuaginta fugit? unde nemo superest,
 'nisi quem hostis cædendo fessus reliquit? Quum captivis
 'redemptio negabatur, nos vulgo homines laudabant, quod
 'reipublicæ nos reservassemus: quod ad consulem Venu-
 'siam redissemus, et speciem justi exercitus fecissemus.
 'Nunc deteriore conditione sumus, quam apud patres nostros
 'fuerant captivi. Quippe illis arma tantum⁴ atque ordo
 'militandi, locusque, in quo tenderent⁵ in castris, est muta-
 'tus: quæ tamen, semel⁶ navata reipublicæ opera, et uno
 'felici præcio, recuperarunt. Nemo eorum relegatus in
 'exsilio est: nemini spes emerendi stipendia adempta:
 'hostis denique est datus, cum quo dimicantes, aut vitam
 'semel, aut ignominiam finirent. Nos, quibus, nisi quod
 'commisimus⁷, ut quisquam ex Cannensi acie miles Roma-
 'nus superesset, nihil objici potest, non solum a patria pro-
 'cul Italiaque, sed ab hoste etiam, relegati sumus: ubi se-
 'nescamus in exsilio, ne qua spes, ne qua occasio abolendæ
 'ignominiae, ne qua placandæ civium iræ, ne qua denique
 'bene moriendi sit. Neque ignominiae finem, nec virtutis
 'præmium petimus; modo experiri animum, et virtutem
 'exercere liceat. Laborem et periculum petimus, ut viro-
 'rum, ut militum officio fungamur. Bellum in Sicilia jam
 'alterum annum ingenti dimicatione geritur: urbes alias
 'Pœnus, alias Romanus expugnat: peditum, equitum acies
 'concurrunt: ad Syracusas terra marique res geritur: cla-
 'morem pugnantium crepitumque armorum exaudimus re-
 'sides ipsi ac segnes, tanquam nec manus, nec arma habe-
 'mus. Servorum legionibus Ti. Sempronius consul toties
 'jam cum hoste signis collatis pugnavit. Operæ pretium
 'habent, libertatem civitatemque. Pro servis saltē ad
 'hoc bellum emptis vobis simus⁸: congregdi cum hoste liceat,
 'et pugnando quærere libertatem. Vis tu mari, vis terra,

eo, which here fills up the ellipsis. according to Valerius.

"Any disgrace was so far from ⁶ *Semel.*] "Once for all; de-
 being incurred, that," &c.

⁴ *Quippe illis arma tantum &c.*] "This was the penalty inflicted, by ⁷ *Nisi quod commisimus.*] "Ex-
 the Senate, on the prisoners re- cept that we were the cause," &c.

covered from Pyrrhus. ⁸ *Pro servis saltē—simus.*] "Let
 Outside the lines of the camp, ac- us at least be placed on the footing
 of the slaves whom you have pur-
 chased for this war."

‘vis acie, vis urbibus oppugnandis experiri virtutem? As- U. C. 542.
 ‘perrima quæque ad laborem periculumque deposcimus, ut, A. C. 212.
 ‘quod ad Cannas faciundum⁹ fuit, quam primum fiat; quo-
 ‘niam, quicquid postea viximus, id omne destinatum igno-
 ‘miniæ est.’ Sub hæc dicta ad genua Marcelli procubue-
 runt. Marcellus id nec juris, nec potestatis¹ suæ esse
 dixit. Senatui scripturum se, omniaque de sententia Pa-
 trum facturum esse. Hæ literæ ad novos consules allatæ,
 ac per eos in senatu recitatæ sunt: consultusque de his
 literis ita decrevit senatus: ‘Militibus, qui ad Cannas com-
 ‘militones suos pugnantes deseruissent, senatum nihil
 ‘videre, cur² res publica committenda sit. Si M. Claudio
 ‘proconsuli aliter videretur, faceret, quod e res publica fide-
 ‘que sua duceret: dum ne quis eorum munere vacaret³, neu
 ‘dono militari virtutis ergo donaretur, neu in Italiam repor-
 ‘taretur, donec hostis in terra Italia esset.’

Comitia deinde a prætore urbano de senatus sententia plebisque scitu sunt habita: quibus creati sunt quinque-
 viri muris turribusque reficiendis: et triumviri bini; uni
 sacris conquirendis⁴ donisque persignandis⁵; alteri reficiendis
 ædibus Fortunæ et matris Matutæ intra portam Carmen-
 talem, sed et Spei extra portam, quæ priore anno incendio
 consumptæ fuerant.

Tempestates foedæ fuere. In Albano monte biduum
 continenter lapidibus pluit. Tacta de cœlo multa: duæ
 in Capitolio ædes: vallum in castris multis locis supra
 Suessulam, et duo vigiles exanimati. Murus turresque
 quædam Cumis non ictæ modo fulminibus, sed etiam de-
 cussæ. Reate saxum ingens visum volitare: sol rubere
 solito magis, sanguineoque similis. Horum prodigiorum
 causa diem unum supplicatio fuit, et per aliquot dies con-
 sules rebus divinis operam dederunt: et per eosdem dies
 sacrum novendiale fuit. Quum Tarentinorum defectio
 jam diu et in spe Hannibali, et in suspicione Romanis⁶

⁹ Ut, quod ad Cannas faciundum, &c.] “So that, what should have been done at Cannæ, may be effected as soon as possible; since our whole existence, since then, has been condemned to,” &c.

¹ Nec juris, nec potestatis.] “Neither authority nor means.”

² Nihil videre, cur.] “Saw no reason why,” &c.

³ Munere vacaret.] “Enjoyed any exemption from work;” i. e. exemption from non-military labour (drawing wood and water, &c.), such as was sometimes made a reward for

distinguished services in action.

⁴ Sacris conquirendis.] i. e. searching for and collecting the consecrated property and objects of worship in the burned temples.

⁵ Donisque persignandis.] Recording (registering) donations, belonging to the same.

⁶ In spe Hannibali, et in suspicione Romanis.] “A matter of hope to Hannibal, and of apprehension to the Romans.” Hannibal was so situated at this time, that he could not leave Tarentum while it held out. There were four armies ready

U.C. 542. esset, causa forte extrinsecus⁷ maturandæ ejus intervenit.
 A.C. 212. Phileas Tarentinus, diu jam per speciem legationis Romæ

quum esset, vir inquieti animi, et minime otium, quo tum diutino senescere videbatur, patientis, aditum sibi ad ob-sides Tarentinos invenit. Custodiebantur in atrio Liber-tatis minore cura, quia nec ipsis, nec civitati eorum fallere Romanos expediebat. Hos, crebris colloquiis sollicitatos, corruptis ædituis duobus, quum primis tenebris custodia eduxisset, ipse comes occulti itineris factus profugit. Luce prima vulgata per urbem fuga est: missique, qui sequen-tur, ab Tarracina comprehensos omnes retraxerunt. De-ducti in comitio⁸, virgisque, approbante populo, cæsi de saxo dejiciuntur. Hujus atrocitas poenæ duarum nobi-lissimarum in Italia Græcarum civitatum⁹ animos irritavit, quum publice, tum etiam singulos¹ privatim, ut quisque tam fœde interemptos aut propinquitate, aut amicitia con-tingebat. Ex iis tredecim fere nobiles juvenes Tarentini conjuraverunt, quorum principes Nico et Philemenus erant. Hi, prius, quam aliquid moverent, colloquendum cum Hannibale rati, nocte per speciem venandi urbem egressi, ad eum proficiscuntur. Et, quum haud procul castris abes-sent, ceteri silva prope viam sese occuluerunt: Nico et Philemenus, progressi ad stationes comprehensique, ultro id petentes, ad Hannibalem deducti sunt. Qui quum et causas consilii sui, et quid pararent, exposuissent;

to intercept any movement: the two Consuls, the two Prætors, Cl. Nero, and Gracchus.

⁷ *Causa—extrinsecus, &c.*] “A cause operating externally (i. e. not in Tarentum) to precipitate it, hap-pened to occur.”

⁸ *Deducti in comitio.*] “Pub-licly exhibited,” (paraded.) A better reading would be, *reducti, virgisque in comitio, &c.* This is one of the very few instances of vindictive haste recorded of the Roman government. As a general rule, they never struck until they could strike safely; and then they did so with a severity pro-portioned to the patience with which they had waited for the opportunity. Their policy in this case was par-ticularly short-sighted; because the punishment of the hostages, at the same time that it exasperated them, released the Tarentines from all obligations; and exhibited a re-markable contrast to the treatment

of the Italians by Hannibal.

⁹ *Duarum—civitatum, &c.*] The Tarentines and Thurini. Thurium stood on the site of the more ancient and celebrated Sybaris. The wealth and strength and grandeur of those old Doric cities, are almost mytho-logical. Sybaris, the possession of whose shore is now divided, as M. Michelet says, between sharks and wild oxen, was able to bring 300,000 men into the field against the Cro-toniats; and the soil, around where Tarentum stood, when upturned, dis-closes a red stratum of the frag-ments of Grecian vases. Sybaris was so utterly destroyed, that the Crotoniats turned the streams of two rivers to flow over the plain where it had stood.

¹ *Quum publice, tum—singulos, &c.*] “As well politically as per-sonally and individually; accord-ingly as they were severally con-necting with,” &c.

collaudati, oneratique promissis, jubentur, ut fidem² popu- U. C. 542.
laribus facerent, prædandi causa se urbe egressos, pecora A. C. 212.
Carthaginiensium, quæ pastum propulsa essent, ad urbem
agere. Tuto ac sine certamine id facturos, promissum est.
Conspecta ea præda juvenum est: minusque, iterum³ ac
sæpius id eos audere, miraculo fuit. Congressi cum Han-
nibale rursus, fide sanxerunt, liberos Tarentinos leges
suaque omnia habituros, neque ullum vectigal Pœno pen-
suros, præsidiumve invitatos recepturos: prodita præsidia⁴
Carthaginiensium fore. Hæc ubi convenerunt, tunc vero
Philemenus consuetudinem nocte egrediundi redeundique
in urbem frequentiorem facere. Et erat venandi studio
insignis, canesque et alius apparatus sequebatur; captum-
que ferme aliquid⁵, aut ab hoste ex præparato ablatum re-
portando, donabat aut præfecto, aut custodibus portarum.
Nocte maxime commeare propter metum hostium, crede-
bant. Ubi jam eo consuetudinis⁶ adducta res est, ut, quo-
cunque noctis tempore sibilo dedisset signum, porta aperi-
retur, tempus agendæ rei Hannibali visum est. Tridui
viam aberat: ubi, quo minus mirum esset, uno eodemque
loco stativa eum tam diu habere, ægrum simulabat. Ro-
manis quoque, qui in præsidio Tarenti erant, suspecta
esse jam segnis mora ejus desierat. Ceterum postquam
Tarentum ire constituit, decem millibus peditum atque
equitum, quos in expeditione⁷ velocitate corporum ac le-
vitate armorum aptissimos esse ratus est, electis, quarta
vigilia noctis signa movit: præmissisque octoginta fere
Numidis equitibus præcepit, ut discurrenter circa vias,
perlustrarentque omnia oculis, ne quis agrestium procul
spectator agminis falleret⁸; prægressos retraherent, obvios
occiderent, ut prædonum magis, quam exercitus, accolis
species esset. Ipse, raptim agmine acto, quindecim ferme
millium spatio castra ab Tarento posuit: et, ne ibi quidem
nuntiato⁹, quo pergerent, tantum convocatos milites monuit,

9.

² *Jubentur, ut fidem, &c.]* “Were commanded (in order to make their fellow-townsmen believe that they had left the city for the purpose of marauding) to drive to the city the cattle,” &c.

governor or the sentries something either taken in the chase, or captured, according to arrangement, from the enemy.”

³ *Minusque, iterum, &c.]* “It “When it had now become so much a matter of custom,” &c.

⁴ *Prodita præsidia, &c.]* “The ⁷ *In expeditione.]* The accus. garrisons (i. e. the Roman troops), would be so much the better construction, that a final *m* appears to when betrayed, were to be at the have been lost.

⁵ *Captumque fermè aliquid, &c.]* ⁸ *Procul spectator agminis falle-
“And generally presented to the ret.]* “Might be a distant and un-
observed spectator,” &c.

⁹ *Ne ibi quidem nuntiato.]* The

U. C. 542. via omnes irent¹; nec deverti quemquam, aut excedere
 A. C. 212. ordinem agminis paterentur, et in primis intenti ad imperia
 accipienda essent; neu quid nisi ducum jussu facerent: se
 in tempore editurum, quæ vellet agi. Eadem ferme hora
 Tarentum fama pervenerat, Numidas equites paucos popu-
 lari agros, terroremque late agrestibus injecisse. Ad quem
 nuntium nihil ultra motus² præfectus Romanus, quam ut
 partem equitum postero die luce prima juberet exire ad
 arcendum populationibus hostem. In cetera adeo nihil ob
 id intenta cura est, ut contra pro argumento fuerit illa pro-
 cursatio Numidarum, Hannibalem exercitumque castris non
 movisse. Hannibal concubia nocte³ movit. Dux Phile-
 menustrans erat, cum solito captæ venationis⁴ onere: ceteri pro-
 ditores ea, quæ composita erant, exspectabant. Convenerat
 autem, ut Philemenus, portula assueta venationem inferens,
 armatos induceret: parte alia portam Temenida⁵ adiret
 Hannibal. Ea mediterranea regione⁶ orientem spectabat:
 aliquantum intra mœnia includuntur⁷. Quum portæ ap-

reading *enuntiato* has been suggested as an improvement, the force of the preposition being to imply a secret.

¹ *Vid omnes irent.*] “All to march straight on.”

² *Nihil ultra motus, &c.*] “Made no movement beyond that of ordering,” &c.—“farther than this, his attention was so little awakened by the circumstance, that,” &c.

³ *Concubid nocte.*] “Early in the night;” (lit. “at bed-time.”) κνέ-φατος ἄρτι γενομένου. *Polybius.*

⁴ *Cum solito captæ venationis, &c.*] “With his customary load of game.”

⁵ *Portam Temenida.*] Lit. “the gate of the τέμενος; or, city domain.”

⁶ *Ea mediterranea regione, &c.*] “That gate looked inland toward the east.”

⁷ *Aliquantum intra mœnia includuntur.*] The text here is either corrupt or defective. It has been proposed to render it intelligible by reading, *orientem spectat ad iustam quæ Tarenti intra mœnia includuntur*. This would be obviously suggested by the form of the corresponding sentence in Polybius: sc. τὸ γὰρ πρὸς ἔω μέρος τῆς τῶν Ταρα-
 τίων πόλεως μνημάτων ἐστὶ πλήρες,
 διὰ τούς τελευτήσαντας θάντεοι εἴτε
 καὶ νῦν ἔντος: (viii. 23.) i. e. near and inside the gate was a cemetery, where

Nico was to wait for Hannibal. The whole operation of the capture of the town will perhaps be made more intelligible, by a brief description of its topography. The ground plan of the town formed an irregular triangle. Two sides of this were bounded by water; on the west by the Mediterranean, and on the east (or rather north-east) by a peculiarly shaped harbour, entered by a narrow mouth, and forming inside a calm and unruffled sheet of water. The mouth of this harbour was commanded by a small rock forming the apex of the triangle and the site of the citadel. On the inland side, the south-eastern wall, which formed the base of the triangle, ran across from the harbour to the sea; and the cemetery (or street of tombs) lay between that wall and the inhabited portion of the town. Thus it will be seen, that the only access by sea, on either side, would be commanded by the citadel: and that an attack on the inland side would be favoured, in some measure, by the solitude of the quarter lying immediately inside the wall in that direction.

Before the Tarentines had on this occasion cast off their allegiance to Rome, they should have remembered—and it was sufficiently recent

propinquaret, editus ex composito ignis ab Hannibale est, U.C. 542.
refulsiisque. Idem redditum ab Nicone signum: extinctae A.C. 212.
deinde utrumque flaminæ sunt. Hannibal silentio ducebat
ad portam. Nico ex improviso adortus sopitos vigiles in
cubilibus suis obtruncat, portamque aperit. Hannibal cum
pedimentum agmine ingreditur, equites subsistere jubet: ut,
quo res postulet, occurrere⁸ libero campo possent. Et Phi-
lemenus portulæ parte alia, qua commeare assuerat, appro-
pinquabat. Nota vox ejus et familiare jam signum quum
excitasset vigilem, dicenti, vix sustinere grandis bestiæ onus,
portula aperitur. Inferentes aprum duos juvenes secutus
ipse cum expedito venatore, vigilem, incautius miraculo
magnitudinis⁹ in eos, qui ferebant, versum, venabulo trajicit.
Ingressi deinde triginta fere armati, ceteros vigiles obtrun-
cant, refringuntque portam proximam: et agmen sub signis
confestim irruptit. Inde cum silentio in forum ducti, Han-
nibali sese conjunxerunt. Cum duobus millibus Gallorum
Poenus, in tres divisis partes, per urbem dimittit Tarentinos¹, et itinera quam maxime frequentia occupare jubet:
tumultu orto, Romanos passim cœdi, oppidanis parci².
Sed, ut fieri id posset, præcipit juvenibus Tarentinis, ut,
ubi quem suorum procul vidissent, quiescere et silere, ac
bono animo esse juberent. Jam tumultus erat clamorque,
qualis esse in capta urbe solet: sed, quid rei esset, nemo
satis pro certo scire. Tarentini Romanos ad diripiendam
urbem credere coortos: Romanis seditio aliqua cum fraude
videri ab oppidanis mota. Præfectus, primo³ excitatus
tumultu, in portum effugit: inde, acceptus scapha, in arcem
circumvehitur. Errorem et tuba audita ex theatro faciebat.
Nam et Romana erat, a proditoribus ad hoc ipsum præpa-
rata: et inscienter a Græco inflata⁴, quis, aut quibus signum

10.

to be fresh in their memories—the penalty of having previously accepted the capricious protection of a stranger. It is told, that when their Macedonian ally was expected, one of the citizens, blending wisdom with his folly, presented himself to public view, with a garland and a torch, and other emblems of revelry, and replied, to some one who asked him in derision to sing, “You are right, men of Tarentum, let us have dancing and music while we can; we shall have other cares when Pyrrhus comes.” Pyrrhus came accordingly, and closed the gymnasia and theatres, imprisoned the citizens in the town, and, one by one, sent them away to be assassinated.

⁸ Ut, quo res postulet, occurrere, &c.] “So that they might form an obstacle on the open plain, wherever circumstances should require,” &c.

⁹ Incautius miraculo magnitudinis, &c.] “Looking rather heedlessly, in his amazement at its bulk, toward those who bore the beast.”

¹ Dimittit Tarentinos.] sc. The conspirators.

² Cœdi—parci.] sc. Jubet.

³ Præfectus, primo &c.] Polybius mentions, that the surprise was equally startling to the governor, who had been indulging too freely at table the night before.

⁴ Inscienter—inflata, &c.] “Blown unscientifically by a Greek, rendered it uncertain who was giving a signal,

U.C. 542. daret, incertum efficiebat. Ubi illuxit, et Romanis Punica
 A.C. 212. et Gallica arma cognita tum dubitationem exemerunt⁵; et
 Græci, Romanos passim cæde stratos cernentes, ab Han-
 nibale captam urbem senserunt. Postquam lux certior⁶ erat,
 et Romani, qui cædibus superfuerant, in arcem confugerant,
 conticescebatque paullatim tumultus; tum Hannibal Ta-
 rentinos sine armis convocare jubet. Convenere omnes,
 præterquam qui cedentes in arcem Romanos ad omnem
 adeundam simul fortunam prosecuti fuerant. Ibi Hannibal,
 benigne allocutos Tarentinos, testatusque, quæ prestitisset
 civibus eorum, quos ad Trasimenum aut ad Cannas cepisset,
 simul in dominationem superbam Romanorum inventus,
 recipere se in domos suas quemque jussit, et foribus nomen
 suum inscribere: se domos eas, quæ inscriptæ non essent,
 signo extemplo dato, diripi jussurum. Si quis in hospitio
 civis Romani (vacuas autem tenebant domos⁷) nomen in-
 scriptisset, eum se pro hoste habiturum. Concionem dimissa,
 quum titulis notatæ fores discrimen pacatæ ab hostili domo
 fecissent, signo dato, ad diripienda hospitia Romana passim
 discursum est: et fuit prædæ aliquantum.

11. Postero die ad oppugnandam arcem ducit: quam quum
 et a mari, quo in pæninsulæ modum pars major circum-
 luitur, præaltis rupibus, et ab ipsa urbe⁸ muro et fossa in-
 genti sæptam videret, eoque nec vi, nec operibus expugna-
 bilem esse; ne aut se ipsum cura⁹ tuendi Tarentinos a ma-
 joribus rebus moraretur; aut in relictos sine valido præsidio
 Tarentinos impetum ex arce, quum vellent, Romani face-
 rent, vallo urbem ab arce intersepire statuit: non sine illa
 etiam spe, cum prohibentibus opus Romanis manum posse
 conseri; et, si ferocius procucurrisserent, magna cæde ita
 attenuari¹⁰ præsidii vires, ut facile per se ipsi Tarentini
 urbem ab iis tueri possent. Ubi cœptum opus est, pate-
 facta repente porta, in munientes impetum fecerunt Ro-
 mani: pellique se statio passa est, quæ pro opere erat¹¹, ut
 successu cresceret audacia, pluresque et longius pulsos per-
 sequerentur. Tum signo dato coorti undique Poeni sunt,
 quos instructos ad hoc Hannibal tenuerat; nec sustinere

or for whom," (i. e. by whom, or for whom, &c.)

" Both in the direction of the sea—
 and on the side of the city."

⁵ *Tum* (or rather *eam*) *dubita-*
tionem (Romanis) *exemerunt*.

⁹ *Ne aut—ipsum cura &c.*] "Lest
 the duty of protecting the Tarentines
 should detain him from," &c.

⁶ *Postquam lux certior, &c.*] "When the light became broader,"
 (lit. "more visible.")

¹⁰ *Ita attenuari &c.*] "The strength
 of the garrison would be so reduced,
 that," &c.

⁷ *Vacuas—domos.*] "Houses ex-
 clusively to themselves;" i. e. (not
 lodgings, but whole houses.)

² *Statio—quæ pro opere erat.*]
 "The guard in front of the work."

⁸ *Et (a) mari—et ab urbe.*

impetum Romani, sed ab effusa fuga loci angustiæ eos, U. C. 542. impeditaque alia³ opere jam cœpto, alia apparatu operis, A. C. 212. morabantur. Plurimi in fossam præcipitavere, occisque sunt plures in fuga, quam in pugna. Inde et opus nullo prohibente fieri cœptum. Fossa ingens ducta, et vallum intra eam erigitur: modicoque post intervallo murum etiam eadem regione addere parat, ut vel sine præsidio tueri se adversus Romanos possent. Reliquit tamen modicum præsidium, ut simul⁴ in faciendo muro adjuvaret: ipse, profectus cum ceteris copiis, ad Galæsum flumen (quinque millia ab urbe abest) posuit castra. Ex iis stativis regressus ad inspiciendum opus, quod aliquantum opinione ejus celerius creverat, spem cepit, etiam arcem expugnari posse. Et est⁵ non altitudine, ut cetera, tuta, sed loco plano posita, et ab urbe muro tantum ac fossa divisa. Quum jam machinationum omni genere et operibus oppugnaretur, missum a Metaponto præsidium Romanis fecit animum, ut nocte ex improviso opera hostium invaderent⁶. Alia disjecerunt, alia igni corruperunt: isque finis Hannibali fuit ea parte arcem oppugnandi. Reliqua erat in obsidione spes, nec ea satis efficax⁷, quia arcem tenentes, quæ in pæninsula posita imminet faucibus portus, mare liberum habebant: urbs contra exclusa maritimis commeatisbus, propiusque inopiam erant obsidentes, quam obsessi. Hannibal, convocatis principibus Tarentinorum, omnes præsentes difficultates exposuit: 'neque arcis tam munitæ expugnandæ viam certare, neque in obsidione quicquam habere spei, donec mari potiantur hostes. Quod si naves sint, quibus commeatus invehi prohibeant, extemplo aut abscessuros, aut dedituros se hostes.' Assentiebantur Tarentini; ceterum ei, qui consilium afferret, opem quoque in eam rem afferendam esse, censebant. 'Punicas enim naves ex Sicilia accitas id posse facere: suas, quæ sinu exiguo intus inclusæ essent, quum claustra portus hostis haberet, ecquem ad modum inde in apertum mare evasuras? Evident,' inquit Hannibal. 'Multæ, quæ impedita naturæ sunt, consilio expediuntur. Urbem in campo sitam habetis: planæ et satis latæ viæ patent in

³ *Impeditaque alia.*] "The obstruction of some places."

⁴ *Ut simul.*] (sc. *simul ut.*) "For the additional purpose of assisting," &c.

⁵ *Et est.*] "It is, besides, not secured by an elevation, like other citadels," (*ut cetera, sc. ut ceteræ aries.*)

⁶ *Fecit animum—ut—invaderent.*] "Gave them courage to attack."

⁷ *Nec ea satis efficax.*] "And that not very practicable."

⁸ *Multæ, quæ impedita naturæ &c.*] "Many obstructions raised by nature, are removed by ingenuity."

U. C. 542. ' omnes partes. Via, quæ in portum⁹ per median¹ urbem
 A. C. 212. ' ad mare transmissa est, plastris transveham naves haud
 ' magna mole. Et mare nostrum erit, quo nunc hostes
 ' potiuntur: et illinc mari, hinc terra circumsidebimus
 ' arcem. Imo brevi, aut relictam ab hostibus, aut cum
 ' ipsis hostibus capiemus.' Hæc oratio non spem modo
 effectus, sed ingentem etiam ducis admirationem fecit.
 Contracta extemplo undique plastra, junctaque inter se:
 et machinæ ad subducendas naves admotæ, munitumque
 iter², quo faciliora plastra minorque moles in transitu esset.
 Jumenta inde et homines contracti, et opus impigre cœ-
 ptum: paucosque post dies classis instructa ac parata cir-
 cumvehitur arcem, et ante os ipsum portus ancoras jacit.
 Hunc statum rerum Hannibal Tarenti reliquit, regressus
 ipse in hiberna. Ceterum, defectio Tarentinorum utrum
 priore anno, an hoc, facta sit, in diversum auctores tra-
 hunt: plures propioresque ætate memoriae rerum³ hoc
 anno tradunt factam.

12. Romæ consules prætoresque usque ante diem quin-
 tum Kalendas Maias Latinae⁴ tenuerunt. Eo die per-
 petrato sacro in monte⁵, in suas quisque provincias profi-
 ciscuntur. Religio deinde nova objecta est ex carminibus
 Marciānis. Vates hic Marcius illustris fuerat, et quum
 conquisitio priore anno ex senatusconsulto talium librorum
 fieret, in M. Atilii prætoris urbani, qui eam rem agebat,
 manus venerant. Is protinus novo prætori Sullæ⁶ tradide-
 rat. Ex hujus Marci duobus carminibus, alterius post rem
 actam⁷ editi cum rato auctoritas eventu, alteri quoque, cuius

⁹ *Vid, quæ in portum.*] (Rather *ex portu*, for Polybius wrote *ἐκ τοῦ λαμπτέος.*)

¹ *Per median &c.*] "Along the street, which runs from the harbour, through the centre (heart) of the city to the sea."

² *Munitumque iter.*] "A cause-way built (or laid down)."

³ *Propioresque ætate memoriae rerum.*] "Nearer in time to the date of the events." The uncertainty alluded to here is rendered still more obscure by the paucity of recorded events in other parts of Italy during this year, (U. C. 541.) notwithstanding the existence of large consular armies in places which Hannibal had seduced from their allegiance. It is still further aggravated by the statement of Polybius, that the following year (the consulship of Fabius and Ap-

pius) was the time of the capture of Tarentum. The appearance of inactivity on the part of the Romans is only to be accounted for by the supposition, that they were detained by some operations in Apulia from the siege of Capua. Of Hannibal, on the other hand, it may be observed, that, although his only ostensible action was the surprise of Tarentum, he was agitating Macedonia and Sicily against the Romans.

⁴ *Latinæ.*] (sc. feriae.)

⁵ *In monte.*] (sc. Albano.)

⁶ *Sullæ.*] This name (*al.* Sylla) is said to have originated in a contraction of the name *Sibylla*, given in consequence of his agency in establishing the Ludi Apollinares, (*ex libris Sibyllinis.*)

⁷ *Alterius post rem actam &c.*] "The authority of the one, pub-

nondum tempus venerat, afferebat fidem. Priore carmine U. C. 542. Cannensis prædicta clades in hæc ferme verba erat: 'Am- A. C. 212.
 'nem Trojugena Cannam' Romane fuge: ne te alienigenæ
 'cogant in campo Diomedis conserere manus. Sed neque
 'credes tu mihi, donec compleris sanguine campum; mul-
 'taque millia occisa tua deferat amnis in pontum magnum
 'ex terra frugifera; piscibus atque avibus ferisque, quæ
 'incolunt terras, iis fuat esca caro tua: nam mihi ita Jupiter
 'fatus est.' Et Diomedis Argivi campos et Cannam flumen,
 qui militaverant in iis locis, juxta atque ipsam cladem
 agnoscebant. Tum alterum carmen recitatum, non eo
 tantum obscurius, quia incertiora futura præteritis sunt, sed
 perplexius etiam scripturæ genere⁹. 'Hostem, Romani, si
 'expellere vultis, vomicamque, quæ gentium venit longe¹,
 'Apollini vovendos censeo ludos, qui quotannis comiter
 'Apollini fiant: quum populus dederit ex publico partem,
 'privati uti conferant pro se suisque. Iis ludis faciendis
 'præerit prætor is, qui jus populo plebeique dabit summum.
 'Decemviri Græco ritu hostiis sacra faciant. Hæc si recte
 'faxitis, gaudebitis semper, fietque res vestra melior. Nam
 'is divus extinguet perduelles vestros, qui vestros campos
 'pascunt placide².' Ad id carmen explanandum diem unum
 sumpserunt. Postero die senatusconsultum factum est, ut
 decemviri libros, de ludis Apollini reque divina facienda,
 inspicerent. Ea quum inspecta relataque ad senatum
 essent, censuerunt Patres: 'Apollini ludos vovendos faci-
 'undosque: et, quando ludi facti essent, duodecim millia
 'æris prætori ad rem divinam et duas hostias majores
 'dandas.' Alterum senatusconsultum factum est, 'Ut de-
 'cemviri sacra Græco ritu facerent, hisque hostiis: Apollini
 'bove aurato et capris duabus albis auratis, Latonæ bove
 'femina aurata.' Ludos prætor in circu maximo quum fac-
 turus esset, edixit, ut populus per eos ludos stipem Apollini,
 quantam commodum esset, conferret. Hæc est origo lu-
 dorum Apollinarium, victoriæ, non valetudinis, ergo, ut
 plerique rentur, votorum factorumque³. Populus coronatus

lished after the event with its ful-
 filment, established the credit of
 the other, the time of which had
 not yet arrived."

⁸ *Annen — Cannam.*] Either
 the Aufidus, or some insignificant
 streamlet at Cannæ. The words
 of this prediction sound like *disjecta
 membra* of old hexameters; and
 one commentator has even taken
 the trouble of attempting to recon-
 struct them.

⁹ *Perplexius etiam scripturæ ge-*

nere.] This must be an allusion
 to some difficulty in deciphering
 the Ms.; for the words recorded by
 the historian contain nothing very
 mysterious.

¹ *Gentium — longè.*] "From a far
 country."

² *Pascunt placidè.*] "Prey un-
 molested upon," &c.

³ *Votorum factorumque.*] "Pro-
 mised (dedicated) and instituted." The
 other tradition to which Livy
 alludes is, that they were instituted

U.C. 542. spectavit: matronæ supplicavere: vulgo apertis januis in
 A.C. 212. propatulo epulati sunt, celeberque dies omni cærimoniarum
 genere fuit.

13. *Quum Hannibal⁴ circa Tarentum, consules ambo in Samnio essent, sed circumcessuri Capuam viderentur; quod malum diuturnæ obsidionis esse solet, jam famem Campani sentiebant; quia sementem facere prohibuerant eos Romani exercitus. Itaque legatos ad Hannibalem miserunt, orantes, ut prius, quam consules in agros suos educerent legiones, viæque omnes hostium præsidiis insiderentur, frumentum ex propinquis locis convehi juberet Capuam.* Hannibal, Hannoneum ex Bruttiiis cum exercitu in Campaniam transire, et dare operam, ut frumenti copia fieret Campanis, jussit. Hanno, ex Bruttiiis profectus cum exercitu, vitabundus castra hostium consulesque, qui in Samnio erant, quum Benevento jam appropinquaret, tria passuum millia ab ipsa urbe loco edito castra posuit. Inde ex sociis circa populis, quo æstate comportatum erat, devehi frumentum in castra jussit; præsidiis datis⁵, quæ commeatus eos prosequerentur. Capuam inde nuntium misit, qua die in castris ad accipendum frumentum præsto essent, omni undique genere vehiculorum jumentorumque ex agris contracto. Id pro cetera socordia⁶ negligentiaque a Campanis actum. Paullo plus quadringenta vehicula missa, et pauca præterea jumenta. Ob id castigatis ab Hannone, quod ne fames quidem, quæ mutas accenderet bestias, curam eorum stimulare posset, alia predicta dies⁷ ad frumentum majore apparatu petendum. Ea omnia, sicut acta erant, quum enuntiata Beneventanis essent, legatos decem extemplo ad consules (circa Bovianum⁸ castra Romanorum erant) miserunt. Qui quum, auditis, quæ ad Capuam agerentur, inter se comparassent, ut alter in Campaniam exercitum duceret; Fulvius, cui ea provincia obvenerat, profectus, nocte Beneventi mœnia est ingressus. Ex propinquo cognoscit, Hannonem cum exercitus parte profectum frumentatum: per quæstorem Campanis datum frumentum: duo millia plaustrorum, inconditam inermemque aliam turbam, advenisse: per tumultum ac trepidationem omnia agi, castrorumque formam⁹ et militarem or-

for the purpose of staying a pestilence.

⁴ *Quum Hannibal &c.]* “While Hannibal was at Tarentum, and both the consuls, though they were in Samnium, seemed likely to invest Capua; the Campanians were beginning to feel a famine, the usual inconvenience of a long blockade.”

⁵ *Præsidiis datis &c.]* “Furnishing escorts to accompany the stores.”

⁶ *Pro cetera socordia.]* “In the spirit of their usual apathy.”

⁷ *Alia predicta dies.]* “Another day named by adjournment.”

⁸ *Bovianum.]* The capital of the Samnites Pentrones.

⁹ *Castrorum formam &c.]* “That all the regularity of a camp and military discipline, was destroyed by the concourse of rustics from those districts.”

dinem, immixtis agrestibus iis ex terris, sublatum. His ^{U.C. 542.} satis compertis, consul militibus edicit, signa tantum arma- ^{A.C. 212.} que in proximam noctem expedirent: castra Punica oppugnanda esse. Quarta vigilia profecti, sarcinis omnibus impeditis que Beneventi relictis, paullo ante lucem quum ad castra pervenissent, tantum pavoris injecerunt, ut, si in plano castra posita essent, haud dubie primo impetu capi potuerint. Altitudo loci et munimenta defenderunt, quæ nulla ex parte adiri, nisi arduo ac diffcili ascensu, poterant. Luce prima prælium ingens accensum est: nec vallum modo tutantur Pœni, sed, ut quibus locus æquior esset¹, deturbant nitentes per ardua hostes. Vicit tamen omnia pertinax virtus, et aliquot simul partibus² ad vallum ac fossas pervernum est; sed cum multis vulneribus ac militum pernicie. Itaque convocatis tribunis militum consul, 'absistendum temerario incepto,' ait: 'tutius sibi videri, reduci 'eo die exercitum' Beneventum: dein postero castris se hostium jungi', ne exire inde Campani, neve Hanno regredi posset. Id quo facilius obtineatur, collegam quoque et 'exercitum ejus se acciturum, totumque eo versuros bellum.' Hæc consilia ducis³, quum jam receptui caneret, clamor militum aspernantium tam segne imperium disjecit. Proxima portæ hostium erat cohors Peligna: cujus præfectus Vibius Accuæus⁴ arreptum vexillum trans vallum hostium trajecit. Exsecratus inde seque et cohortem, si ejus vexilli hostes potiti essent, princeps ipse per fossam vallumque in castra irrumpit. Jamque intra vallum Peligni pugnabant, quum altera parte, Valerio Flacco tribuno militum tertiae legionis exprobrante Romanis ignaviam, qui sociis captorum castrorum concederent decus, T. Pedanius, princeps primus

14.

¹ *Ut quibus locis æquior esset.]* "Being the party who had the advantage of the ground."

² *Aliquot simul partibus.]* "The rampart and trench were gained, at the same moment, at several points."

³ *Reduci eo die exercitum.]* Crevier observes, that this movement would be injudicious; because, on the removal of the Roman army, the Campanians would be at liberty to leave their entrenchments; or, Hanno to return; but, on the other hand, Beneventum was only three miles distant, and the enemy would scarcely venture any movement, almost within view.

⁴ *Castris se hostium jungi.]* (mid. voice) "Would encamp beside the

enemy;" lit. "would join himself to," &c.—castra sua se castris hostium collaturum.

⁵ *Hæc consilia ducis, &c.]* "The shouts of the men, rejecting these plans of their leader, when he signalled a retreat, nullified so spiritless an order."

⁶ *Vibius Accuæus.]* Accua was in Apulia; and it may be asked, why a native of that place should command a cohort of Peligni? The Italian allies generally supplied officers to their own contingents; but Polybius states, that in addition to and over these, twelve præfects of allies were nominated by the Consuls.

U. C. 542. *centurio*⁷, quum signifero signum ademisset, 'Jam hac sig-
 A. C. 212. 'num, et hic *centurio*,⁸ inquit, 'intra vallum hostium erit.
 'Sequantur, qui capi signum ab hoste prohibituri sunt.'
*Manipulares sui*⁹ primum transcendentem fossam, dein legio
 tota secuta est. Jam et consul, ad conspectum transgredi-
 entium vallum mutato consilio, ab revocando ad incitandos
 hortandosque versus milites, ostendere, in quanto discriminare
 ac periculo fortissima cohors sociorum et civium legio esset.
 Itaque pro se quisque omnes per æqua atque iniqua loca¹⁰,
 quum undique tela conjicerent, armaque et corpora hostes
 objicerent, pervadunt, irrumuntque. Multi vulnerati,
 etiam quos vires sanguisque desereret, ut intra vallum hos-
 tium caderent, nitebantur. Capta itaque momento tem-
 poris, velut in plano sita, nec permunita castra. Cædes
 inde, non jam pugna erat, omnibus intra vallum permixtis.
 Supra sex millia hostium occisa, supra septem millia capitum,
 cum frumentatoribus Campanis omnique plaustrorum et
 jumentorum apparatu, capta. Et alia ingens præda fuit,
 quam Hanno, populabundus passim quumisset, ex sociorum
 populi Romani agris traxerat. Inde, dejectis hostium cas-
 tris, Beneventum redditum est, prædamque ibi ambo con-
 sules (nam et Ap. Claudius eo post paucos dies venit) ven-
 diderunt, diviseruntque. Et donati, quorum opera castra
 hostium capta erant: ante alios Accuæus Pelignus, et T.
 Pedanius princeps tertiae legionis. Hanno ab Cominio
 Cerito¹¹, quo nuntiata castrorum clades est, cum paucis fru-
 mentatoribus, quos forte secum habuerat, fugæ magis, quam
 itineris, modo in Bruttios redit. Et Campani, audita sua
 pariter sociorumque clade, legatos ad Hannibalem miserunt,
 qui nuntiarent, 'duos consules ad Beneventum esse, diei
 'iter a Capua; tantum non ad portas et muros bellum esse:
 'ni propere subveniat, celerius Capuam, quam Arpos, in
 'potestatem hostium venturam. Ne Tarentum quidem,
 'non modo arcem¹², tanti debere esse, ut Capuam, quam
 'Carthagini æquare sit solitus, desertam indefensamque
 'populo Romano tradat.' Hannibal, curæ sibi fore rem

15.

⁷ *Princeps primus centurio.*] "The senior centurion of *principes*." Of the two centuries in each manipulus, the right was the higher in rank.

⁸ *Manipulares sui.*] "His own company."

⁹ *Per æqua atque iniqua loca.*] "Over all facilities and difficulties of ground," i. e. over all ground, no matter whether easy or difficult.

¹⁰ *Ab Cominio Cerito.*] Of this place nothing more is known, than that a town of the Volsci was called

Cominium.

¹¹ *Ne Tarentum quidem, non modo arcem.*] "That not even Tarentum itself, much less the citadel." The phrase would be more usually transposed thus, *non modo (non) arcem, sed ne Tarentum quidem*. Cicero sometimes uses a similar inversion of the order of this idiom, e. g. *numquam, ne medioori quidem, non modo prudenti, probata sunt.* *De Divin.* ii. 55.

Campanam pollicitus, in præsentia duo millia equitum cum U. C. 542. legatis mittit, quo præsidio agros populationibus possent A. C. 212. prohibere.

Romanis interim, sicut aliarum rerum, arcis Tarentinæ, præsidiique, quod ibi obsideretur, cura esse. C. Servilius legatus, ex auctoritate Patrum a P. Cornelio prætore in Etruriam ad frumentum coendum missus, cum aliquot navibus onustis in portum Tarentinum³ inter hostium custodias pervenit. Cujus adventu, qui ante, in exigua spe, vocati sæpe ad transitionem ab hostibus per colloquia erant, ultro⁴ ad transeundum hostes vocabant sollicitabantque. Et erat satis validum præsidium, traductis ad arcem Tarenti tuendam, qui Metaponti erant, militibus. Itaque Metapontini extemplo, metu, quo tenebantur, liberati, ad Hannibalem defecere.

Hoc idem eadem ora maris et Thurini fecerunt. Movit eos non Tarentinorum magis defectio Metapontinorumque, quibus, indidem ex Achaia⁵ oriundi, etiam cognatione juncti erant, quam ira in Romanos propter obsides nuper interfectos. Eorum amici cognatique literas ac nuntios ad Hannonem Magonemque, qui in propinquuo in Bruttis erant, miserunt, 'si exercitum ad mœnia admovissent, se in potestatem eorum urbem tradituros esse.' M. Atinius Thurii cum modico præsidio præterat: quem facile elici ad certamen temere ineundum rebantur posse; non militum⁶, quos per paucos habebat, fiducia, quam juventutis Thurinæ. Eam ex industria centuriaverat armaveratque ad tales casus. Divisis copiis inter se, duces Pœni quum agrum Thurinum ingressi essent, Hanno cum peditum agmine infestis signis ire ad urbem pergit. Mago cum equitatu, tectus collibus, ad tegendas insidias oppositis, subsistit. Atinius, peditum tantum agmine per exploratores comperto, in aciem copias educit, et fraudis intestinæ, et hostium insidiarum ignarus. Pedestre præclium fuit persegne, paucis in prima acie pugnantibus Romanis; Thurinis exspectantibus magis, quam adjuvantibus, eventum: et Carthaginiensium acies de industria pedem referebat, ut ad terga collis ab equite suo insessi hostem incautum pertraheret. Quo ubi ventum est, coorti cum clamore equites, prope inconditam Thurinorum⁷

³ *In portum Tarentinum &c.]* "Broke through the enemy's blockade into the harbour of," &c.

⁴ *Ulro.]* "On the contrary," i.e. inverting their positions.

⁵ *Indidem ex Achaia.]* "Having the same (like them, their) origin from Achaia."

⁶ *Non(tam)militum &c.]* "Through

confidence not so much in his soldiers, of whom he had very few, as in the young men of Thurii; for, these he had purposely disciplined (organized) and armed against such contingencies."

⁷ *Prope inconditam Thurinorum &c.]* "Immediately routed the almost undisciplined crowd of Thurians,

U.C. 542. turbam, nec satis fido animo, unde pugnabat, stantem, ex-
 A.C. 912. templo in fugam averterunt. Romani, quanquam circum-
 ventos hinc pedes, hinc eques urgebant, tamen aliquamdiu
 pugnam traxere. Postremo et ipsi terga vertunt, atque ad
 urbem fugiunt. Ibi proditores congregati, quum popularium
 agmen patentibus portis accepissent, ubi Romanos fusos ad
 urbem ferri viderunt, clamant, 'instare Pœnum, per-
 'mixtosque et hostes urbem invasuros, ni propere portas
 'claudant.' Ita exclusos Romanos præbuere hosti ad cæ-
 dem. Atinius tamen cum paucis receptus. Seditio inde
 paullisper tenuit; quum alii urbem tuendam, inde alii
 cedendum fortunæ, et tradendam urbem victoribus cense-
 rent. Ceterum, ut plerumque, fortuna et consilia mala⁸
 vicerunt: Atinio cum suis ad mare ac naves deducto, magis
 quia ipsi, ob imperium in se mite ac justum, consultum
 volebant, quam respectu Romanorum, Carthaginenses in
 urbem accipiunt.

Consules a Benevento in Campanum agrum legiones
 ducunt, non ad frumenta modo, quæ jam in herbis⁹ erant,
 corrumpenda, sed ad Capuam oppugnandam; nobilem se
 consulatum tam opulentæ urbis excidio rati facturos, simul
 et ingens flagitium imperio¹ dempturos, quod urbi tam pro-
 pinquæ tertium annum² impunita defectio esset. Ceterum,
 ne Beneventum sine præsidio esset, et ut ad subita belli³, si
 Hannibal (quod facturum haud dubitabant) ad opem feren-
 dam sociis Capuam venisset, equites vim sustinere possent,
 Ti. Gracchum ex Lucanis cum equitatu ac levi armatura
 Beneventum venire jubent: legionibus stativisque ad obti-
 nendas res⁴ in Lucanis aliquem præficeret. Gracchus,
 priusquam ex Lucanis moveret, sacrificanti triste prodigium
 factum est. Ad exta, sacrificio perpetrato, angues duo ex
 occulto allapsi, edere jecur, conspectique repente ex oculis
 abierunt. Id quum haruspicum monitu sacrificium instau-
 raretur, atque intentius exta resecta servarentur⁵: iterum ac

16. who did not even stand very faithfully by the party, on whose side they were fighting." For *prope, propere* has been suggested, "the hastily and imperfectly disciplined," &c.

⁸ *Fortuna et consilia mala* &c.] "Success, however, (i.e. the successful party) and treachery prevailed."

⁹ *Frumenta—quæ jam in herbis* &c.] The reading which Gronovius proposes to substitute for *in hibernis*, (adhuc tua messis in herbâ est, Ovid. Ep. 17, 263.) The number of operations undertaken be-

tween this time and the end of the campaign, proving that the early part of the summer was not yet past, supports this emendation.

¹ *Ingens agitum flimperio &c.*
 "The great national disgrace."

² *Tertium annum.*] The time was three whole years, together with the portions of two other incomplete years.

³ *Ad subita belli.*] "In the emergencies of the campaign."

⁴ *Ad obtinendas res.*] "To keep possession."

⁵ *Exta resecta servarentur.*]

tertium venisse tradunt, libatoque jecinore intactos angues ^{U. C. 542.} abiisse. Quum haruspices, ad imperatorem id pertinere ^{A. C. 212.} prodigium, præmonuissent, et ab occultis cavendum homini- bus consultisque⁶; nulla tamen providentia fatum imminens moveri potuit. Flavius Lucanus fuit, caput partis ejus Lucanorum, quum pars ad Hannibalem defecisset, quæ cum Romanis stabat: et jam anno in magistratu erat; ad iisdem illis creatus prætor. Is, mutata repente voluntate, locum gratiæ apud Poenum quærens, neque transire ipse, neque trahere ad defectionem Lucanos satis habuit, nisi imperatoris et ejusdem hospitis⁷ proditi capite ac sanguine foedus cum hostibus sanxisset. Ad Magonem, qui in Bruttis præerat, clam in colloquium venit: fideque ab eo accepta, si Romanum iis imperatorem tradidisset, liberos cum suis legibus venturos in amicitiam Lucanos; dedit Poenum in locum, quo erat cum paucis Gracchum adducturus⁸. Magonem ibi pedites equitesque armare, et capere eas latebras, ubi ingentem numerum occuleret, jubet. Loco satis inspecto atque undique explorato, dies composita gerendæ rei est. Flavius ad Romanum imperatorem venit: 'Rem se,' ait, 'magnam inchoasse, ad quam perficiendam ipsius Gracchi opera opus esse. Omnium populorum⁹ prætoribus, qui ad Poenum in illo communi Italiæ motu descissent, persuasisse, ut redirent in amicitiam Romanorum: quando res quoque Romana, quæ prope exitium clade Cannensi venisset, in dies melior atque auctior fieret; Hannibalis vis senesceret, ac prope ad nihilum venisset. Veteri delicto¹ haud implacabiles fore Romanos: nullam unquam gentem magis exorabilem, promptiorenmque veniæ dandæ fuisse. Quoties rebellioni etiam majorum suorum ignotum? Hæc ab se,' ait, 'dicta: ceterum ab ipso Graccho eadem hæc audire malle eos, præsentisque contingere dextram: id pignus fidei secum ferre. Locum se consiliis dixisse a conspectu amotum, haud procul a castris Romanis. Ibi paucis verbis transigi rem posse, ut omne nomen Lucanum in fide ac

"Though the opened victims were carefully guarded." Gronovius would read *extares ollæ servarentur*, "the sacrificial dishes."

⁶ *Occultis-hominibus consultisque.*] "Treacherous men and measures."

⁷ *Et ejusdem hospitis.*] "Who was also even his guest."

⁸ *Deducit Poenum in locum,— paucis Gracchum adducturus.*] "Conducted the Carthaginian to the place where he intended to bring Gracchus," &c. The emendation

proposed by Gronovius, in order to remove the harshness of this construction, is, *deducit Poenum, quo cum paucis Gracchum ait duaturum*, which makes much clearer sense. Another suggestion is, *in locum pacis Gracchum adducturus*, i. e. "to the scene of a treaty."

⁹ *Omnium populorum.*] i. e. Of the Lucanians.

¹ *Veteri delicto.*] "Their late offence;" or, "their usual and customary offence;" sc. cuius jam apud Lucanos inveterat consuetudo.

U.C. 542. 'societate Romana sit.' Gracchus, fraudem et sermoni et
 A.C. 312. rei abesse ratus, ac similitudine veri captus, cum lictoribus
 ac turma equitum e castris profectus, duce hospite in insidias
 præcipitatur. Hostes subito exorti: et, ne dubia proditio
 esset, Flavius his se adjungit. Tela undique in Gracchum
 atque equites conjiciuntur. Gracchus ex equo desilit: idem
 ceteros facere jubet, hortaturque, 'Ut, quod unum reliquum
 fortuna fecerit, id coherestent² virtute. Reliquum autem
 'quid esse paucis, a multitudine in valle silva ac montibus
 'sæpta circumventis, præter mortem? Id referre, utrum
 'præbentes corpora pecorum modo inulti trucidentur, an,
 'toto animo a patiendo exspectandoque eventu in impetum
 'atque iram verso, agentes audentesque, perfusi hostium
 'cruore, inter exspirantium inimicorum cumulata armaque
 'et corpora cadant. Lucanum proditorem ac transfugam
 'omnes peterent. Qui eam victimam præ se ad inferos
 'misisset, eum decus eximium³ egregiumque solatium suæ
 'morti inventurum.' Inter hæc dicta, paludamento circum
 lævum brachium intorto, (nam ne scuta quidem secum ex-
 tulerant) in hostes impetum fecit. Major, quam pro nu-
 mero hominum, editur pugna. Jaculis maxime aperta cor-
 pora Romanorum, et quum undique⁴ ex altioribus locis in
 cavam vallem conjectus esset, transfiguntur. Gracchum,
 jam nudatum præsidio, vivum capere Poeni nituntur.
 Ceterum ille, conspicatus Lucanum hospitem inter hostes,
 adeo infestus confertos invasit, ut parci ei sine multorum
 pernicie non posset. Exanimem eum Mago extemplo ad
 Hannibalem misit, ponique cum captis simul fascibus ante
 tribunal imperatoris jussit.

17. Hæc vera fama est⁵. Gracchus in Lucanis ad campos,
 qui Veteres vocantur, periiit. Sunt, qui in agro Beneven-
 tano, prope Calorem fluvium, ostendant⁶ a castris cum licto-
 ribus ac tribus servis lavandi causa progressum, quum
 forte inter salicta innata ripis laterent hostes, nudum atque
 inermem, saxisque, quæ volvit amnis, propugnantem⁷, inter-

² *Quod unum reliquum &c.—coherestent.]* "To signalise by their heroism the only alternative that fortune now allowed them," sc. their death.

³ *Eum decus eximum &c.]* "He would impart to his own death a peculiar honour and consolation."

⁴ *Et quum undique.]* "And also, because," &c.

⁵ *Hæc vera fama est.]* Which-ever of the accounts here given of the death and interment of Gracchus be true; it is certain that his

death at this particular juncture was an event of some importance to the course of the war: as it gave Capua a respite; and Capua the Romans were determined not to spare, not only for its reception of Hannibal, but for its presumption in aspiring to become, by Carthaginian influence, the metropolis of Italy.

⁶ *Ostendant.]* "Prove, demonstrate." Some editors suggest *contendant*.

⁷ *Saxisque—propugnantem.]* "Defending himself with the stones," &c.

fectum. Sunt, qui haruspicum monitu quingentos passus a U. C. 542. castris progressum, uti loco puro⁸ ea, quæ ante dicta pro- A. C. 212. digia sunt, procuraret, ab insidentibus forte locum duabus turmis Numidarum circumventum scribant. Adeo nec locus, nec ratio⁹ mortis in viro tam claro et insigni constat. Funeris quoque Gracchi varia est fama. Alii in castris Romanis sepultum ab suis, alii ab Hannibale (et ea vulgatior fama est) tradunt in vestibulo Punicorum castrorum rogum exstructum esse: armatum exercitum decucurrisse cum tripudiis Hispanorum, motibusque armorum et corporum¹ suæ cuique genti assuetis, ipso Hannibale omni rerum verborumque² honore exsequias celebrante. Haec tradunt, qui in Lucanis rei gestæ auctores sunt. Si illis, qui ad Calorem fluvium interfectum memorant, credere velis, capititis tantum Gracchi hostes potiti sunt. Eo delato ad Hannibalem, missus ab eo confestim Carthalo, qui in castra Romana ad Cn. Cornelium quæstorem deferret. Is funus imperatoris in castris, celebrantibus cum exercitu Beneventanis, fecit.

Consules, agrum Campanum ingressi, quum passim poplarentur, eruptione oppidanorum et Magonis cum equitatu territi et trepidi³, ad signa milites palatos passim revocarunt: et, vixdum instructa acie fusi, supra mille et quingentos milites amiserunt. Inde ingens ferocia⁴ superbæ suopte ingenio genti crevit, multisque præliis lacesebant Romanos: sed intentiores ad cavendum consules una pugna fecerat, incaute atque inconsulte inita. Restituit tamen his animos, et illis minuit audaciam, parva una res. Sed in bello nihil tam leve⁵ est, quod non magnæ interdum rei momentum faciat. T. Quinctio Crispino Badius Campanus hospes erat, perfamiliari hospitio junctus. Creverat consuetudo, quod⁶ æger Romæ apud Crispinum Badius ante defectionem Campanam liberaliter comiterque curatus fue-

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⁸ *Loco puro.*] sc. From snakes, “unpolluted ground.”

³ *Territi et trepidi.*] “Alarmed and disconcerted.”

⁹ *Adeo nec locus, nec ratio &c.*] So uncertain are both the place and manner of death, in the case of,” &c.

⁴ *Inde ingens ferocia, &c.*] “In consequence of this, the arrogance of a people constitutionally vain rose to a great height; and they began to harass the Romans,” &c.

¹ *Motibusque armorum et corporum &c.*] “With the customary clashing of arms and gestures of the several tribes.” For *cuique*, *quemque* has been proposed as an emendation; i. e. “each with his national,” &c. but the original reading is more consecutive.

⁵ *Sed in bello nihil tam leve, &c.*] “But, in war, nothing is so unimportant that it may not exercise an influence of serious moment.”

² *Omni rerum verborumque &c.*] “With all the honours of ceremony and speech.”

⁶ *Creverat consuetudo, quod.*] (sc. ex eo quod.) “Their intimacy had grown from the fact, that Badius, having fallen sick in Rome, had been generously and courteously nursed in the house of Crispinus.”

U. C. 542. rat. Tum Badius, progressus ante stationes, quæ pro
 A. C. 212. porta stabant, vocari Crispinum jussit. Quod ubi est
 Crispino nuntiatum, ratus colloquium amicum ac familiare
 quæri, manente memoria⁷, etiam in discidio publicorum
 foederum, privati juris, paullum a ceteris processit. Post-
 quam in conspectum venere, 'Provoco te,' inquit, 'ad pug-
 'nam, Crispine,' Badius: 'conscendamus equos, summotis-
 'que alii, uter bello melior sit, decernamus.' Ad ea Cris-
 pinus, 'Nec sibi, nec illi,' ait, 'hostes deesse, in quibus vir-
 'tutem ostendant: se, etiamsi in acie⁸ occurrat, declinatu-
 'rum, ne hospitali cæde dextram violet;' conversusque
 abibat. Enimvero ferocius tum Campanus incrèpare mol-
 litiem ignaviamque, et se digna⁹ probra in insontem jacere,
 'hospitalem hostem' appellans, 'simulantemque parcere,
 'cui sciat parem se non esse. Si parum publicis foederibus
 'ruptis dirempta simul et privata jura esse putet, Badium
 'Campanum T. Quintio Crispino Romano palam, duobus
 'exercitibus audientibus, renuntiare hospitium. Nihil sibi
 'cum eo consociatum¹⁰, nihil foederatum hosti cum hoste,
 'cujus patriam ac penates publicos privatosque oppugnatum
 'venisset. Si vir esset, congrederetur.' Diu cunctantem
 Crispinum perpulere turmales, ne impune insultare Cam-
 panum pateretur. Itaque tantum moratus, dum impera-
 tores consuleret, permitterentne sibi extra ordinem in pro-
 vocantem hostem pugnare, permissu eorum arma cepit,
 equumque concendit, et Badium, nomine compellans, ad
 pugnam evocavit. Nulla mora a Campano facta est: in-
 festis equis concurrerunt. Crispinus supra scutum sini-
 strum humerum Badio hasta transfixit, superque delapsum
 cum vulnere ex equo desiluit, ut pedes jacentem conficeret.
 Badius, priusquam opprimeretur, parma atque equo relicto,
 ad suos aufugit. Crispinus, equum, armaque capta, et
 cruentam cuspidem insignis spoliis ostentans, cum magna
 laude et gratulatione militum, ad consules est deductus,
 laudatusque ibi magnifice, et donis donatus.

19. Hannibal ex agro Beneventano castra ad Capuam quum
 movisset, tertio post die, quam venit, copias in aciem
 eduxit: haudquaquam dubius, quod³ Campanis, absente se,

⁷ *Manente memorid, &c.]* "As i. e. such as might be expected from him.

¹ *Hospitalem hostem.]* "A friendly enemy." The term appears to convey a sneer, explained by the words following.

² *Nihil sibi cum eo consociatum, &c.]* "No reciprocity of interest or obligation."

³ *Haudquaquam dubius, quod, &c.]*

⁸ *Se, etiamsi in acie, &c.]* "That, for his own part, even if he were to meet him in battle, he would turn aside, not to stain his hand," &c.

⁹ *Se digna.]* "Applicable to himself;" or, "suited to his character;"

paucos ante dies secunda fuisse pugna, quin multo minus U. C. 542.
se suumque toties victorem exercitum sustinere Romani A. C. 212.
possent. Ceterum, postquam pugnari coeptum est, equitum
maxime incursu⁴, quum jaculis obrueretur, laborabat Romana
acies: donec signum equitibus datum est, ut in hostem ad-
mitterent equos. Ita equestre prælium erat; quum pro-
cul visus Sempronianus exercitus, cui Cn. Cornelius quæ-
stor præerat, utriusque parti parem metum præbuit, ne hostes
novi adventarent. Velut ex composito utrimque signum
receptui datum: reductique in castra prope æquo Marte
discesserunt. Plures tamen ab Romanis primo incursu
equitum ceciderunt.

Inde consules, ut averterent Capua Hannibalem, nocte,
qua secuta est, diversi, Fulvius in agrum Cumanum,
Claudius in Lucanos abiit. Postero die, quum vacua castra
esse Romanorum nuntiatum Hannibali esset, et duobus
agminibus diversos abiisse; incertus primo, utrum sequere-
tur, Appium institut sequi. Ille, circumducto hoste, qua
voluit, alio itinere ad Capuam rediit. Hannibali alia in
his locis bene gerendæ rei fortuna oblata est. M. Cente-
nius fuit⁵ cognomine Penula, insignis inter primi pili centu-
riones et magnitudine corporis et animo. Is, perfunctus
militia, per P. Cornelium Sullam prætorem in senatum in-
troduced, petit a Patribus, uti sibi quinque millia militum
darentur. 'Se, peritum et hostis et regionum, brevi opera
' pretium facturum; et, quibus artibus ad id locorum nostri
' et duces et exercitus capti forent, iis adversus inventorem
' usurum.' Id non promissum magis stolide, quam stolide
credimus: tanquam eædem⁶ militares et imperatoriae artes
essent. Data, pro quinque, octo millia militum; pars
dimidia cives, pars socii: et ipse aliquantum voluntariorum
itinere in agris concivit, ac, prope duplicitate exercitu, in
Lucanos pervenit; ubi Hannibal, nequicquam secutus
Claudium, substiterat. Haud dubia res est⁷, quippe inter
Hannibalem ducem et centurionem, exercitusque, alterum
vincendo veteranum, alterum novum totum, magna ex parte
etiam tumultuarium ac semiermem. Ut conspecta inter se

Here *dubius* is followed immediately by *quin*, the words from *quod to pugna* inclusive being parenthetic. "Feeling no doubt that, as the engagement a few days before, in his absence, had been favourable to the Campanians, the Romans would be far less able to," &c.

⁴ *Equitum maxime incursu, &c.*] "It was by the assault of the cavalry especially," &c.

⁵ *M. Centenius fuit, &c.*] "There

was a M. Centenius, surnamed *Penula.*"

⁶ *Tanquam eædem, &c.*] "As if the talents of the soldier and of the commander were identical."

⁷ *Haud dubia res est, &c.*] "There could be no doubt of the difference between Hannibal and the Centurion as leaders; and between their armies, the one grown old in winning victories, the other," &c.

U.C. 542. agmina sunt, et neutra pars detectavit pugnam, extemplo
 A.C. 312. instructæ acies. Pugnatum tamen, ut in nulla pari re⁸,
 duas amplius horas, concitata et, donec dux stetisset, Ro-
 manæ acie. Postquam is, non pro vetere fama solum, sed
 etiam metu futuri dedecoris, si sua temeritate contractæ
 cladi superesset, objectans se hostium telis, cecidit; fusa
 extemplo est Romana acies. Sed adeo ne fugæ quidem⁹
 iter patuit, omnibus viis ab equite insessis, ut ex tanta mul-
 titudine vix mille evaserint; ceteri passim, alii alia peste,
 assumpti sint.

20. Capua a consulibus iterum summa vi obsideri cœpta est:
 quæque in eam rem opus erant, comportabantur paraban-
 turque. Casilinum frumentum convectum: ad Vulturii
 ostium, ubi nunc urbs est¹, castellum communatum: (ante
 Fabius Maximus munierat) præsidium impositum, ut mare
 proximum et flumen in potestate essent. In ea duo mari-
 tima castella frumentum, quod ex Sardinia nuper missum
 erat, quodque M. Junius prætor ex Etruria coemerat, ab
 Ostia convectum est, ut exercitui per hiemem copia esset.
 Ceterum super eam cladem, quæ in Lucanis accepta erat,
 volonum quoque exercitus, qui, vivo Graccho, summa fide
 stipendia fecerat, velut exauktoratus² morte ducis, ab signis
 discessit.

Hannibal non Capuam neglectam, neque, ut tanto dis-
 crimine, desertos volebat socios: sed, prospero ex temer-
 itate unius Romani ducis successu, in alterius ducis exerci-
 tusque opprimendi occasionem imminebat³. Cn. Fulvium
 prætorem Apuli legati nuntiabant, primo, dum urbes quas-
 dam Apulorum, quæ ad Hannibalem descivissent, oppug-
 naret, intentius rem egresso: postea nimio successu et ip-
 sum et milites, præda impletos, in tantam licentiam⁴ socor-
 diamque effusos, ut nulla disciplina militiæ esset. Quum
 sæpe alias, tum paucis diebus ante expertus, qualis sub

⁸ *Pugnatum tamen, ut in nulla pari re, &c.]* “The engagement, however,—such as it was, in the absence of all circumstances of equality, —lasted during two hours; the Roman front having even advanced, so long as their leader survived.”

⁹ *Adeo ne fugæ quidem, &c.]* “So little egress was practicable, even for flight,” &c.

¹ *Ad Vulturii ostium, ubi nunc urbs est, &c.]* The city here alluded to must be Puteoli, the site of which derived its importance from the circumstances of the war in Campania. As long as the Romans commanded

the sea, and carried on hostilities against Capua, a port, at the mouth of the Vulturius, must have been desirable. (See l. xxiv. c. 7.) Some editors accordingly insert *Puteolis* before the parenthesis.

² *Velut exauktoratus.]* “Suppos-
 ing themselves released,” &c.

³ *In — occasionem imminebat.]*
 “Was watching an opportunity.” The dative is the more usual case after *imminere*.

⁴ *In tantam licentiam, &c.]* “Had broken loose into such a degree of insubordination and carelessness.”

inscio duce exercitus esset, in Apuliam castra movit. Circa U.C. 542.
 Herdoneam Romanæ legiones et prætor Fulvius erant. A.C. 212.
 Quo ubi allatum est, hostes adventare, prope est factum, ut 21.
 injussu prætoris signis convulsis in aciem exirent. Nec res
 ulla magis tenuit, quam spes haud dubia, suo id arbitrio,
 ubi vellent, acturos. Nocte in sequenti Hannibal, quum
 tumultuatum in castris, et plerosque ferociter, signum ut
 daret, institisse duci ad arma vocantes sciret, haud dubius
 prosperæ pugnæ occasionem dari, tria millia expeditorum
 militum in villis circa, vepribusque et silvis disponit, qui,
 signo dato, simul omnes e latebris existerent⁴: et Magonem
 ac duo ferme millia equitum, qua fugam inclinaturam cre-
 debat, omnia itinera insidere jubet. His nocte præparatis,
 prima luce in aciem copias educit. Nec Fulvius est cunc-
 tatus, non tam sua ulla spe⁵, quam militum impetu fortuito
 tractus. Itaque eadem temeritate, qua processum in aciem
 est, instruitur ipsa acies ad libidinem militum⁶ forte procur-
 rentium consistentiumque, quo loco ipsorum tulisset animus,
 deinde per libidinem aut metum deserentium locum. Prima
 legio et sinistra ala in primo instructæ, et in longitudinem
 porrecta acies. Clamantibus tribunis, 'nihil introrsus ro-
 'boris ac virium esse, et, quacunque impetum fecisset hostis,
 'perrupturos:' nihil, quod salutare esset, non modo ad
 animum, sed ne ad aures quidem admittebant. Et Hanni-
 bal, haudquaquam similis dux, neque simili exercitu, neque
 ita instructo aderat. Ergo ne clamorem quidem atque im-
 petum primum eorum Romani sustinuere. Dux, stultitia
 et temeritate Centenio par, animo nequaquam comparandus,
 ubi rem inclinatam ac trepidantes suos vidi, equo arrepto
 cum ducentis ferme equitibus effugit: cetera a fronte pulsa,
 a tergo atque alis circumventa acies, eo usque est cæsa, ut
 ex duodeviginti millibus hominum, duo millia haud amplius
 evaserint. Castris hostes potiti sunt.

22.

Hæ clades, super aliam alia, Romam quum essent nuntiatae, ingens quidem et luctus et pavor civitatem cepit: sed tamen, quia consules, ubi summa rerum⁸ esset, ad id locorum prospere rem gererent, minus his cladibus commovebantur. Legatos ad consules mittunt C. Lætorium, M.

⁴ *Simul omnes—existerent.*] "Were to start up suddenly, all at the same moment." This meaning of *existerere* is aptly illustrated by Cicero; "Qua Ditem patrem ferent repente extitisse." *Verr.* iv. 48.

⁵ *Non tam sed ulla spe, &c.*] "Urged, not so much by any hope of his own, as by the blind eagerness of the troops."

⁶ *Ad libidinem militum, &c.*] "According to the caprice of the soldiers, who hurried forward promiscuously, and took their places &c. and who afterwards, through caprice or fear, forsook," &c.

⁸ *Ubi summa rerum, &c.*] "At the principal scene of operations;" sc. the siege of Capua.

U. C. 542. *Metilium, qui nuntiarent, ut reliquias duorum exercituum*
A. C. 212. *cum cura colligerent: darentque operam, ne per metum ac*
desperationem hosti se dederent, id quod post Cannensem
accidisset cladem, et ut desertores de exercitu volonum con-
quirerent. Idem negotii P. Cornelio datum, cui et delec-
tus mandatus erat: isque per fora conciliabulaque edixit,
ut conquisitio volonum fieret, iisque ad signa reducerentur.
Hæc omnia intentissima cura acta.

Ap. Claudius consul, D. Junio ad ostium Vulturni, M. Aurelio Cotta Puteolis præposito, qui, ut quæque naves ex Etruria ac Sardinia accessissent, extemplo in castra mitterent frumentum; ipse ad Capuam regressus Q. Fulvius collegam invenit Casilini, omnia inde portantem molientesque ad oppugnandam Capuam. Tum ambo circumsederunt urbem, et Claudium Neronem prætorem ab Suesula ex Claudianis castris⁹ exciverunt. Is quoque, modico ibi præsidio ad tenendum locum relicto, ceteris omnibus copiis ad Capuam descendit. Ita tria præatoria circa Capuam erecta, tres et exercitus, diversis partibus opus aggressi, fossa valloque circumdare urbem parant, et castella excitant modicis intervallis: multisque simul locis cum prohibentibus opera Campanis eo eventu pugnant, ut postremo portis muroque se contineret Campanus. Prius tamen, quam hæc continuarentur opera¹, legati ad Hannibalem missi, qui quererentur, desertam ab eo Capuam, ac prope redditam Romanis: obtestarenturque, ut tunc saltem opem non circumcessis modo, sed etiam circumvallatis, ferret. Consulibus literæ a P. Cornelio prætore missæ, ‘Ut, priusquam clauderent Capuam operibus, potestatem Campanis facerent, ut, qui eorum vellent, exirent ab Capua, suasque res secum auferrent. Liberos fore suaque omnia habituros, qui ante Idus Martias exissent: post eam diem quique exissent, quique ibi mansissent, hostium futuros numero.’ Ea pronuntiata Campanis, atque ita spreta, ut ultro dicerent contumelias, minarenturque. Hannibal ab Herdonea Tarentum duxerat legiones; spe, aut vi, aut dolo, arcis Tarentinæ potiundæ. Quod ubi parum processit, ad Brundisium flexit iter, prodi id oppidum ratus. Ibi quoque quum frustra tereret tempus, legati Campani ad eum venerunt, querentes simul, orantesque: quibus Hannibal magnifice respondit², et antea solvisse obsidionem, et nunc adventum suum consules non laturos. Cum hac spe dimissi legati, vix regredi Capuam, jam dupli fossa valloque cinctam, potuerunt.

⁹ *Claudianis castris.*] The camp circumvallation could be completed.”
 of Marcellus.

¹ *Continuerentur opera.*] “The an ostentatious reply.”

² *Magnifice respondit.*] “Made

Quum maxime³ Capua circumvallaretur, Syracusarum U.C. 542.
 oppugnatio ad finem venit, præterquam vi ac virtute ducis A.C. 212.
 exercitusque, intestina etiam proditione adjuta. Namque
 Marcellus initio veris incertus, utrum Agrigentum ad
 Himilconem et Hippocratem verteret bellum, an obsidione
 Syracusas premeret, quanquam nec vi⁴ capi videbat posse
 inexpugnabilem terrestri ac maritimo situ urbem, nec fame,
 quam prope liberi ab Carthagine commeatus alerent, tamen,
 ne quid inexpertum relinqueret, tranfugas Syracusanos
 (erant autem apud Romanos aliqui nobilissimi viri, inter
 defectionem ab Romanis, quia ab novis consiliis abhorrebat,
 pulsi) colloquiis suæ partis tentare hominum animos jussit,
 et fidem dare, si traditæ forent Syracusæ, liberos eos ac
 suis legibus victuros esse. Non erat colloquii copia, quia
 multorum animi suspecti⁵ omnium curam oculosque conver-
 terant, ne quid falleret tale admissum. Servus unus exsu-
 lum, pro transfuga intromissus in urbem, conventis paucis,
 initium colloquendi de tali re fecit. Deinde in piscatoria
 quidam navi, retibus operti, circumvectique ita ad castra
 Romana, collocutique cum transfugis: et idem sæpius
 eodem modo alii atque alii. Postremo ad octoginta facti.
 Et, quum jam composita omnia ad proditionem essent, in-
 dicio delato ad Epicydem per Attalum quendam, indignan-
 tem sibi rem creditam non esse, necati omnes cum cruciatu-
 sunt. Alia subinde spes, postquam hæc vana evaserat,
 excepit. Damippus quidam Lacedæmonius, missus ab
 Syracusis ad Philippum regem, captus ab Romanis navibus
 erat. Hujus utique redimendi et Epicydæ cura erat
 ingens; nec abnuit⁶ Marcellus, jam tum Ætolorum, cuius
 gentis socii Lacedæmonii erant, amicitiam affectantibus
 Romanis. Ad colloquium de⁷ redemptione ejus missis,
 medius maxime atque utrisque opportunus locus, ad portum

³ *Quum maximè.*] "Just at the time when."

ments of many persons, had awakened the attention and vigilance," &c.

⁴ *Quanquam nec vi.*] From these words to *tamen* inclusive, is a parenthesis. The following clause also is rather intricate: sc. "Still, in order to have no expedient untried, he desired the Syracusan refugees (for there were, at that time, some men of the highest rank with the Romans, having been banished, during the revolt from the Roman interest, because they were averse from revolutionary views) to sound the inclinations," &c.

⁶ *Et Epicydæ cura &c.—nec abnuit.*] In order to maintain the sequence of *et* and *nec*, the latter must be resolved in translation; sc. "The release of this man in particular was a matter of considerable anxiety to Epicydes, and not refused by Marcellus."

⁵ *Quia multorum animi suspecti.*] "Because a suspicion of the senti-

⁷ *Ad colloquium de &c.*] "To the parties deputed to a conference respecting his ransom, the most neutral and mutually convenient place appeared to be at the harbour," &c.

U.C. 542. *Trogiliorum, propter turrim, quam vocant Galeagram*⁸, est
 A.C. 212. *visus. Quo quum sæpius commearent*⁹, unus ex Romanis,
 ex propinquo murum contemplatus, numerando lapides,
 aestimandoque ipse secum, quid in fronte paterent singuli¹,
 altitudinem muri, quantum proxime conjectura poterat,
 permensus, humilioremque aliquanto pristina opinione sua
 et ceterorum omnium ratus esse, et vel mediocribus scalis
 superabilem, ad Marcellum rem defert. Haud spernenda
 visa. Sed, quum adiri locus, qui ob id ipsum intentius
 custodiebatur, non posset, occasio quærebatur: quam ob-
 tulit transfuga, nuntians, diem festum Dianæ per triduum
 agi, et, quia alia in obsidione desint, vino largius epulas
 celebrari, et ab Epicyde præbito universæ plebei, et per
 tribus a principibus diviso. Id ubi accepit Marcellus, cum
 paucis tribunorum militum collocutus, electisque per eos
 ad rem tantam agendam audendamque idoneis centurioni-
 bus militibusque, et scalis in occulto comparatis, ceteris
 signum dari jubet, ut mature corpora curarent, quietique
 darent: nocte in expeditionem eundum esse. Inde ubi id
 temporis visum, quo de die epulatis² jam vini satias prin-
 cipiumque somni esset, signi unius milites³ ferre scalas
 jussit; et ad mille fere armati tenui agmine per silentium
 eo deducti. Ubi sine strepitu ac tumultu primi evaserunt
 in murum, secuti ordine alii; quum priorum audacia
 dubiis etiam animum faceret. Jam mille armatorum⁴ cepe-
 rant partem, quum ceteræ admotæ, pluribusque scalis in
 murum evadebant, signo ab Hexapylō dato; quo per in-
 gentem solitudinem erat perventum, quia magna pars, in
 turribus epulati, aut sopiti vino erant, aut semigraves po-
 tabant. Paucos tamen eorum oppressos in cubilibus inter-
 fecerunt. Prope Hexapylon est portula magna vi refrangi
 coepit; et e muro ex composito tuba datum signum erat.
 Et jam undique, non furtim, sed vi aperta, gerebatur res:
 quippe ad Epipolas⁵, frequentem custodiis locum, perventum

⁸ *Portum Trogiliorum—Galea-gram.*] This harbour lay to the east of Tyche, and south of the point where the Athenians had made their second landing. The tower, Galeagra, stood on the wall of Dionysius, just inside the harbour. Its site is covered at present by a heap of stones.

⁹ *Quo quum sæpius commearent.*] “And, as they frequently repaired thither.”

¹ *Quid in fronte paterent singuli.*] “The breadth of each across the

surface.”

² *De die epulatis.*] “After feasting from an early hour.”

³ *Signi unius milites.*] “The men of one company,” or, manipulus, (*σημαῖα*.)

⁴ *Jam mille armatorum &c.*] “The thousand men” (mentioned above) “had already effected a partial capture, when the rest of the ladders were applied; and they began to step on the walls,” &c.

⁵ *Ad Epipolas.*] The eminence—so called, according to Thueydides,

erat, terrendique magis hostes erant, quam fallendi; sicut U. C. 542.
terrati sunt. Nam simul ac tubarum est auditus cantus,
A. C. 212. clamorque tenentium muros partemque urbis; omnia teneri
custodes rati, alii per murum fugere, alii salire de muro,
præcipitarique turba paventium. Magna pars tamen
ignara tanti mali erat, et gravatis omnibus vino somnoque,
et, in vastæ magnitudinis urbe, partium sensu non satis
pertinente in omnia. Sub luce, Hexapylō effracto, Mar-
cellus, omnibus copiis urbem ingressus, excitavit convertit-
que omnes ad arma capienda, opemque, si quam possent,
jam captæ prope urbi ferendam. Epicydes, ab Insula,
quam ipsi Nason vocant, citato profectus agmine, haud
dubius, quin paucos, per negligentiam custodum trans-
gressos murum, expulsurus foret, occurrentibus pavidis⁶, tu-
multum augere eos, dictitans, et majora ac terribilia vero
afferre, postquam conspexit omnia circa Epipolas armis
completa, lacesito tantum hoste paucis missilibus, retro in
Achradinam agmen convertit, non tam vim multitudinem
que hostium metuens, quam ne qua intestina fraus per oc-
casionem oriatur, clausasque inter tumultum Achradinæ
atque Insulæ inveniret portas. Marcellus, ut, moenia⁷ in-
gressus, ex superioribus locis urbem, omnium ferme illa
tempestate pulcherrimam, subiectam oculis vidit, illacri-
masse dicitur, partim gaudio tantæ perpetratae rei, partim

ἢ τὸ ἐπιτόλης (above the level)
τοῦ ἄλλου εἴναι—originally stood out-
side the city, but was included
within the eastern wall erected by
Dionysius.

⁶ *Occurrentibus pavidis &c.*] “As-
serting, when the fugitives met him,
that they were aggravating the
alarm and exaggerating the danger;
on seeing, however,” &c.

⁷ *Marcellus, ut, moenia &c.*] “When Marcellus, having passed
within the walls, saw from the
higher ground all the city, the most
magnificent of that time, spread out
beneath his view; it is said that he
was moved to tears, partly through
joy at the success of so great an
enterprise, partly for the ancient
glories of the city. The sinking of
the Athenian fleets, the extermi-
nation of two mighty armies with
their two most eminent commanders,
arose before his mental view; and
all the wars waged against Carthage,
with all their vicissitudes; all its
monarchs and kings with all their

power; Hiero especially, the most
recently renowned, and, above all
else, that his merit and good fortune
had given him, distinguished by his
generosity to the Roman people.
When all this passed in review be-
fore him; and the reflection sug-
gested itself, that all, in the course
of an hour, would be on fire and
reduced to ashes; before moving his
troops toward Acradina, he sent
forward the Syracusans, who were,
as already stated, in the Roman
camp, to prevail upon the enemy, by
gentle remonstrances, to surrender
the city.”

This last statement agrees only
with the account of the transaction
furnished by Marcellus himself;
for, the Syracusan ambassadors sub-
sequently represented to the Senate
(l. xxvi. 30.) that he had refused
repeated offers, of their own nobility,
to surrender the city; in order that
an assault might afford a pretext
for plunder and bloodshed.

U.C. 542. *vetusta gloria urbis.* Atheniensium classes demersæ, et **A.C. 212.** *duo ingentes exercitus cum duobus clarissimis ducibus* deleti, occurabant, et tot bella cum Carthaginiensibus tanto cum discrimine gesta; tot tam opulentí tyranni regesque; præter ceteros Hiero, quum recentissimæ memoræ rex, tum ante omnia, quæ virtus ei fortunaque sua dederat, beneficiis in populum Romanum insignis. Ea quum universa occurrerent animo, subiretque cogitatio, jam illa momento horæ arsura omnia, et ad cineres reditura; priusquam signa Achradinam admoveret, præmittit Syracusanos, qui intra præsidia Romana, ut ante dictum est, fuerant, ut alloquio leni pellicerent hostes ad dedendam urbem.

25. Tenebant Achradinæ portas murosque maxime trans fugæ, quibus nulla erat per conditiones veniæ spes: ii nec adire muros, nec alloqui quemquam passi. Itaque Marcellus, postquam id incepit irritum fuit, ad Euryalum signa referri⁸ jussit. Tumulus est in extrema parte urbis versus a mari⁹, viæque imminens ferenti in agros mediterraneaque insulæ, percommode situs ad commeatus excipiendo. Præerat huic arcî¹ Philodemus Argivus, ab Epicyde impositus. Ad quem missus a Marcello Sosis, unus ex interactoribus tyranni, quum, longo sermone habitu, dilatus per frustrationem esset, retulit Marcello, tempus eum ad deliberandum sumpsisse. Quum is diem de die differret, dum Hippocrates atque Himilco admoverent castra legionesque, haud dubius, si in arcem accepisset eos, deleri Romanum exercitum inclusum muris posse; Marcellus, ut Euryalum neque tradi², neque capi vidi posse, inter Neapolim et Tycham (nomina partium urbis, et instar urbium³ sunt) posuit castra, timens, ne, si frequentia intrasset loca,

⁸ *Ad Euryalum signa referri* &c.] It will be remembered, that the assailants had made their first entrance over the wall of Dionysius which runs on the east side of the city, from the sea to the Hexapylon, which is the apex of the triangle formed by the ancient city. It appears that they now followed the line of the wall, up the inclination of the hill, until they reached the northern point, which commanded the entrance to Syracuse on the land side. It will be very desirable to refer to a Map of Syracuse, when studying these movements. (See also Thucydides, vi. 97.)

⁹ *Versus a mari* &c.] "Looking from the sea, and commanding the

road leading to," &c.

¹ *Præerat huic arcî.*] "The commander of this fortress was Philodemus, appointed by Epicydes. And Sosis, one of the regicides, sent to him by Marcellus, after a long interview, and having lost time in successive disappointments, brought word to Marcellus that he (sc. Philodemus) had taken time to consider."

² *Ut Euryalum neque tradi* &c.] "Finding that the Eur. neither would be surrendered nor could be taken," lit. was undergoing neither a surrender nor a capture.

³ *Instar urbium.*] "On the scale of cities."

contineri ab discursu miles avidus prædæ non posset. U. C. 542.
 Legati eo ab Tycha et Neapoli cum infulis et velamentis A. C. 212.
 venerunt, precantes, ut a cædibus et ab incendiis parceretur. De quorum precibus, quam postulatis, magis consilio habito, Marcellus ex omnium sententia edixit militibus, 'ne quis liberum corpus violaret: cetera prædæ "futura." Castraque tectis parietum pro muro sæpta⁴. Portis regione platearum patentibus stationes præsidiaque dispositi, ne quis in discursu militum impetus in castra fieri posset. Inde, signo dato, milites discurrerunt: refractisque foribus, quum omnia terrore ac tumultu streperent, a cædibus tamen temperatum est. Rapinis nullus ante modus fuit, quam omnia diuturna felicitate cumulata⁵ bona egesse. Inter hæc et Philodemus, quum spes auxilii nulla esset, fide accepta ut inviolatus ad Epicydem rediret, deducto præsidio, tradidit tumulum Romanis. Aversis omnibus ad tumultum⁶ ex parte captæ urbis, Bomilcar, noctem eam nactus, qua propter vim tempestatis stare ad ancoram in salo Romana classis non posset, cum triginta quinque navibus ex portu Syracusano profectus, libero mari vela in altum dedit, quinque et quinquaginta navibus Epicydæ et Syracusanis relictis: edocisque Carthaginiensibus, in quanto res Syracusana discriminare esset, cum centum navibus post paucos dies redit, multis, ut fama est, donis ex Hieronis gaza ab Epicyde donatus.

Marcellus, Euryalo recepto præsidioque addito, una cura erat liber, ne qua ab tergo vis hostium in arcem accepta inclusos impeditosque mœnibus suos turbaret.

26.

⁴ *Castraque tectis parietum pro muro sæpta.*] The obvious meaning is, that the camp, instead of being surrounded by the usual entrenchment, was enclosed and defended by the adjacent buildings; but the difficulty lies in the syntax. If *castra sæpta* could be regarded as a nom. absolute (anacolouthon), the difficulty would be partially removed: but, as this view would scarcely accord with the Latin idiom, various emendations have been proposed. Gronovius would understand *tecta parietum* in the sense of *parietes tegentes*, or substitute *tectorum parietibus*. The latter phrase is the more suitable in prose; but neither removes the difficulty in the construction, which can be evaded only by reading, with some other editors, *castris septis*; or, under-

standing *sunt* after *sæpta*.

⁵ *Diuturna felicitate cumulata &c.*] "The accumulated treasures of a long prosperity."

⁶ *Aversis omnibus ad tumultum &c.*] "While all had their attention engrossed by the uproar of the partly-taken (half-taken) city; taking advantage of a night, in which," &c. One can scarcely suppress the feeling, that there was a harshness, amounting to ingratitude, in the devastation and plundering of Syracuse. The fact that it was the city of Hiero, and that it owed much of its power and magnificence to the wisdom of the man who had been so faithful and so generous an ally, should have suggested to the conquerors, if not the justice, at least the good taste, of sparing its decorations and public property.

U. C. 542. Achradinam inde, trinis castris per idonea dispositis loca,
A. C. 212. spe ad inopiam omnium rerum inclusos redacturum, circum-
 cumsedit. Quum per aliquot dies quietæ stationes utri-
 que fuissent, repente adventus Hippocratis et Himilconis,
 ut ultro undique oppugnarentur Romani⁷, fecit. Nam et
 Hippocrates, castris ad magnum portum communitis, signo-
 que iis dato, qui Achradinam tenebant, castra vetera Ro-
 manorum⁸ adortus est, quibus Crispinus præerat; et Epi-
 cydes eruptionem in stationes Marcelli fecit: et classis
 Punica litori, quod inter urbem et castro Romana erat, ap-
 pulsa est; ne quid præsidii Crispino summitti a Marcello
 posset. Tumultum tamen majorem hostes præbuerunt,
 quam certamen. Nam et Crispinus Hippocratem non re-
 pulit tantum munimentis, sed insecutus etiam est trepide
 fugientem; et Epicydem Marcellus in urbem compulit:
 satisque jam etiam in posterum videbatur provisum, ne
 quid ab repentinis eorum excursionibus periculi foret.
 Accessit et pestilentia, commune malum, quod facile utro-
 rumque animos averteret⁹ a belli consiliis. Nam tempore
 auctumni, et locis natura gravibus, multo tamen magis
 extra urbem¹⁰, quam in urbe, intoleranda vis sestus per
 utraque castra omnium ferme corpora movit. Et primo
 temporis ac loci vito² et ægri erant, et moriebantur: postea
 curatio ipsa et contactus ægrorum vulgabat morbos: ut
 aut neglecti desertique³, qui incidissent, morerentur, aut
 assidentes curantesque eadem vi morbi repletos secum tra-
 herent: quotidianaque funera et mors ob oculos esset, et
 undique dies noctesque ploratus audirentur. Postremo ita
 assuetudine mali⁴ efferaverant animos, ut non modo lacrimis

⁷ *Ut ultro undique oppugnarentur Romani, &c.]* “Had the effect, that, by an inversion of their positions, the Romans were,” &c.

⁸ *Castra vetera Romanorum]* i. e. the camp occupied at the commencement of the siege by Marcellus, and resigned by him to Crispinus after the expedition to Leontini. (See l. xxiv. 39.)

⁹ *Quod facile—animos averteret &c.]* “Such as might easily direct the attention,” &c. In English we would say, “to divert their attention, as it was well calculated to do, from,” &c.

¹⁰ *Magis extra urbem.]* It would appear that the malaria fever was always less felt *in* ancient cities than immediately outside; because the narrow streets were so shaded

by the high houses, that the air was cooler than in the suburbs.

² *Temporis ac loci vito.]* “The unhealthiness of the season and the place.”

³ *Ut aut neglegi desertique.]* “That they, who fell sick, either died neglected and forsaken, or, involved with themselves those who visited and nursed them, by the infection,” &c. (See Thucyd. ii. 52.)

⁴ *Postremo, ita assuetudine mali &c.]* “At length, by familiarity with suffering, they had so hardened their hearts, that they not only ceased to follow the dead with tears and the usual expressions of sorrow, but even to remove or bury them; while the lifeless bodies lay extended within view of those who anticipated,

justoque comploratu prosequerentur mortuos, sed ne effer- U. C. 542.
rent quidem, aut sepelirent, jacerentque strata exanima A. C. 212.
corpora in conspectu similem mortem exspectantium; mor-
tuique ægros, ægri validos, quem metu, tum tabe ac pe-
stifero odore corporum, conficerent: et, ut ferro potius
morerentur, quidam invadebant soli hostium stationes.
Multo tamen vis major pestis Pœnorum castra, quam Ro-
mana, (diu circumsedendo Syracusas, coelo aquisque as-
suerant magis) affecerat. Ex hostium exercitu Siculi, ut
primum videre ex gravitate loci vulgari morbos, in suas
quisque propinquas urbes dilapsi sunt. At Carthagin-
enses, quibus nusquam receptus erat, cum ipsis ducibus
Hippocrate atque Himilcone, ad internecionem omnes per-
ierunt. Marcellus, ut tanta vis ingruebat⁶ mali, traduxerat
in urbem suos: infirmaque corpora tecta et umbræ⁷ re-
creaverant. Multi tamen ex Romano exercitu eadem peste
absumpti sunt.

Deleto terrestri Punico exercitu, Siculi, qui Hippocratis
milites fuerant, in haud magna oppida, ceterum et situ et
munitionis tuta, (tria millia alterum ab Syracusis, alterum
quindecim abest) eo⁸ et commeatus e civitatibus suis com-
portabant, et auxilia arcessebant. Interea Bomilcar, iterum
cum classe profectus Carthaginem, ita exposita fortuna
sociorum, ut spem faceret, non ipsis modo salutarem opem
ferri posse, sed Romanos quoque in capta quodammodo
urbe⁹ capi, perpulit, ut onerarias naves quam plurimas omni
copia rerum onustas secum mitterent, classemque suam
augerent. Igitur, centum triginta navibus longis et sep-
tingentis onerariis profectus a Carthagine, satis prosperos
ventos ad trajiciendum in Siciliam habuit. Sed iidem
venti superare eum¹⁰ Pachynum prohibebant. Bomilcaris

27.

&c. and the dead were destroying
the sick; and the sick the healthy,
first by terror, and then by the
pestilential exhalations of decay."

⁵ *Ut tanta vis ingruebat &c.]* Mark the force of the adverb and
the imperfect; sc. "as soon as ever
(from the moment when) the viru-
lence of the distemper began to
assail them so violently" It was
a remarkable coincidence, that, when
the Carthaginians, under Himilco,
were besieging Syracuse, in the time
of Dionysius, their army was exter-
minated by a similar pestilence.

⁶ *Tecta et umbræ.]* "The shel-
ter and coolness;" sc. of the
houses.

⁷ *In oppida—ed.]* This is, in
technical language, an epanalepsis:
the sentence is commenced again
after the parenthesis.

⁸ *In capta quodammodo urbe.]*
"But that the Romans even might
be made prisoners in a city which
was to some extent (which might be
said to be) taken."

⁹ *Sed iidem venti superare eum
&c.]* "The same winds were still
preventing him from doubling Pa-
chynus." The position of Bomilcar
was peculiarly affected by that of
Hannibal, who was just then in
haste to reduce the citadel of
Tarentum. Bomilcar had been
sent expressly to throw succours

U.C. 542. adventus, fama primo, dein præter spem mora, quum
 A.C. 212. gaudium et metum in vicem¹ Romanis Syracusanisque
 præbuisset; Epicydes metuens, ne, si pergerent iidem,
 qui tum tenebant, ab ortu solis flare per dies plures venti²,
 classis Punica Africam repeteret, tradita Achradina merce-
 niorum militum ducibus, ad Bomilcarem navigat. Clas-
 sem in statione versa in Africam habentem, atque timentem
 navale prælium, non tam quod impar viribus aut numero
 navium esset, (quippe etiam plures habebat) quam quod
 venti aptiores Romanæ, quam suæ, classi flarent, perpulit
 tandem, ut fortunam navalis certaminis experiri vellet. Et
 Marcellus, quum et Siculum exercitum ex tota insula con-
 ciri videret, et cum ingenti commeatu classem Punicam
 adventare, ne simul terra marique inclusus urbe hostium
 urgeretur, quanquam impar numero navium erat, prohibere
 aditu Syracusarum Bomilcarem constituit. Due classes
 infestæ³ circa promontorium Pachynum stabant, ubi prima
 tranquillitas maris in altum evexisset, concursuræ. Itaque,
 cadente jam Euro, qui per dies aliquot sævierat, prior
 Bomilcar movit: cuius prima classis⁴ petere altum visa est,
 quo facilius superaret promontorium. Ceterum, postquam
 tendere ad se Romanas naves vidit, incertum quia subita
 territus⁵ re, Bomilcar vela in altum dedit, missisque nuntiis
 Heracleam, qui onerarias retro in Africam repeteret⁶ jube-
 rent, ipse, Siciliam prætervectus, Tarentum petit. Epi-
 cydes, a tanta repente destitutus spe, ne in obsidionem
 magna ex parte captæ urbis⁷ rediret, Agrigentum navigat,

into Syracuse; but if the east-
 erly winds continued, it would
 be better to return to Tarentum
 where the service was urgent, than
 to remain at Heraclea. On arriving
 from Carthage at the south of Cape
 Passaro, he should have turned
 round to the north to get up to
 Syracuse.

¹ *Gaudium et metum in vicem.*] “Exultation and alarm to the Syracusans and Romans respectively.”

² *Iidem, qui tum tenebant—venti.*] The wind must, apparently, have come round to the east after Bomilcar's arrival below the Cape, because it lies due east from the port of Carthage, and none but a westerly wind could have answered the description of “*satis prosperos ventos ad trajiciendum in Siciliam.*” Even had the westerly wind continued, he would have been sheltered by

the land on his way round to Syracuse.

³ *Duae classes infestæ &c.*] “The two hostile fleets were riding at the Cape (sc. one above and one below) ready to engage (*concurruræ*), as soon as ever (*ubi prima*) a calm at sea,” &c.

⁴ *Cuius prima classis &c.*] “And, though the foremost of the fleet seemed to be putting out to sea, in order to double (to weather) the promontory more easily; still (*cæterum*) when he saw,” &c.

⁵ *Incertum quid subiit territus &c.*] “Alarmed by some sudden and incomprehensible cause.”

⁶ *In Africam repeteret.*] sc. cursum. It has been proposed to avoid the ellipsis by omitting *in*.

⁷ *Obsidionem—urbis.*] i. e. Obsessam urbem.

exspectaturus magis eventum, quam inde quicquam mo- U.C. 542.
turus. A.C. 212.

Quæ ubi in castra Siculorum sunt nuntiata, Epicydem Syracusis excessisse, a Carthaginiensibus relictam insulam, et prope iterum Romanis traditam⁸; legatos de conditionibus dedendæ urbis, explorata prius per colloquia voluntate eorum, qui obsidebantur, ad Marcellum mittunt. Quum haud ferme discreparet, quin, quæ ubique regum fuissent, Romanorum essent; Siculis cetera cum libertate ac legibus suis servarentur; evocatis ad colloquium his, quibus ab Epicyde creditæ res erant, 'missos se simul ad Marcellum, 'simul ad eos ab exercitu Siculorum,' aiunt, 'ut una omnium, qui obsiderentur, quique extra obsidionem essent, 'fortuna esset: neve alteri propriæ sibi paciscerentur quicquam.' Recepti deinde ab iis⁹, ut necessarios hospitesque alloquerentur, expositis, quæ pacta jam cum Marcello haberent, oblata spe salutis perpulere eos, ut secum præfectos Epicydis, Polyclitum, et Philistionem, et Epicydem, cui Sinden cognomen erat, aggredierentur. Interfectis iis, et multitudine ad concionem vocata, et inopiam, qua ipsi inter se fremere occulte soliti erant, conquesti, 'quoniam 'tot mala urgerent,' negarunt, 'fortunam accusandam esse, 'quod in ipsorum esset potestate, quam diu ea paterentur. 'Romanis causam oppugnandi Syracusas fuisse caritatem 'Syracusanorum, non odium: nam, ut occupatas res ab 'satellitibus Hannibal, deinde Hieronymi, Hippocrate 'atque Epicyde, audierint, tum bellum movisse, et obsidere 'urbem cœpisse, ut crudeles tyrannos ejus, non ut ipsam 'urbem, expugnarent. Hippocrate vero interempto, Epicyde intercluso ab Syracusis, et præfectis ejus occisis, 'Carthaginiensibus omni possessione Siciliæ terra marique 'pulsis, quam superesse causam Romanis¹⁰, cur non, perinde 'ac si Hiero ipse viveret, unicus Romanæ amicitiae cultor, 'incolumes Syracusas esse velint? Itaque nec urbi nec 'hominibus aliud periculum, quam ab semet ipsis, esse, si 'occasionem reconciliandi se Romanis prætermisissent, 'eam autem, qualis illo momento¹¹ horæ sit, nullam deinde

⁸ *Inde quoquam moturus.*] "To make any further movement."

⁹ *Iterum Romanis traditam.*] The Punic possessions in Sicily had been previously surrendered by the treaty of the Ægates.

¹ *Neve alteri propriæ.*] "And that neither party should make any special (exclusive) terms," &c.

² *Ab iis.*] sc. By the defenders of the Acradina.

³ *Quam superesse causam Romanis &c.*] "As Hippocrates had fallen,

as Epicydes was, &c. &c.; what further motive could the Romans have for not desiring," &c.

⁴ *Eam autem, qualis illo momento, &c.*] "And such an opportunity as they had at that moment, would never come again." These words, from *eam* to *fore* inclusive, must of course be regarded as a parenthesis; unless we suppose the address to conclude at *fore*, and the next chapter to begin with *simul*.

U. C. 542. 'fore) simul libertas ab impotentibus tyrannis apparuit.
A. C. 212. 'isset.'

29. Omnia ingenti assensu audita ea oratio est. Prætores tamen prius creari, quam legatos nominari, placuit. Ex ipsorum deinde prætorum numero missi oratores ad Maretum. Quorum princeps, 'Neque primo⁵', inquit, 'Syracusani a vobis defecimus, sed Hieronymus, nequaquam tam in vos impius, quam in nos: nec postea pacem, tyranni cæde compositam, Syracusanus quisquam, sed satellites regii, Hippocrates atque Epicydes, oppressis nobis hinc metu, hinc fraude, turbaverunt. Nec quisquam dicere potest, aliquando nobis libertatis tempus⁶ fuisse, quod pacis vobiscum non fuerit. Nunc certe cæde eorum, qui oppræsas tenebant Syracusas, quum primum nostri arbitrii esse coepimus, extemplo venimus ad tradenda arma; dedendos nos, urbem, mœnia: nullam recusandam fortunam, quæ imposita a vobis fuerit. Gloriam captæ nobilissimæ pulcherrimæque urbis Græcarum dei tibi dederunt, Maretelle. Quicquid unquam terra marique memorandum gessimus, id tui triumphi titulo accedit. Famæne credi velis⁷, quanta urbs a te capta sit, quam posteris quoque eam spectaculo esse? Quo quisque terra, quisque mari venerit, nunc nostra de Atheniensibus Carthaginiensibusque tropæa, nunc tua de nobis ostendat; incolumesque Syracusas familiæ vestræ sub clientela nominis Marcellorum tutelaque habendas tradas. Ne plus apud vos Hieronymi, quam Hieronis, memoria momenti faciat. Diutius ille multo amicus fuit, quam hic hostis: et illius etiam benefacta persensistis; hujus amentia ad perniciem tantum ipsius valuit.'

Omnia et impetrabilia et tuta⁸ erant apud Romanos: inter ipsos plus belli ac periculi erat. Namque trans fugæ, tradi se Romanis rati, mercenariorum quoque militum auxilia in eundem compulere metum: arreptisque armis prætores primum obruncant, inde ad cædem Syracusorum discurrunt: quosque fors obtulit, irati interfecere, atque omnia, quæ in promptu erant, diripuerunt. Tum, ne sine ducibus essent, sex præfectos creavere, ut terni

⁵ *Neque primò, &c.]* "It was not we, the Syracusans, that, in the first instance, revolted from you, &c.; nor, subsequently, was it any Syracusan that," &c.

⁶ *Aliquando nobis libertatis tempus, &c.]* "That we ever enjoyed any interval of liberty, that was not also a period of peace with you. In the present instance, at least," &c.

⁷ *Famæne credi velis, &c.]* "Is

it your wish that it should be believed from tradition, how great a city has been taken by you, rather than that the city itself should be a visible proof," &c.

⁸ *Omnia et impetrabilia et tuta, &c.]* "There was every concession, every assurance, on the part of the Romans: it was among themselves," &c.

Achradinæ ac Naso præsenterent. Sedato tandem tumultu, U.C. 542.
exsequentibus sciscitando⁹ mercenariis, quæ acta cum Ro- A.C. 212.
manis essent, dilucere id, quod erat, coepit; aliam suam ac
perfugarum causam esse. In tempore legati a Marcellio
redierunt, falsa eos suspicione incitatos memorantes, nec
causam expetendæ poenæ eorum ullam Romanis esse.
Erat ex tribus Achradinæ præfectis Hispanus, Mericus
nomine. Ad eum inter comites¹ legatorum de industria
unus ex Hispanorum auxiliaribus est missus: qui, sine ar-
bitris Mericum nactus, primum, quo in statu reliquisset
Hispaniam, (et nuper inde venerat) exponit. 'Omnia Ro-
' manis ibi obtineri armis. Posse eum, si operæ pretium
' faciat², principem popularium esse: seu militare cum Ro-
' manis, seu in patriam reverti libeat. Contra, si malle
' obsideri perget, quam spem esse terra marique clauso³?
Motus his Mericus, quum legatos ad Marcellum mitti pla-
cuisset, fratrem inter eos mittit: qui per eundem illum His-
panum secretus ab aliis ad Marcellum deductus, quum
fidem accepisset, composuissetque agendæ rei ordinem,
Achradinam redit. Tum Mericus, ut ab suspicione pro-
ditionis averteret omnium animos, negat, 'sibi placere, le-
' gatos commeare ultro citroque, neque recipiendum quem-
' quam, neque mittendum: et, quo intentius custodiæ ser-
' ventur, opportuna loca⁴ dividenda præfectis esse, ut suæ
' quisque partis tutandæ reus sit.' Omnes assensi sunt
partibus dividundis: ipsi regio evenit ab Arethusa fonte⁴
usque ad ostium magni portus. Id ut scirent Romani,
fecit. Itaque Marcellus nocte navem onerariam cum arma-
tis remulco quadriremis trahi ad Achradinam⁵ jussit, expo-

⁹ Exsequentibus sciscitando.] 'Were persevering in their enquiries,' (sc. were obtaining full information;) 'The real state of the case began to shew itself.'

¹ Ad eum inter comites, &c.] 'To this man one of the Spanish auxiliaries was especially sent among the attaches (in the suite) of the embassy.'

² Si operæ pretium faciat.] 'If he would only earn it by his services.'

³ Opportuna loca, &c.] 'That the accessible (exposed) places should be separately assigned, &c.; so that each might be accountable for the defence of his own,' &c.

⁴ Ab Arethusa fonte, &c.] 'It has been remarked, that Livy is guilty of an oversight here, as the island lay at some distance from the

citadel; but the statement really involves no contradiction; because it does not follow from the fact, that Mericas was originally posted on the Achradina, that in the new distribution of posts, the defence of the island should not have been assigned to him. The words in the text, however, do seem to indicate some error in another respect; for the distance, 'from the fountain to the harbour's mouth,' was very inconsiderable. The island (Ortygia) now bears the name of Siracusa; and the fountain which flows on the northern side, and is now daily desecrated by the laundresses of the town, is called *Occhio della Zilica*.

⁵ Trahi ad Achradinam.] It is evident, notwithstanding the foregoing attempt to reconcile the contradiction, that the historian is con-

U.C. 542. nique milites regione portæ, quæ prope fontem Arethusa-
A.C. 212. sam est. Hoc quum quarta vigilia factum esset, exposi-
tosque milites porta, ut convenerat, recepisset Mericus; luce prima Marcellus omnibus copiis mœnia Achradinæ aggreditur: ita ut non eos solum, qui Achradinam tene-
bant, in se converteret, sed ab Naso etiam agmina armato-
rum concurrerent, relicts stationibus suis, ad vim et impe-
tum Romanorum arcendum. In hoc tumultu actuariae naves⁶, instructæ jam ante circumvectæque, ad Nasum ar-
matos exponunt, qui, improviso adorti semiplenas stationes et adapertas fores portæ, qua paullo ante excurrerant armati, haud magno certamine Nasum cepere, desertam tre-
pidatione et fuga custodum. Neque ullis minus præsidii aut pertinaciæ⁷ ad manendum, quam transfugis, fuit: quia, ne suis quidem satis credentes se, medio certamine effuge-
runt. Marcellus ut captam esse Nasum didicit, et Achra-
dinæ regionem unam teneri, Mericumque cum præsidio suis adjunctum, receptui cecinit: ne regiæ opes, quarum fama major, quam res⁸, erat, diriperentur.

31. Suppresso impetu militum, et iis, qui in Achradina erant, transfugis spatium locusque fugæ datus est; et Syracusani, tandem liberi metu, portis Achradinæ apertis, oratores ad Marcellum mittunt, nihil petentes aliud, quam incolumitatem sibi liberisque suis. Marcellus, consilio advocate, et adhibitis etiam Syracusanis, qui per seditiones pulsi ab domo intra præsidia Romana erant, respondit: 'Non plura per annos quinquaginta benefacta Hieronis, quam paucis his annis maleficia eorum, qui Syracusas tenuerint, erga populum Romanum esse. Sed pleraque eorum, quo debuerint, recidisse⁹; foederumque ruptorum ipsos ab se graviores multo, quam populus Romanus voluerit, pœnas exegisse. Se quidem tertium annum circumsedere Syracusas: non ut populus Romanus servam civitatem habere, sed ne transfugarum duces captam et oppressam tene-
rent. Quid potuerint Syracusani¹ facere, exemplo vel eos

founding the Acradina (which stood on the main land at some distance from the island) with the strong fortress on the latter; or, that the island and Acradina together had been assigned to Mericus; and that the Roman troops landed, as described, near the fountain, and passed into the Acradina by the bridge, and the communication opened (l. xxiv. 23.) between the two quarters of the city. This is perhaps the most plausible explanation; as the Nasos and Aca-

dina are mentioned immediately below as two distinct regions.

⁶ *Actuariae naves.*] Ships im-
pelled by oars and sails were thus
called "sailing galleys."

⁷ *Minus præsidii aut pertinaciæ.*] "Less confidence" (for themselves, or "strength" to protect others) "or perseverance."

⁸ *Fama major, quam res.*] "The reputation exceeded the reality."

⁹ *Quo debuerint, recidisse.*] "Had recoiled upon the proper persons."

¹ *Quid potuerint Syracusani, &c.*]

‘ Syracusanorum esse, qui intra præsidia Romana fuerint, U. C. 842.
 ‘ vel Hispanum ducem Mericum, qui præsidium tradide- A. C. 212.
 ‘ rit, vel ipsorum Syracusanorum postremo, serum quidem,
 ‘ sed forte consilium. Omnia sibi laborum periculorum-
 ‘ que, circa moenia Syracusana terra marique tam diu ex-
 ‘ haustorum, nequaquam tantum fructum³ esse, quam capere
 ‘ Syracusas potuisse.’ Inde quæstor cum præsidio ad Na-
 sum ad accipiendam pecuniam regiam custodiendamque
 missus. Urbs diripienda militi data est, custodibus divisis
 per domos eorum, qui intra præsidia Romana fuerant.
 Quum multa iræ, multa avaritiae, scđa exempla ederen-
 tur, Archimedem, memoriae proditum est, in tanto tumultu,
 quantum capta urbs in discursu diripientium militum
 cire poterat, intentum formis, quas in pulvere descripse-
 rat, ab ignaro milite, quis esset, interfectum⁴. Ægre id
 Marcellum tulisse, sepulturæque curam habitam: et pro-
 pinquis etiam⁵ inquisitis honori præsidiisque nomen ac me-
 moriam ejus fuisse. Hoc maxime modo⁶ Syracusæ captæ:
 in quibus prædæ tantum fuit, quantum vix capta Cartha-
 gine tum fuisse, cum qua viribus æquis certabatur.

Paucis ante diebus, quam Syracusæ caperentur, T. Ota-
 cilius cum quinqueremibus octoginta Uticam ab Lilybæo⁶

“What the Syracusans might have done, was demonstrated by such of the Syr.” &c.

³ *Nequaquam tantum fructum &c.*] “The advantage was far from being equal to what Syracuse itself might have realized;” sc. by continuing friendly to Rome. This interpretation is rejected by Crevier, who proposes to alter the text to *nequaquam dignum fructum esse quid capere Syracusas potuisset*; i. e. “it was but a small (by no means an adequate) compensation for all his toils and dangers, &c. that he had merely succeeded in taking the city.” This would look like an intimation that the deficiency must be made good by plunder; and does not accord, so well as the first interpretation, with the general tenor of the reply. There is still another reading, supported by several MSS.; *tantum fructum esse, quid*, &c. In this case, *tantum* must be understood absolutely, in the sense of “equivalent,” and as synonymous with *dignum*, the general inference and meaning of the sentence remaining the same.

⁴ *Ab ignaro milite, quis esset,*

interfectum.] If this page were a proper place for moralizing, these six words would furnish a text for melancholy reflections. It will be enough to say, that if the name of this illiterate savage had been recorded, it would add one to the long catalogue of the names of men who are immortalized, only by being associated with the memories of the men of genius whom they persecuted, *ignari qui essent*. It was unfortunate that, in this case, there was nothing to appeal to the outer senses of the barbarian; as in the case of Stradella, who disarmed his assassin by his organ-playing; and of Parmigiano, one of whose pictures saved him from the soldiers of Bourbon, during the sack of Rome.

⁵ *Et propinquis etiam &c.*] “And that, even to his relatives who were carefully sought, his name and memory were a distinction and a protection.” Archimedes was related by blood to the family of Hiero.

⁶ *Hoc maximè modo.*] “As nearly as possible, in this way.”

⁶ *Uticam ab Lilybæo.*] The shortest passage between Sicily and

U. C. 542. transmisit: et quum ante lucem portum intrasset, onerarias
 A. C. 212. frumento onustas cepit; egressusque in terram, depopula-
 tus est aliquantum agri circa Uticam, prædamque omnis
 generis retro ad naves egit. Lilybæum tertio die, quam
 inde profectus erat, cum centum triginta onerariis navibus
 frumento prædaque onustis rediit: idque frumentum ex-
 templo Syracusas misit. Quod ni tam in tempore sub-
 venisset, victoribus victisque pariter perniciosa fames instabat.

32. Eadem æstate in Hispania, quum biennio ferme nihil
 admodum memorabile factum esset, consiliisque magis,
 quam armis, bellum gereretur, Romani imperatores egressi
 hibernis copias conjunxerunt. Ibi consilium advocationis,
 omniumque in unum congruerunt sententiæ; quando ad
 id locorum id modo actum esset, ut Hasdrubalem tenden-
 tem in Italiam retinerent; tempus esse id jam agi, ut bel-
 lum in Hispania finiretur⁷: et satis ad id virium credebant
 accessisse, viginti millia Celtiberorum ea hieme ad arma
 excitata. Tres exercitus erant. Hasdrubal Gisgonis filius
 et Mago, conjunctis castris quinque ferme dierum iter ab
 Romanis aberant. Propior erat Hamilcaris filius Hasdrubal,
 vetus in Hispania imperator. Ad urbem nomine Anitorgin
 exercitum habebat. Eum volebant prius opprimi
 duces Romani: et spes erat, satis superque ad id virium
 esse. Illa restabat cura, ne, fuso eo perculsi, alter Has-
 drubal et Mago, in avios saltus montesque recipientes sese,
 bellum extraherent. Optimum igitur rati, divisis bifariam
 copiis, totius simul Hispaniæ amplecti bellum, ita inter se
 diviserunt, ut P. Cornelius duas partes exercitus Romanorum
 sociorumque adversus Magonem duceret atque Has-
 drubalem; Cn. Cornelius cum tertia parte veteris exerci-
 tus, Celtiberis adjunctis, cum Hasdrubale Barcino bellum
 gereret. Una profecti ambo duces exercitusque, Celtiberis
 prægredientibus, ad urbem Anitorgin in conspectu
 hostium, dirimente amni⁸, ponunt castra. Ibi Cn. Scipio,
 cum quibus ante dictum est copiis, substitit, et P. Scipio
 profectus ad destinatam belli partem.

33. Hasdrubal postquam animadvertisit, exiguum Romanum

Africa was from Lilybæum to Her-
 mæum (*Cape Bon*), which enclosed
 the port of Carthage on the N. E.
 From this latter point was a direct
 run across the harbour to Utica.

⁷ *Ut bellum in Hispaniā finiretur.*] It is not improbable that the Scipios might have effected this, had they only remembered that concentration is the safest principle of tactics against a guerilla. Many long years, however, were destined

to pass in unintermitting war before the spirit of Viriathes and Caranius, the last defenders of Spain, was broken.

⁸ *Urbem Anitorgin—dirimente amni.*] Of the situation of this town and river no knowledge has been transmitted. They must, however, have been on some part of the coast between the Pyrenees and Carthagena.

exercitum in castris, et spem omnem in Celtiberorum aux- U. C. 542.
iliis esse; peritus omnis barbaricæ⁹, et præcipue omnium A. C. 212.
earum gentium, in quibus per tot annos militabat, perfidiæ,
facili linguae commercio, quum utraque castra plena His-
panorum essent, per occulta colloquia paciscitur magna
mercede cum Celtiberorum principibus, ut copias inde ab-
ducant. Nec atrox visum facinus. Non enim, ut in Ro-
manos verterent arma, agebatur: et merces, quanta vel pro
bello satis esset, dabatur, ne bellum gererent: et quum
quies ipsa, tum¹ reditus domum fructusque videndi suos
suaque, grata vulgo erant. Itaque non ducibus facilius,
quam multitudini, persuasum est: simul ne metus quidem
ab Romanis erat, quippe tam paucis, si vi retinerent. Id
quidem cavendum semper² Romanis ducibus erit, exempla-
que hæc vere pro documentis habenda, ne ita externis cre-
dant auxiliis, ut non plus sui roboris suarumque proprie-
virium in castris habeant. Signis repente sublatis, Celti-
beri abeunt, nihil aliud quærentibus causam obtestantibus-
que, ut manerent, Romanis respondentes³, quam domestico
se avocari bello. Scipio, postquam socii nec precibus, nec
vi retineri poterant, nec se aut parem sine illis hosti esse,
aut fratri rursus conjungi vidit posse, nec ullum aliud salu-
tare consilium in promptu esse, retro, quantum posset, ce-
dere statuit; in id omni cura intentus, necubi hosti æquo
se committeret loco; qui, transgressus flumen⁴, prope vesti-
giis abeuntium insistebat.

Per eosdem dies P. Scipionem par terror, periculum
majus ab novo hoste, urgebat. Masinissa⁵ erat juvenis, eo
tempore socius Carthaginiensium, quem deinde clarum
potentemque Romana fecit amicitia. Is tum cum equitatu
Numidarum et advenienti P. Scipioni occurrit, et deinde
assidue dies noctesque infestus aderat⁶, ut non vagos tan-

34.

⁹ *Peritus omnis barbaricæ &c.*] “Acquainted with the treachery of barbarians in general, and especially of those nations,” &c.

¹ *Et quum quies ipsa, tum &c.*] “As well the mere repose, as the revisiting home, and the satisfaction of seeing their families and properties, were welcome to the multitude.”

² *Id quidem cavendum semper &c.*] “It will be always, indeed, a necessary precaution for Roman generals—and these instances should be justly regarded as warnings—not to rely so far upon foreign aid, as not to keep in camp a majority

of their own proper forces.”

³ *Nihil aliud quærentibus—re-
spondentes.*] “Giving no further
answer to the Romans, when in-
quiring the reason and requesting
them to remain, than that they were
called away by a private quarrel.”

⁴ *Qui, transgressus flumen, &c.*] “Who crossed the river, and hung
close upon their retreating steps.”

⁵ *Masinissa.*] “There was a
young prince, Masinissa, at that
time,” &c. This is the Latinized
form of the original name, *Masa-
nases*.

⁶ *Assidue dies noctesque infestus
aderat, &c.*] “And harassed them

U. C. 542. tum, procul a castris lignatum pabulatumque progressos,
 A. C. 212. exciperet, sed ipsis obequitaret castris, inventusque in medias saepe stationes, omnia ingenti tumultu turbaret. Noctibus quoque⁷ saepe incursu repento in portis valloque trepidatum est: nec aut locus, aut tempus ullum vacuum a metu ac sollicitudine erat Romanis: compulsisque intra vallum, adempto rerum omnium usu, quum prope justa obsidio esset, futuramque artiorem eam appareret, si se Indibilis, quem cum septem millibus et quingentis Suesstanorum adventare fama erat, Poenis conjunxisset; dux cautus et providens Scipio⁸, victus necessitatibus, temerarium capit consilium, ut nocte Indibili obviam iret: et, quoconque occurisset loco, praetulm consereret. Relicto igitur modico praesidio in castris, praepositoque, T. Fonteio legato, media nocte profectus, cum obviis hostibus manus conseruit. Agmina magis, quam acies⁹, pugnabant: superior tamen, ut in tumultuaria pugna, Romanus erat. Ceterum et equites Numidæ repente, quos fecellisse se dux ratus erat, ab lateribus circumfusi, magnum terrorem intulere. Contracto adversus Numidas certamine¹ novo, tertius insuper advenit hostis, duces Poeni, assecuti ab tergo jam pugnantes: ancepsque praetulm Romanos circumsternerat, incertos in quem potissimum hostem, quamvis in partem conferti eruptionem facerent. Pugnanti hortantique imperatori et offerenti se, ubi plurimus labor erat, latus dextrum lancea trajicitur: cuneusque is hostium, qui in conferto circa ducem impetum fecerat, ut exanimem labentem ex equo Scipionem vidit, alacres gaudio cum clamore per totam aciem nuntiantes discurrunt, imperatorem Romanum cecidisse. Haec pervagata passim² vox, ut et hostes haud dubie pro victoribus, et Romani pro victis essent, fecit. Fuga confestim ex acie, duce amissio, fieri coepit. Ceterum ut ad erumpendum³ inter Numidas leviumque armorum alia auxilia haud difficilis res erat; ita

so incessantly and so closely, day and night, that he not only," &c.

⁷ *Noctibus quoque* &c.] "Even by night, frequent alarms were given by sudden assaults," &c.

⁸ *Dux cautus et providens Scipio*, &c.] "Though a circumspect and long-headed commander, was driven by circumstances to adopt the hazardous enterprise of," &c.

⁹ *Agmina magis, quam acies*.] "Lines of march rather than of battle."

¹ *Contracto adversus Numidas certamine* &c.] "A second struggle

with the Numidians having been now provoked, a third enemy also came on."

² *Haec pervagata passim* &c.] "This cry, spreading every where, unequivocally placed the enemy in the position of conquerors."

³ *Cæterum ut ad erumpendum*.] "Still, although it was no difficult matter to force a passage through, &c. yet they could scarcely effect their escape from such a body of cavalry, and of infantry who rivalled horses in speed."

effugere tantum equitum, æquantumque equos velocitate U. C. 542.
peditum, vix poterant: cæsique prope plures in fuga, quam A. C. 212.
in pugna, sunt. Nec superfluisset quisquam, ni præcipiti
jam ad vesperum die nox intervenisset.

Haud segniter inde duces Pœni fortuna usi, confestim e
prælio, vix necessaria quiete data militibus, ad Hasdruba-
lem Hamilcaris citatum agmen rapiunt, non dubia spe⁴,
quum juncti essent, debellari posse. Quo ubi est ventum,
inter exercitus ducesque, victoria recenti lætos, gratulatio
ingens facta, imperatore tanto cum omni exercitu deleto,
et alteram pro haud dubia⁵ parem victoriam exspectantes.
Ad Romanos nondum quidem fama tantæ cladis pervene-
rat, sed mæstum quoddam silentium⁶ erat, et tacita divina-
tio; qualis jam præsagientibus animis imminentis mali esse
solet. Imperator ipse, præterquam quod ab sociis se de-
sertum, hostium tantum auctas copias sentiebat, conjectura
etiam et ratione ad suspicionem acceptæ cladis, quam ad
ullam bonam spem, pronior erat. ‘Quonam modo enim
‘Hasdrubalem ac Magonem, nisi defunctos suo bello⁷, sine
‘certamine adducere exercitum potuisse? Quomodo au-
‘tem⁸ non obstitisse, aut ab tergo secutum fratrem? ut, si
‘prohibere, quo minus in unum coirent et duces et exer-
‘citus hostium, non posset, ipse certe cum fratre conjun-
‘geret copias.’ His anxius curis id modo esse salutare in
præsens credebat, cedere inde, quantum posset: et inde
una nocte, ignaris hostibus, et ob id quietis, aliquantum
emensus est iter. Luce, ut senserunt profectos hostes,
præmissis Numidis, quam poterant maxime citato agmine
sequi cœperunt: ante noctem assecuti Numidæ, nunc ab

35.

⁴ *Non dubiâ spe &c.*] “In the con-
fident expectation that, as soon as
they should effect a junction, the
war would be concluded.”

⁵ *Alteram pro haud dubia &c.*] “Looking forward to another similar
victory as a certainty.”

⁶ *Sed mæstum quoddam silentium
&c.*] “But a melancholy silence,
and that untold presentiment of ap-
proaching evil, that hangs over the
foreboding mind. The general, too,
in addition to the reflection that he
was forsaken by his allies, and that
the enemy’s force had received an
accession to that amount, was more
disposed, by his suspicions and cal-
culations, to the apprehension that
a defeat had been received, than to
any encouraging hope.”

⁷ *Nisi defunctos suo bello.*] “If

not successful in (unless they had
got rid of) their own share of the
war.” It was a calculation similar
to this that dejected the spirit of
Asdrubal at the Metaurus. Cl.
Nero had come by a forced march
from the south of Italy, and encamped
with his colleague; and Hasdrubal,
seeing the standards of the two
Consuls in the Roman camp, and
supposing that Nero could have left
Lucania only after defeating Han-
nibal, lost courage, and suffered him-
self to be beaten.

⁸ *Quomodo autem &c.*] “How
was it, too, that his brother had not
stopped their way, or followed
them; so as—if he failed to prevent
the junction of, &c.—at least to unite
his forces,” &c.

U.C. 542. *tergo, nunc in latera incursantes.* Consistere cœperunt,
 A.C. 212. ac tutari agmen, quantum possent; tamen, tuto ut simul
 pugnarent⁹ procederentque, Scipio hortabatur, priusquam
 36. pedestres copiæ assequerentur. Ceterum nunc agendo,
 nunc¹ sustinendo agmen, quum aliquamdiu haud multum
 procederetur, et nox jam instaret, revocat e prælio suos
 Scipio: et collectos in tumulum quendam, non quidem
 satis tutum, (præsertim agmini perculso) editiorem tamen,
 quam cetera circa erant, subducit. Ibi primo, impedimentis
 et equitatu in medium receptis, circumdati pedites haud
 difficulter impetus incursantium Numidarum arcebant:
 dein, postquam toto agmine tres imperatores cum tribus
 justis exercitibus aderant, apparebatque, parum armis ad
 tuendum locum sine munito valituros esse; circum-
 spectare atque agitare dux cœpit, si quo modo posset val-
 lum circumjicere. Sed erat adeo nudus tumulus et asperi
 soli, ut nec virgulta vallo cædendo, nec terra cespiti fa-
 ciendo, aut ducendæ fossæ, aliive ulli operi apta inveniri
 posset: nec natura quicquam satis arduum aut abscisum
 erat, quod hosti aditum ascensumve difficilem præberet;
 omnia fastigio leni subvexa². Ut tamen aliquam imaginem
 valli objicerent, clitellas illigatas oneribus³, velut struentes
 ad altitudinem solitam, circumabant; cumulo sarcinarum
 omnis generis objecto, ubi ad moliendum clitellæ defue-
 rant. Punici exercitus postquam advenere, in tumulum
 quidem perfacile agmen erexere: munitionis vero facies
 nova primo eos velut miraculo quodam tenuit, quum duces
 undique vociferarentur, 'Quid starent? et non ludibrium
 'illud', vix feminis puerisve morandis satis validum, distra-
 herent diriperentque? Captum hostem teneri, latentem
 'post sarcinas.' Hæc contemptim duces increpabant. Ce-
 terum, neque transilire, neque moliri onera objecta, nec
 cædere stipatas clitellas, ipsisque obrutas sarcinis, facile erat.
 Tardatis diu quum amolita objecta onera armatis dedissent
 viam, pluribusque idem partibus fieret, capta jam undique
 castra erant: pauci ab multis, percusisque a victoribus,
 passim cædebantur. Magna pars tamen militum, quum in

⁹ *Tuto ut simul pugnarent.*] The adverb appears to be superfluous; as the sentence would be more intelligible without it, unless it be connected with *simul*, thus, "to advance while fighting, as a measure of safety."

¹ *Nunc agendo, nunc &c.*] "When, by moving on and halting alternately, some short distance was gained in a considerable time."

² *Omnia fastigio leni subvexa.*] "All was a gently sloping acclivity."

³ *Clitellas illigatas oneribus, &c.*] "They surrounded themselves with a line of paniers attached to the burdens, (i. e. to their contents,) building them up in a manner (i. e. with the arrangement usual in building) to the customary height."

⁴ *Ludibrium illud.*] "Such a mockery as that."

propinquas refugisset silvas, in castra P. Scipionis, quibus U. C. 542. T. Fonteius legatus præerat, perfugerunt. Cn. Scipionem A. C. 212. alii in tumulo primo impetu hostium cæsum tradunt: alii cum paucis in propinquam castris turrim perfugisse. Hanc igni circumdatam, atque ita exustis foribus, quas nulla moliri potuerunt vi, captam; omnesque intus cum ipso imperatore occisos. Anno octavo⁴, postquam in Hispaniam venerat, Cn. Scipio, undetrigesimo die post fratris mortem, est interfectus. Luctus ex morte eorum non Romæ major, quam per totam Hispaniam, fuit. Quin apud cives⁵ partem doloris et exercitus amissi, et alienata provincia, et publica trahebat clades. Hispaniæ ipsos lugebant desiderabantque duces⁶: Cnæum tamen magis, quo diutius præfuerat iis, priorque et favorem occupaverat, et speciem justitiæ⁷ temperantiaeque Romanæ primus dederat.

Quum deletus exercitus⁸ amissæque Hispaniæ viderentur, vir unus res perditas restituit. Erat in exercitu L. Marcius Septimi filius, eques Romanus, impiger juvenis, animique et ingenii aliquanto, quam pro fortuna⁹, in qua erat natus, majoris. Ad summam indolem accesserat Cn. Scipionis disciplina: sub qua per tot annos omnes militiæ artes edoc-tus fuerat. Hic, et ex fuga collectis militibus, et quibus-dam de præsidiis deductis, haud contemnendum exercitum fecerat, junxeratque cum T. Fonteio P. Scipionis legato. Sed tantum præstítit eques Romanus auctoritate inter milites atque honore, ut, castris citra Iberum communis, quum ducem exercituum comitiis militaribus creari placuisset, subeuntes alii aliis¹⁰ in custodiam valli stationesque, donec per omnes suffragium iret, ad L. Marcum cuncti summam imperii detulerint. Omne inde tempus (exiguum id fuit) muniendis castris convehendisque commeatibus con-sumptum: et omnia imperia milites, quum impigre, tum haudquaquam abjecto animo, exsequebantur. Ceterum postquam Hasdrubalem Gisgonis, venientem ad reliquias belli delendas, transisse Iberum, et appropinquare allatum est, signumque pugnæ propositum ad novo duce milites viderunt; recordati, quos paullo ante imperatores habuissent,

⁴ Anno octavo.] P. Scipio had been sent to Spain immediately after the siege of Saguntum, accompanied by his brother, whom he left in command of his army when hastening to oppose Hannibal at the Ticinus.

⁵ Quin apud cives, &c.] "Besides, among the citizens the loss of the armies, the estrangement of the province, &c. claimed a share in their regret."

⁶ Ipsos—duces.] "The generals

personally;" i. e. for their own sakes.

⁷ Speciem justitiæ, &c.] See l. xxi. 60.

⁸ Quum deletus exercitus, &c.] "At a time when (or although) it seemed that the armies were," &c.

⁹ Quam pro fortuna.] "Than might be expected from the rank," &c.

¹⁰ Subeuntes alii aliis.] "Reliev-ing each other in succession."

U.C. 542. quibusque et ducibus et copiis freti prodire ad pugnam
 A.C. 212. soliti essent, flere omnes repente³ et offensare capita: et alii manus ad ccelum tendere, deos incusantes: alii, strati humi, suum quisque nominatim ducem implorare: neque sedari lamentatio poterat, excitantibus centurionibus manipulares, et ipso mulcente et increpante Marcio, 'quid in muliebres 'et inutiles se projecissent fletus potius, quam ad tutandos 'semet ipsos et rempublicam secum acuerent animos?' et, 'ne inultos imperatores suos jacere sinerent:' quum subito clamor tubarumque sonus (jam enim prope vallum hostes erant) exauditur. Inde, verso repente in iram luctu, discurrere ad arma: ac, velut accensi rabie, discurrunt ad portas, et in hostem, negligenter atque incomposite venientem, incurront. Extemplo improvisa res pavorem incutit Pœnisi: mirabundique, unde tot hostes tam subito exorti prope deleto exercitu forent, unde tanta audacia, tanta fiducia sui victis ac fugatis, quis imperator duobus Scipioniibus cæsis exstitisset, quis castris præserset, quis signum dedisset pugnae, ad hæc tot tam necopinata⁴ primo omnium incerti stupentesque referunt pedem: dein, valida impressione pulsi, terga vertunt. Et aut fugientium cædes fœda fuisset, aut temerarius periculosusque sequentium impetus, ni Marcius propere receptui dedisset signum, obsistensque ad prima signa, quosdam et ipse retinens, concitatam repressisset aciem. Inde in castra avidos adhuc cædisque et sanguinis reduxit. Carthaginenses, trepide primo ab hostium vallo acti, postquam neminem insequi viderunt, metu substitisse rati, contemptim rursus et sedato gradu in castra abeunt.

Par negligentia in castris custodiendis fuit. Nam, etsi propinquus hostis erat, tamen reliquias eum esse duorum exercituum ante paucos dies deletorum succurrebat. Ob hoc quum omnia neglecta apud hostes essent, exploratis iis, Marcius ad consilium, prima specie temerarium magis, quam audax, animum adjecit, ut ultro castra hostium oppugnaret: facilius esse ratus⁵, unius Hasdrubalis expugnari castra, quam, si se rursus tres exercitus ac tres duces junxissent, sua defendi: simul aut, si successisset coepitis, receperatum se afflictas res: aut, si pulsus esset, tamen ultro inferendo arma, contemptum sui dempturum. Ne tamen

38.

³ *Flere omnes repente, &c.]* "All began suddenly to weep and beat their heads; some stretched their hands to heaven, and blamed the Gods; others casting themselves on the earth, called severally upon their leader's names; and their sorrow continued irrepressible," &c.

⁴ *Hæc tot tam necopinata.]* "All these so unexpected appearances."

⁵ *Facilius esse ratus, &c.]* "Calculating that the capture of a single camp would be more easy than the defence of his own, in case the three armies," &c.

subita res et nocturnus terror etiam non suæ fortunæ⁶ con- U. C. 542.
 silium perturbaret, alloquendos adhortandosque sibi milites A. C. 212.
 ratus, concione advocata ita disseruit: 'Vel mea erga im-
 'peratores nostros vivos mortuosque pietas, vel præsens
 'omnium nostrum, milites, fortuna fidem cuivis facere po-
 'test, mihi hoc imperium, ut amplum judicio vestro⁷, ita re
 'ipsa grave ac sollicitum esse. Quo enim tempore, nisi
 'metus mœrorem obstupefaceret, vix ita compos mei essem,
 'ut aliqua solatia invenire ægro animo possem; cogor
 'vestram omnium vicem, quod difficillimum in luctu est,
 'unus consulere: et ne tum quidem⁸, ubi, quonam modo has
 'reliquias duorum exercituum patriæ conservare possim,
 'cogitandum est, avertere animum ab assiduo mœrore libet.
 'Præsto est enim acerba memoria, et Scipiones me ambo
 'dies noctesque curis insomniisque agitant, et excitant sæpe
 'somno: neu se, neu invictos per octo annos in his terris
 'milites suos, commilitones vestros, neu rempublicam
 'patiar inultam, et suam disciplinam suaque instituta sequi
 'jubent: et, ut imperiis vivorum nemo obedientior me uno
 'fuerit, ita post mortem⁹ suam, quod quaque in re facturos
 'illos fuisse maxime censeam, id optimum ducere. Vos
 'quoque velim, milites, non lamentis lacrimisque tanquam
 'extinctos prosequi, (vivunt vigentque fama rerum gesta-
 'rum) sed, quotiescumque occurret memoria illorum, velut
 'si adhortantes signumque dantes videatis eos, ita prælio
 'inire. Nec alia profecto species, hesterno die oculis ani-
 'misque vestris oblata, memorabile illud edidit prælium:
 'quo documentum dedistis hostibus, non cum Scipionibus
 'extinctum esse nomen Romanum: et, cujus populi vis
 'atque virtus non obruta sit Cannensi clade, ex omni pro-
 'fecto sævitia fortunæ emersuram esse. Nunc, quia tan-
 'tum ausi estis sponte vestra, experiri libet, quantum aude-
 'atis duce vestro auctore. Non enim hesterno die, quum
 'signum receptui dedi sequentibus effuse vobis turbatum
 'hostem, frangere audaciam vestram, sed differre in majorem
 'gloriam atque opportunitatem, volui: ut postmodo præpa-
 'rati incautos, armati inermes, atque etiam sopitos, per

⁶ *Etiam non suæ fortunæ.*] and a responsibility (an anxiety).)
 " Which was, moreover, inconsistent with (too bold for) his circumstances." The reading *et jam* suggests another construction, in which *consilium* stands as another nom. to *perturbaret*: sc. "and (lest) also a measure inconsistent &c.

⁷ *Ut amplum judicio vestro.*] " Though honourable, as the result of your choice, is, in itself, a burden

⁸ *Et ne tum quidem &c.*] " And not even at a time when I have to consider how I am to save for my country the wrecks of these two armies, am I at liberty to divert my thoughts from," &c.

⁹ *Ita post mortem &c.*] " So, after their death, to consider that best which I believe they would be most likely to do."

U. C. 542. ' occasionem aggredi possetis. Nec hujus occasionis spem,
 A. C. 212. ' milites, forte temere, sed ex re ipsa conceptam habeo. A
 ' vobis quoque profecto si quis quærat, quonam modo pauci
 ' a multis, victi a victoribus castra tutati sitis; nihil aliud
 ' respondeatis', quam id ipsum timentes vos omnia et operi-
 ' bus firmata habuisse, et ipsos paratos instructosque fuisse.
 ' Et ita se res habet². Ad id, quod, ne timeatur, fortuna
 ' facit, minime tuti sunt homines: quia, quod neglexeris,
 ' incautum atque apertum habeas. Nihil omnium nunc
 ' minus metuunt hostes, quam ne obessi modo ipsi atque
 ' oppugnati castra sua ultiro oppugnemus. Audeamus, quod
 ' credi non potest ausuros nos. Eo ipso, quod difficillimum³
 ' videtur, facillimum erit. Tertia vigilia noctis silenti ag-
 ' mine ducam vos. Exploratum habeo, non vigiliarum
 ' ordinem, non stationes justas esse. Clamor in portis au-
 ' ditus et primus impetus castra ceperit. Tum inter torpi-
 ' dos somno, paventesque ad necopinatum tumultum, et in-
 ' ermes in cubilibus suis oppressos, illa cædes edatur, a qua
 ' vos hesterno die revocatos ægre ferebatis. Scio, audax
 ' videri consilium: sed in rebus asperis et tenui spe fortis-
 ' sima quæque consilia tutissima sunt: quia, si in occa-
 ' siopis momento⁴, cuius prætervolat opportunitas, cunctatus
 ' paullum fueris, nequicquam mox omissam quæras. Unus
 ' exercitus in propinquuo est: duo haud procul absunt.
 ' Nunc aggredientibus spes aliqua est: et jam tentastis vestras
 ' atque illorum vires. Si diem proferimus, et hesternæ
 ' eruptionis fama contemni desierimus, periculum est, ne
 ' omnes duces, omnes copiæ convenient. Tres deinde
 ' duces, tres exercitus sustinebimus hostium, quos Cn. Scipio
 ' incolumi exercitu non sustinuit? Ut dividendo copias per-
 ' iere duces nostri, ita separati ac divisi opprimi possunt
 ' hostes. Alia belli gerendi via nulla est. Proinde nihil,
 ' præter noctis proximæ opportunitatem, exspectemus.
 ' Ite, deis bene juvantibus, corpora curate, ut integri vigen-
 ' tesque eodem animo in castra hostium irrumpatis, quo
 ' vestra tutati estis.'

Læti et audiere ab novo duce novum consilium, et, quo
 audacius erat, magis placebat. Reliquum diei expediendis

¹ *Nihil aliud respondeatis &c.*] "It was nothing else, you would reply, than that under such an apprehension (i. e. dreading the fact of your inequality) you had," &c.

² *Et ita se res habet &c.*] "And such is really the case. It is in that which Fortune places above apprehension, that men are least safe."

³ *Eo ipso quod difficillimum &c.*]

"It is in the very fact of its great apparent difficulty, that its facility consists."

⁴ *Quia, si in occasionis momento, &c.*] "Because if one lingers but a little at the crisis of an opportunity while the favourable moment is flying past, it is idle to look for it afterwards when lost."

armis et curatione corporum consumptum: et major pars noctis quieti data est. Quarta vigilia movere. Erant ultra proxima castra sex millium intervallo distantes aliae copiae Poenorum. Vallis cava intererat, condensa arboribus. In hujus silvæ medio ferme spatio cohors Romana arte Punica abditur, et equites. Ita medio itinere intercepto⁴, ceteræ copiae silenti agmine ad proximos hostes ductæ. Et, quum statio nulla pro portis, neque in vallo custodiæ essent, velut in sua castra, nullo usquam obsidente, penetravere. Inde signa canunt, et tollitur clamor. Pars semisomnos hostes cœdunt: pars ignes casis, stramento arido tectis, injiciunt: pars portas occupant, ut fugam intercludant. Hostes simul ignis, clamor, cœdes, velut alienatos sensibus, nec audire, nec providere quicquam sinnunt. Incidunt inermes inter catervas armatorum; alii ruunt ad portas, alii obseptis itineribus super vallum saliunt: et, ut quisque evaserat, protinus ad castra altera fugiunt: ubi ab cohorte et equitibus ex occulto procurrentibus circumventi, cœsique ad unum omnes sunt. Quanquam, etiam si quis⁶ ex ea cœde effugisset, adeo raptim captis propioribus castris in altera transcursum castra ab Romanis est, ut prævenire nuntius clavis non posset. Ibi vero, quo longius ab hoste aberant, et quia sub lucem pabulatum, lignatum, et præ datum quidam dilapsi fuerant, neglecta magis omnia ac soluta invenere; arma tantum in stationibus posita: milites inermes, aut humi sedentes accubantesque, aut obambulantes ante vallum portasque. Cum his tam securis solutisque Romani, calentes adhuc ab recenti pugna, feroesque victoria, prælium ineunt. Itaque nequaquam resisti in portis potuit. Intra portas, concursu ex totis castris ad primum clamorem et tumultum facto, atrox prælium oritur: diuque tenuisset, ni cruenta scuta Romanorum visa⁷, indicium alterius clavis Poenis, atque inde pavorem injecissent. Hic terror in fugam avertit omnes: effusique, qua iter est, nisi quos cœdes oppressit, exuuntur castris⁸. Ita nocte ac die bina castra hostium expugnata ductu L. Marcii. Ad triginta septem millia hos-

⁴ *Medio itinere intercepto.*] “The passage between them thus occupied, (communication cut off.)”

⁶ *Quanquam, etiam si quis.*] “Although, even if any of them had escaped from the massacre, so expeditiously was a passage effected by the Romans from the taken camp to the other, that no bearer of the fatal tidings could have an-

ticipated them.”

⁷ *Ni cruenta scuta Romanorum visa, &c.*] “Had not the sight of the blood-stained shields of the Romans impressed the Carthaginians with the evidence of the other massacre, and the consequent terror.”

⁸ *Exuuntur castris.*] (mid. voice.) “Evacuated (abandoned the shelter of) the camp.”

U. C. 542. tium cæsa, auctor est *Claudius*, qui annales *Acilianos*⁹ ex
 A. C. 212. Græco in Latinum sermonem vertit: captos ad mille
 octingentos triginta: prædam ingentem partam: in ea
 fuisse clipeum argenteum pondo centum triginta octo, cum
 imagine Barcini Hasdrubalis. Valerius Antias una castra
 Magonis capta tradit, septem millia cæsa hostium: altero
 prælio, eruptione pugnatum cum Hasdrubale: decem millia
 occisa, quattuor millia trecentos triginta captos. Piso quin-
 que millia hominum, quum Mago cedentes nostros effuse
 sequeretur, cæsa ex insidiis scribit. Apud omnes magnum
 nomen *Marcii* ducis est. Et veræ gloriæ ejus etiam mira-
 cula addunt: flammarum ei concionanti fusam e capite,
 sine ipsius sensu, cum magno pavore circumstantium mili-
 tum: monumentumque victoriæ ejus de Poenis, usque ad
 incensum *Capitolium*¹, fuisse in templo clipeum, *Marcium*
 appellatum, cum imagine Hasdrubalis. Quietæ deinde
 aliquamdiu in Hispania res fuere, utrisque, post tantas ac-
 ceptas in vicem illatasque clades, cunctantibus periculum
 summæ rerum facere.

40. Dum hæc in Hispania geruntur, *Marcellus* captis Syra-
 cusis, quum cetera in Sicilia tanta fide atque integratæ
 composuisset, ut non modo suam gloriæ, sed etiam ma-
 jestatem populi Romani, augeret; ornamenta urbs, signa,
 tabulasque, quibus abundabant *Syracusæ*, Romam devexit.
 Hostium quidem illa spolia², et parta belli jure: ceterum

⁹ *Claudius—annales Acilianos.*] This was either *Clodius Licinius*, (mentioned again l. xxix. 22.) or *Claudius Quadrigarius* (l. xxxv. 14.) The author of the annals mentioned here, is the same *Aelius* who, according to *Plutarch*, acted as interpreter between the Greek ambassadors and the Senate, in the Mædonian war; A.U.C. 597.

¹ *Ad incensum Capitolium.*] In the first civil war, *Scipione* et *Norbano* coss. A.U.C. 699. *Pliny* mentions this shield, (l. xxxv. 3.) and describes it as being of gold.

² *Hostium quidem illa spolia &c.*] “These were, it is true, spoils of an enemy, and won by right of conquest; but from this circumstance resulted the origin of admiration for works of art, and of the existing licence to rifle indiscriminately all consecrated,” &c. This act of desecration—the more gratuitous, as the Romans had, neither then nor at

any subsequent time, any true feeling for art—was imitated afterwards by *Memmius*, who removed the pictures of *Apelles* and the statues of *Pheidias* from Corinth; and, still more recently, by the republican armies of France, who brought away from the places, in which alone they were hallowed by memories and associations, such of the artistic treasures of the Italian cities as they did not destroy. The taste of *Memmius* for works of art may be measured by the facts, that, when he observed the king of Pergamus offering a hundred talents for a picture, he could account for it only on the supposition that the tablet must have some magical virtue; and that, when shipping it for Rome, he warned the commander of the vessel, that if he suffered it to be injured, he should paint such another.

inde primum initium mirandi Græcarum artium opera, ^{U. C. 542.} licentiæque huic sacra profanaque omnia vulgo spoliandi factum est: quæ postremo in Romanos deos, templum id ipsum primum, quod a Marcello eximie ornatum est, vertit. Visebantur enim ab externis ad portam Capenam dedicata a Marcello templa, propter excellentia ejus generis ornamenta, quorum peregrina pars comparet³. Legationes omnium ferme civitatum Siciliæ ad eum conveniebant. Dispar ut causa earum, ita conditio⁴ erat. Qui ante captas Syracusas aut non desciverant, aut redierant in amicitiam, ut socii fideles accepti cultique: quos metus post captas Syracusas dediderat, ut victi a victore leges acceperunt.

Erant tamen haud parvæ reliquiæ belli circa Agrigentum Romanis: Epicydes et Hanno duces reliqui prioris belli, et tertius novus ab Hannibale in locum Hippocratis missus, Libyphœnicum generis Hipponiates⁵, (Mutinem populares vocabant) vir impiger, et sub Hannibale magistro omnes belli artes edoctus. Huic ab Epicyde et Hannone Numidæ dati auxiliares: cum quibus ita pervagatus est hostium agros, ita socios ad retinendos in fide animos eorum, ferendoque in tempore cuique auxilium, adiit, ut brevi tempore totam Siciliam impleret nominis sui, nec spes alia major apud faventes rebus Carthaginensium esset. Itaque inclusi ad tempus⁶ mœnibus Agrigenti dux Pœnus Syracusanusque, non consilio Mutinis, quam fiducia, magis ausi egredi extra muros, ad Himeram amnem posuerunt castra. Quod ubi perlatum ad Marcellum est, extemplo copias movit; et ab hoste quattuor ferme millium intervallo consedit, quid agerent pararentve exspectaturus. Sed nullum neque locum, neque tempus cunctationi consiliove dedit Mutines, transgressus amnem, ac stationibus hostium cum ingenti terrore ac tumultu invectus. Postero die prope justo prœlio compulit hostem intra munimenta. Inde revocatus seditione Numidarum in castris facta, quum trecenti ferme eorum Heracleam Minoam concessissent, ad mitigandos revocandosque eos profectus, magnopere monuisse duces dicitur, ne absente se cum hoste manus consenserent. Id ambo ægre passi duces, magis Hanno, jam ante anxius gloria ejus: 'Mutinem sibi modum facere',

³ *Quorum peregrina pars comparet.*] "Of which but a very small portion is extant." They were plundered and destroyed in the civil wars.

⁴ *Dispar ut causa—ita conditio.*] "As their cases (relations) were different, so were their claims."

⁵ *Hipponiates.*] lit. "A native

of Hippo." There were two towns of this name; Diarrhytus, near Utica; and Regius, in Numidia, the residence of the native kings."

⁶ *Inclusi ad tempus.*] "Who had, until then, shut themselves up," &c.

⁷ *Sibi modum facere.*] "Was laying a restraint upon him."

U. C. 542. 'degenerem Afrum⁸ imperatori Carthaginiensi, misso ab A. C. 212. 'senatu populoque.' Is perpulit cunctantem Epicydem, ut, transgressi flumen, in aciem exirent. Nam si Mutinem opperirentur et secunda pugnæ fortuna evenisset, haud

41.

dubie Mutinis gloriam fore. *Enimvero indignum ratus Marcellus se, qui Hannibalem subnatum victoria Cannensi⁹ ab Nola repulisset, his terra marique victis ab se hostibus cedere, arma propere capere milites, et efferri signa jubet. Instruendi exercitum decem effusis equis advolant ex hostium acie Numidæ, nuntiantes, populares suos, primum¹ ea seditione motos, qua trecenti ex numero suo concesserint Heracleam, dein quod præfectum suum ab obtrectantibus ducibus gloriæ ejus, sub ipsam certaminis diem, alegatum videant, quieturos in pugna. Gens fallax promissi fidem² præststit. Itaque et Romanis crevit animus, nuntio celeri per ordines misso, destitutum ab equite hostem esse, quem maxime timuerant: et territi hostes, præterquam quod maxima parte virium suarum non juvabantur, timore etiam incusso, ne ab suo et ipsi equite oppugnarentur. Itaque haud magni certaminis fuit: primus clamor atque impetus rem decrevit. Numidæ, quum in concursu quieti stetissent in cornibus, ut terga dantes suos viderunt, fugæ tantum parumper comites facti, postquam omnes Agrigentum trepido agmine petentes viderunt, ipsi metu obsidionis passim in civitates proximas dilapsi. Multa millia hominum cæsa captaque, et octo elephanti. Hæc ultima in Sicilia Marcelli pugna fuit: victor inde Syracusas rediit.*

Jam ferme in exitu annus erat. Itaque senatus Romæ decrevit, ut P. Cornelius prætor literas Capuam ad consules mitteret; dum Hannibal procul abesset, nec ulla magni discriminis res ad Capuam gereretur, alter eorum, si ita videretur, ad magistratus subrogandos Romam veniret. Literis acceptis, inter se consules compararunt, ut Claudius comitia perficeret, Fulvius ad Capuam maneret. Consules Claudius creavit Cn. Fulvium Centumalum et P. Sulpicium Servii filium Galbam, qui nullum antea curulem magistratum gessisset. Prætores deinde creati, L. Cornelius Len-

⁸ *Degenerem Afrum.*] "A mongrel African." Mutines was a half caste, and therefore excluded from civil honours and offices at home. He was afterwards made a Roman citizen, on the reduction of the island, (l. xxvii. 5.)

⁹ *Subnatum victorid Cannensi.*] "Backed by his success at Cannæ."

¹ *Populares suos, primum &c.*] "That their countrymen, influenced,

in the first place, by that mutiny in which three hundred of their number had retired to Heraclea; and secondly, by seeing their own commander sent out of the way by the traducers of," &c.

² *Gens fallax promissi fidem &c.*] "A (habitually) treacherous people made good (on this occasion) the sincerity of their engagements."

tulus, M. Cornelius Cethagus, C. Sulpicius, C. Calpurnius ^{U. C. 542.}
Piso. Pisoni jurisdictio urbana³, Sulpicio Sicilia⁴, Cethego ^{A. C. 212.}
Apulia⁵, Lentulo Sardinia evenit. Consulibus prorogatum
in annum imperium est.

³ *Jurisdictio urbana.*] “The home department.” It appears that he had also the *peregrina*.

⁴ *Sulpicio Sicilia.*] i.e. the *vetus* *provincia*, originally surrendered by

the Carthaginians.

⁵ *Cethego Apulia.*] He appears to have exchanged afterwards, and to have succeeded Marcellus in Sicily.



EPILEGOMENA.

THE leading facts of the history of the Punic wars, from the point to which it is brought down by Livy, at the close of l. xxv, may be concisely stated as follows. The last important event recorded in l. xxv, is the defeat and death of the two Scipios, and the reorganization of the wreck of the divided army by Marcius, who assumed a provisional command. The next book opens with an account of Hannibal's daring march upon Rome; undertaken rather for the purpose of reviving the courage of his Italian friends, than with any reasonable hope of intimidating the city. This is followed by the reduction of Capua, and the defeat of Hasdrubal at the Metaurus. In the mean time, in the absence of any more experienced General willing to accept the province of Spain, young Scipio (son of Publius) had offered himself as the successor and avenger of his father and uncle. And here it may be remarked, as an interesting historical parallel, that at the same age, and under very similar circumstances, Scipio was appointed to the command of the Roman army in Spain, and General Buonaparte (Napoleon I.) was appointed, in 1796, to take the command of the French army in Italy. Scipio's startling proposal to carry the war into Africa, after he had permitted Hasdrubal to escape towards the Alps, was so coldly received by the Senate—principally, it is supposed, in consequence of the opposition of old Fabius, who had always dreaded the ambitious and mysterious youth—that he found it necessary to submit it to the popular assembly. The Senate acquiesced ungracefully in their approval, giving him but thirty—some say but ten—galleys, and forbidding him to levy troops. The Italian towns, however, those of Etruria especially, in their anxiety to see the war, by which they had been so long impoverished, removed to a safe distance,

liberally compensated the deficiency with contributions of men, provisions, and transports; so that, after some inconsiderable delay, he landed in Africa, while the Carthaginians were still questioning travellers respecting the movements and intentions of the Consul.

Here he met Syphax, with whom it will be remembered that he had on a former occasion, during a short visit to Africa, held a conference; but the impression left on the mind of the Numidian by that interview had been in the mean time effaced, by his marriage with the beautiful and ambitious Sophonisba, the daughter of Hasdrubal Gisco; one of those fair and insinuating Phoenicians, who had so often drawn away the kings of Judah into the sensual and captivating idolatry of their nation. At her instigation, Syphax aspired to the position of mediator between the hostile parties, and in that character entered into negotiations with Scipio. These conferences the Consul protracted with all the usual artifices of diplomacy, until he had obtained full and particular information respecting the united camp of the enemy; and then suddenly cut short all negotiation, by destroying in one night the huts in which 93,000 of the forces of Carthage were encamped. Of all their inhabitants, not more than 2000 escaped alive.

Scipio had brought back with him from Spain the young Numidian, Masinissa, originally the ally of Carthage, whom Syphax had not only expelled from his kingdom, but had also supplanted in the affections of Sophonisba, to whom he had, at an early age, been affianced; and the time was now come when, after many adventures and many escapes, he was to enjoy a retaliation, which, however, he had scarcely tasted, when it recoiled upon himself. While flying from the pursuit of Syphax, he had been often—like Mohammed in the cave of Thor—unseen and unheard, within sight and hearing of his enemies: he was now to enjoy the exciting revenge of possessing himself of the capital, the wife, and even the person of his rival. Sophonisba's peace, it may be supposed, was easily made. The plea, that her own inclinations had been overruled by political exigencies, was sufficient to satisfy her first lover; and they were immediately united. The Roman, however,

feared the dangerous power of Sophonisba: probably, those fears were prompted by Syphax, who made, through them, a last and dying blow at his enemy and the woman to whom he attributed all his errors and misfortunes. Scipio claimed her as a portion of the forfeited property of Syphax. Masinissa withdrew to his tent, and, after giving vent to a burst of sorrow, which, though unseen, was not unheard by his attendants, summoned a faithful domestic, who had charge of the poison usually kept for emergencies, and sent the fatal cup to Sophonisba. "Tell her," said he, "that I have ever been true to her from the first; never more true than now, when I would save her from the hands of the Romans." She drank the poison calmly, saying only, "It is my bridal gift; and not unwelcome, if he can send nothing better!" Such was the price paid by Masinissa for that alliance with Rome, to which, during his life, he proved sincere.

In this position, deprived of the aid of Syphax, and of the vast army that perished in the camp, and maintaining an unsuccessful struggle almost at their gates, the Carthaginian government recalled Hannibal and Mago from Italy, in the sixteenth year of the war. Their departure (still commemorated by the name *Torre di Annibale*, given to the spot, between Catanzara and Cortona, on which they last stood) was marked by circumstances of such horror and cruelty, as falsified all past pretensions to clemency. The properties of many persons in the revolted towns were confiscated. The Italian soldiers in the Carthaginian army were either massacred, or presented as slaves to their African comrades.

In a few days after his arrival, Hannibal encamped at the hot wells of Zama; and, after an ineffectual attempt to negotiate with Scipio, prepared for action. His foreign mercenaries he opposed, as usual, to the first assault of the enemy, placing them immediately behind his formidable line of eighty elephants, and keeping his own more personal comrades, among whom were many of the veterans of Hamilcar, in reserve. When his front line gave way—after a harmless charge of the elephants through the open intervals of the Roman manipuli—and fell back upon the second, by whom they were thrust forward again upon the

Romans, so frightful a carnage ensued, that the mere heaps of dead prevented Scipio from reaching the Carthaginian reserve; and the latter would have escaped untouched, had not the same African cavalry, by whose desperate charge the field of Cannæ had been decided, and who were now on the Roman side, and led by the fiery Masinissa, fallen upon the Carthaginian rear, and made Zama one of the most decisive battles in history; a battle which, as Michelet says, decided the question, whether the world should, for some centuries following, be subject to an Indo-Germanic, or a Shemitic race.

There was nothing in the intrinsic circumstances of the battles of Cannæ and Zama to render one more decisive than the other; but the Roman government understood the secret of never yielding to a defeat, and never suffering a victory to be thrown away; they never "assumed diplomatic attitudes;" they never entered into "complications," or sought "solutions:" when they were beaten in the field, they merely marked the day in the calendar as being unlucky for serious enterprises, and went on as before: when they were successful, they always followed up their blow promptly and sternly; and never permitted a diplomatist to undo in the cabinet, what their soldiers had done in the field. In short, they left in history many lessons which modern politicians would do wisely to bear in mind.

Carthage was spared, for the present, on the conditions dictated by Scipio; that she should surrender all that she had ever won from Rome; all her elephants, and all her war-galleys except ten; that she should reinstate Masinissa in all the rights of his ancestors, with the addition of the dominions of Syphax; pay an indemnity of ten thousand talents, to be distributed over fifty years; and undertake to engage in no hostilities without the permission of the Roman people. Thus ended the second Punic war.

When Hannibal entered Carthage after an absence of thirty-six years, he found that the presence of his army, beaten as it had been, was an influence sufficient to place him at the head of the civil government. He found also every department of the administration—especially the financial—overlaid with those corruptions which an irre-

sponsible oligarchy had naturally encouraged; and prepared to exert his personal authority for their removal, in order to pay the indemnity promised to Rome without imposing any additional taxation, and so make preparations for resuming, at a favourable opportunity, the struggle in which he still hoped to organize a large and formidable confederacy against Rome.

After an interval, during which the Romans had successfully concluded wars with Philip, Perseus, and Antiochus, proved their ingratitude to the Scipios, and hunted Hannibal to the death, Carthage fell on the same day with Corinth; and was followed immediately by Numantia. The Romans became thus the masters of the western world, and soon began to quarrel with each other for the spoil. They had taken care, on the conclusion of the second act of the war, to establish in Africa a vigilant and implacable enemy of Carthage. Masinissa was the great and incessant plague of the Carthaginians; and when they found him living beyond the average duration of human life, and still retaining the activity and vigour of his youth, they became superstitious, and began to fear that an evil genius had come in a human body to dwell beside them for ever. The repeated remonstrances with the Roman senate, which his encroachments provoked, resulted at last in the mission of Scipio, and subsequently of Cato; but from these, as might be expected, the sufferers obtained but slight redress. Still, during all this time, the Punic government adhered with a servile and scrupulous fidelity to the terms of their oppressive treaty. When Hannibal effected his sudden and well-contrived escape, under apprehension of the combined intrigues of the Roman ambassadors and his old enemies the Hannos; and when he sent a trusty agent from Ephesus to his friends at home, to arrange a cooperation with Antiochus, they forwarded intelligence, on both occasions, to the Roman senate.

It may be easily supposed, however, that, under all the wrongs and indignities to which Carthage was helplessly exposed, and the restrictions imposed by the treaty, her patience was sorely tried during this interval of seeming peace. The immediate provocation of the third Punic

war was the rivalry of three factions within the city. These were, the Roman party headed by a Hanno; the Numidian, in the interest of Masinissa, and led by Hannibal Passer; and the patriotic or democratic party, of which the chief was Hamilcar Samnis. This last faction, eventually predominating, succeeded in expelling a number of the second, who naturally took refuge with Masinissa, and employed his influence to effect their restoration. The result was a battle in which the Carthaginians were defeated, in presence of a Roman embassy, who had been instructed to insist upon a peace in case Masinissa should be worsted, and to encourage a continuation of hostilities, if his success should render that course desirable. This engagement amounted to a violation of that clause in the treaty, by which Carthage had bound herself to engage in no war without the consent of Rome; and the Punic senate, becoming conscious of the danger thus incurred, sent an embassy to Rome, to ascertain what penalty would be sufficient to atone for the irregularity. The answer, though brief and mysterious, was significant; but even the laconic reply, "*You must know,*" was not spoken until preparations had been very nearly completed for an invasion of Africa.

As soon as the Roman fleet, with 84,000 men, had taken possession of Utica, the first instalment of the penalty—the surrender of three hundred hostages of noble birth—was demanded; and, as if to render the sacrifice more painful and humiliating, it was stipulated that they should be children. The parting of their parents with those hostages was a scene upon which historians dwell with tenderness and indignation; but it failed to arouse the broken spirit of their countrymen. The next demand was the surrender of their arms. These also—the security from which brave men part only with their lives, which the "ten thousand" Greeks, on the defeat of Cyrus at Cunaxa, proved their right to retain with an unanswerable dilemma—even these were sent into the Roman camp; and, last and hardest of all, the now defenceless citizens were commanded to leave their stately city, enriched and decorated by the industry of seven centuries and a half, and take

a new residence at a distance of nine miles from the sea, where their commerce could not follow them, and where they must soon degenerate to the level of the Numidian and the Massylian. It was only then that the long-suppressed indignation of the injured and insulted broke forth into resistance. The city resounded, day and night, with the manufacture of new arms and engines; and the women, high-born and low, cut off their long hair, and spun it into bow-strings. The result of this sudden enthusiasm was the defeat of the Romans, under Manilius Nepos and Marcius Censorinus, in two unimportant engagements, and the commencement of an obstinate defence of the city, which those consuls had invested by land and sea. After some alternations of success, in the course of which the Roman fleet was burned, and the army was saved from extermination by the address of Scipio *Æ*milianus; that young commander, holding at that time only a tribune's commission, was raised to the consulate, and operations then began with a fresh and unintermitting activity. The first operation of the new consul was to cut off the communication of the city from the sea by a dyke; and from the land, by a wall constructed across the isthmus which joined it to the continent.

These works were counteracted by others, indicating still more the desperate obstinacy of the struggle. The incessant labour of 700,000 men, women, and children, opened a new passage to the harbour through the solid rock; and the Romans were startled from their confident security by the sudden apparition of a new fleet built of the timbers of the ruined houses. That fleet, after having for some time supplied the city with provisions, was destroyed by Scipio; while the barrier on the isthmus was made so strong, that Bythias, who arrived at this crisis with supplies for its relief, abandoned in despair the attempt to open a communication*. Distressed by famine, and closely con-

* To make these allusions intelligible, it may be necessary to observe, that Carthage stood on a peninsula, joined to the main land by an isthmus, rather more than three miles across—a most eligible

position for a mercantile city. It was built on three hills, and divided into three regions; Byrsa, or "the castle," surmounted by the temple of *Æ*sculapius; Megaria, or "the huts;" and Cothon, or "the exca-

fined within their walls, which Scipio had now outbuilt on the land side; while Lælius, at the head of Gulussa's Massylian cavalry, cut to pieces their army of 48,000 men; their last hope disappeared before the presence of the Roman troops, whom they found one morning occupying the great Agora of the city. Scipio had taken possession of the eastern port during the night, and entered the town in silence. The citadel, Byrsa, covering the ground originally purchased by the Tyrian settlers, still held out; but this also, after an obstinate and bloody resistance, was overpowered. Hasdrubal, who had been, throughout the siege, the chief hope and dependence of Carthage, now placed himself in the hands of the Romans; and the war was ended.

The closing scene of the capture was marked by one memorable incident. The wife of Hasdrubal, having identified her fate with that of the last defenders of the citadel, who still occupied the temple of Æsculapius, appeared upon the roof, arrayed for the last time in her richest attire, and accompanied by her children. There, after venting upon her husband all the imprecations prompted by indignation and contempt, she stabbed her children, and with their bodies threw herself into the flames, which she had kindled immediately before with her own hands.

It is said, that, like Marcellus over the ruins of Syracuse, Scipio wept over the desolate grave of so much power and magnificence, and repeated a line from Homer, dimly prophetic of the ruin that should one day engulf Rome itself. About twenty-four years afterwards, a Roman colony, the first that was planted out of Italy, was led to the site of Carthage by the tribune Gracchus; but, terrified by the omens and portents that seemed to recall the solemn curse pronounced at its destruction upon any attempt to restore it, the colonists erected only a few humble and temporary residences, to which they gave the name Junonia; the same

vation." This latter portion stood over the eastern harbour which bore its name, and was embellished with the golden Colossus of Apollo, removed by Scipio. The other harbour on the western side, and lying N. E. from Utica, has been long since filled up by the alluvium of the river Bagrada (*Megerda*), and covered with gardens.

huts, among which the exiled Marius afterwards moralized upon the vanity of human greatness. The natural effect of the destruction of Carthage, was the ruin of the commerce of the ancient world, which Augustus endeavoured to restore by the equipment of two fleets, for protecting navigation, and opening a trade with India, through the Red Sea, the Nile, and the Indian Ocean.

The historian Appian mentions, that Julius Cæsar, on landing in Africa, was visited by a dream, in consequence of which he resolved to rebuild Corinth and Carthage; and that his intentions respecting the latter, which he did not himself live to fulfil, were carried into effect by Augustus, who erected a new city at some short distance from the site of the old. Pliny alludes to it as being, in his time, the principal city in Africa, but considerably inferior to the old Phœnician settlement. During some centuries after the Christian era, it ranked as the metropolis of Africa; and, after having been taken and destroyed by Maxentius, in the reign of Constantine, and subsequently restored, it was again taken by Genseric, (A. D. 439) and became a very considerable stronghold of the Vandal kings.

The last contest between Rome and Carthage was the expedition of Belisarius, in the reign of Justinian, against Gelimer the Vandal. At his approach, in the words of Gibbon, “Carthage blazed with innumerable torches, the signals of public joy; the chain was removed that guarded the entrance of the Port; the gates were thrown open; and the people, with acclamations of gratitude, hailed and invited their Roman deliverers.” A strange contrast this to the entrance of Scipio! Belisarius returned to Constantinople in triumph—the last triumph ever celebrated by a Roman general; if we except the entrance of Narses into Rome, after his victory over the Goths and Franks.

At last, however, the Saracens so completely destroyed it in the seventh century, that scarcely a trace of its existence remains, but the ruins of the sewers and public cisterns.

The relation, in which Hannibal stood toward the Carthaginian Government, resembled in many respects rather the position of an independent captain of Condottieri,

than of a commander owing a regular allegiance to his country. He may be, perhaps, not incorrectly compared to Julius Cæsar in Gaul, or to Wallenstein in his camp, or to some of the “free lances” of the middle ages. With the exception of a comparatively small number of veterans who had served under his father and brother, and whom he spared and reserved upon all occasions, his troops were raised by his own personal influence, maintained by his individual prudence and resources, and considered themselves bound by a merely personal and mercenary allegiance to him alone. Removed from home at an early age, and passing all the most useful and energetic years of his life in constant warfare and in a foreign land, he became by long habit, in sentiment and almost in nature, a mere soldier, and retained nothing of the mercantile spirit and industrial tendencies of his race. It may be said, indeed, that the war with Rome—especially the second war—was forced upon Carthage by the restless and ambitious spirit of the Barcine family; (see Livy, l. xxx. 21.) and that the Government lent it their sanction, as much for the purpose of keeping that dangerous family occupied abroad, as in the hope or with the desire of political aggrandisement. They argued, probably, that if the Barcæ perished in the field, their loss would cost the country no regret; and that, if they founded a new dynasty abroad, their nominal provinces would at least be profitable customers. The great mass of the inhabitants of Carthage—like the wealthy Venetians of later times—considered the life of a prosperous merchant too valuable to be risked in battle, so long as mercenaries were ready to fight for less money than they could themselves realize in the time by remaining at home: and war, as a general rule, they regarded as involving a certain expense, and resulting, at best, in a distant and very problematical advantage.

This view of the position of Hannibal will account satisfactorily for the slowness and insufficiency of the subsidies from home. It will also suggest a reason why he may have chosen to encounter the inclemency of the Alps, rather than ask for a fleet of transports to take his army across the gulf of Genoa to Italy; if

we do not prefer to attribute to him the bold and original design—subsequently effected by Alaric and Attila—of overwhelming the rich and sunny plains of the south with a deluge of fierce and needy barbarians. It will also explain his otherwise unaccountable reluctance to march upon Rome directly from the field of Cannæ. Knowing that he would not be adequately supported at home in an enterprise, which must appear at a distance so wild and desperate; he naturally fell back upon the surer, though slower, policy of isolating Rome amid her own revolted allies.

It was, however, when he revisited Carthage, after an absence of half a life, in order to urge an acquiescence in the terms proposed by Scipio after the battle of Zama, that his estrangement from all national habits and feelings exhibited itself most plainly. When the Senate gave way to tears on the payment of the first instalment of the indemnity, the veteran soldier, in bitter contempt of their cowardly avarice, mocked them with a laugh: “You have seen,” said he, “your country humbled, your fleet burned in your own harbour before your eyes, your very functions as a government circumscribed, and you have borne all patiently and humbly: but, when you come to part with *your money*, you burst into tears!” A man accustomed to the sudden and opposite vicissitudes of a warrior’s life—the quick alternations of triumph and defeat, of abundance and privation—and to regard money only as one of the several means to an end, was but ill-prepared to sympathise with men, who considered its accumulation as the great end and purpose of human life.

It was after this unpromising introduction to his fellow-citizens, that Hannibal first began to take part in the civil administration, and in this sphere of action he succeeded so creditably, that in the twelfth year after the treaty, the Punic ambassadors offered in the Roman Senate the full and immediate payment of the remaining balance of the ten thousand talents named by Scipio. In the mean time, however, the old aristocratic party, who had lost much of their patronage and other emoluments in the sweeping reforms which he had introduced, incited each other to the blind

and suicidal policy of sacrificing him to the Romans. In pursuance of a secret understanding to this effect, a Roman embassy, consisting of C. Servilius, Cl. Marcellus, and Ter. Culleo, arrived in Carthage, ostensibly for the purpose of accommodating some differences with Masinissa, but in reality to contrive the ruin of their old enemy.

The means chosen was an accusation—which was most probably true—of a secret correspondence with Antiochus, with a view to consolidating an alliance, and commencing hostilities against Rome. The disguise in which this scheme was enveloped, was too thin to deceive the practised eye of Hannibal. He showed himself abroad through the city, during the day, in all the apparent unconsciousness of an unsuspecting victim; and, under the shade of nightfall, passing the gates in a foreign dress, mounted the first of a relay of horses which he had prepared along the road, and travelling all night, arrived at a castle of his own, near Thapsus. Crossing thence to Cercina, and representing himself there as an ambassador to Tyre, he embarked immediately for that city; and, after a short sojourn, set out for Antioch, where he met the son of Antiochus. Arriving at length in Ephesus, he was received with much distinction by the king himself.

The advice which he uniformly impressed upon Antiochus was, to regard Italy as the proper and legitimate seat of war: and, accordingly, he volunteered, if the king would place a fleet and an army at his disposal, to return to Carthage, and obtain the cooperation of his country. Had this suggestion been adopted, the Syrian war would have proved a more obstinate struggle than it eventually did; but the magnitude of the project exceeded the comprehension of Antiochus: he hesitated, and wasted time in timid expedients, until he was anticipated by the quick and intuitive sense of danger that always guided the movements of Rome. By the king's advice, however, Hannibal sent a confidential envoy to Carthage, to communicate with such friends as still continued sincere. Aristo was suspected, and brought before the Senate; but, while they were deliberating whether they should regard him as a spy, or as a harmless visitor, the prudent

Tyrian decided the question by making his escape in the night, after placarding in the Agora a statement of his mission.

The result of the announcement of these events in Rome was the arrival of an embassy in Ephesus, who held many and apparently confidential interviews with Hannibal. It is said, that his late antagonist Scipio was of the number; and even the substance of an interesting conversation between them, on the relative merits of themselves and other eminent commanders, is recorded. The object of these conferences, into which Hannibal was too easily ensnared, was—if not to allay his own suspicions—to impress Antiochus with a doubt of his sincerity. Such at least was the result; and there arose, in consequence, a temporary estrangement, reconciled only by an earnest and solemn explanation, in the course of which Hannibal appealed to the oath which his father had dictated at the altar. Confidence being thus restored, he was entrusted with the command of some forces, with which he was able to achieve only some partial success. Antiochus, drawn into Greece by the promises and representations of the *Ætolians*, and defeated at Thermopylæ and Magnesia, eventually submitted to the Scipios—Asiaticus and Africanus—and signed a treaty of peace, one of the conditions of which was the extradition of Hannibal. Escaping into Crete, the Carthaginian relieved his host from the alternative of exasperating the now universally victorious Romans, or, violating the sanctity of hospitality. Here he was compelled to resort to stratagem, in order to save the small remainder of his personal property from the hands of his greedy protectors, and feeling himself insecure among men of such principles, took sanctuary with the king of Bithynia. But the enmity of Rome was too implacable to be disarmed by any degree of helplessness to which an enemy could be reduced. The arm of her power was now too long to allow a hope of safety any where on earth. There was but one desperate expedient for placing himself beyond her reach, and that—as Paullus *Æmilius* reminded Perseus—was “in his own power.” Seeing, then, no further prospect of attaining the great object of his life, or of preserving life itself, even without

any thing that could make that life endurable, he cast it away with his own hand. He died by poison, at the age of seventy; an age at which his enemies could have had neither much to fear, nor long to wait.

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THE END.

ERRATA.

Page 45. for note 4. read *Sexcentum cecidisse.*] Gronovius on the authority of one Ms. proposes to read *ad sexc. cecid.*, as an emendation of the older reading, *accisas res*, i.e. "their strength was reduced," lit. "diminished by cutting away all round."

48. note 3.	for <i>franatos</i>	read <i>instratos</i>
	<i>instratos</i>	<i>instructos</i>
55. note 5.	across	down
65. note 1.	Lavoyard	Savoyard
76. note 8.	conception	corruption
90. note 7.	<i>valint</i>	<i>valuit</i>
118. note 6.	<i>mediis</i>	<i>medius</i>
128. line 26.	trahendos	tradendos
133. line 14.	Pœnus	Pœnos
134. note 5.	exultation	exaltation
137. line 25.	evaseret	evaserat
160. line 33.	alias	alia
234. note 3.	Rhegio	Rhegium
217. note 4.	match	watch
309. note 5.	aries	arces





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